

HANDBOOK
TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE GOSPELS - JESUS CHRIST


A. BRASSAC

Wm. J. Storey

THE STUDENT'S HANDBOOK
TO THE STUDY OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE GOSPELS — JESUS CHRIST

D. WEDDER
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THE STUDENT'S HANDBOOK
TO THE STUDY OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT

TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRTEENTH FRENCH EDITION
OF
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HOC OPUS DEDICAVI

TRANSLATOR'S FOREWORD.

IT is a sad commentary on the scholarship of the Scripturists of the Church, both in England and America, that we possess, in the whole realm of English Catholic literature, no reliable and scholarly Introduction to the New Testament. The writer himself long felt the need of such a work, and was even contemplating its undertaking, when some kindly soul suggested the translation of A. Brassac's «Les Évangiles». Realizing that the learned Sulpician had done the work far better than he himself could ever have done it, he took the suggestion to heart.

The work of M. Brassac speaks for itself. Believing that «an honest tale speeds best being plainly told», the translator has endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the author's simple yet forceful style. His design was to write a text-book, and the present writer has striven, in the English rendition, to follow out the author's line of thought. Nothing has been added to the substance of the work, and the changes that have been made, are not numerous. A note, here and there, has been incorporated into the text, and *vice versa*, parts of the text have been placed in footnotes. The whole bibliographical list, however, has been revised, with a view to furnish the reader with the best English authorities. Besides, the illustrations of the French edition have been replaced by others deemed more suitable and appropriate.

Finally — and this is a most pleasant task — the translator wishes to take occasion here, to express his heartfelt thanks to all those who contributed in any measure to the lessening of his labours. Especially does he wish to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Very Rev. Joseph Bruneau S. S. and the Rev. H. L. Brianceau S. S. for many valuable hints and their many kindnesses, as also to the Rev. Patrick Boylan M. A., Professor of Old Testament Science and Oriental Languages at Maynooth, for his services in preparing some portions of the manuscript for the press, and the author himself, M. Brassac, for reading the proofs.

The writer wishes also to express his appreciation for the care and diligence exercised by the publisher in carrying this work through the press.

St. Joseph's Manor, October, 1912.

BS
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Joseph Louis Weidenhan.

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Map: Palestine at the time of Christ.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE OBJECT OF THE GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

1. This general introduction embodies a certain number of questions, relating to the New Testament as a whole, whose solution shall be presupposed in the particular study of its separate books. It is divided into four articles:

- I. Notion, Contents, and Division of the N. T.
- II. The Originals of the N. T.
- III. The N. T. and Textual Criticism.
- IV. The N. T. and Rationalistic Criticism.

ART. I.

NOTION, CONTENTS, AND DIVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

2. **Notion.** In the language of the Bible, the word «testament», *διαθήκη*, generally has the meaning of «covenant». The Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 16), however, and most likely the Epistle to the Galatians (iii. 15) also, understand the word in its Greek form in a juridical sense, i. e. as an «expressed wish with regard to the disposal of one's property or the like, after death»¹.

Holy Scripture is marked by two main divisions, which have been called the Old and the New Testament. Each of these terms is taken in a twofold sense. In its restricted meaning, the O. T. is the covenant made by God with the Jews, through Moses, whereby He promised to give them the land of Chanaan and every degree of material

¹ The word *διαθήκη*, by which the LXX translated the word *ברית*, *berith*, bears the double meaning of covenant and of testament proper. The word *testament* has also this double meaning. It was probably under the influence of Heb. ix. 16, that the early Latin translators rendered *διαθήκη* by *testamentum* in preference to *foedus*. The Latin Fathers took the word in its proper sense. The use of the word in this meaning began in the middle of the 3. century, in the age of Tertullian (200): *Lact.*, Div. inst. IV, 20; *Migne*, P. L. VI, 514. In the 4. century, this meaning came more into use. This term was better adapted to the Sacred Books, inasmuch as they contain the provisions of the act, by which Jesus Christ bequeathed to mankind the benefits which He acquired by His death.

prosperity, on the condition that they would remain faithful to Him¹, whilst the N. T. is the promise made by Jesus Christ, the Son of God, to grant His grace, in this world, to those who would serve Him faithfully, and His glory, in the next, as a recompense for that service. By extension the former has come to mean the books, which contain the conditions and the history of the Jewish covenant, written before Christ's advent into the world; and the latter denotes the writings which embody the record of Christ's promise, written after His coming.

Contents. The N. T. is composed of 27 books, totalling 260 chapters. They are the work of at least eight inspired authors, of whom six were Apostles — Matthew, John, James, Jude, Peter, and Paul — and two — Mark and Luke — intimate companions and disciples of the Apostles². St. Paul did not write the Epistle to the Hebrews, but it can be said to be his in this sense, that it embodies his doctrine.

Among these 27 canonical books of the N. T., some are *proto*-canonical, whilst others are *deutero*-canonical. Those books or parts of books are called proto-canonical (*πρῶτος κανὼν*, first rule, and by derivation, first list of writings that formed the rule of faith and morals), whose inspiration was never called into question, and which always formed a part of the canon. The deutero-canonical books (*δεύτερος κανὼν*), on the contrary, are the books or parts of books whose inspiration has been the object of a certain amount of controversy, and which, in the early ages of Christianity, were not inserted in the canons of all the Churches³. There are seven deutero-canonical books in the N. T., namely: the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of St. James, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the Second and Third of St. John, the Epistle of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse. There are also three fragments about which some doubt was entertained: the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel (xvi. 9—20), the narrative of the bloody sweat of our Lord and the apparition of the angel during His agony (Lk. xxii. 43, 44), and lastly the episode of the woman taken in adultery (Jn. viii. 1—11).

These deutero-canonical sections of the Gospels shall be the object of special consideration in the study of the individual Gospels of which they form a part⁴. In regard to the books whose canonical character has been called into question, we may remark that these

¹ Deut. xix. 8; xxxiv. 4.

² St. Mark was the disciple of St. Peter, and St. Luke, of St. Paul.

³ For a brief history of the New Testament Canon see *Gigot*, General introduction, unabridged edition, 88 ff. The reader is also referred to *Westcott*, General survey of the history of the Canon of the New Testament⁷ (1896); *Reuss*, History of the Canon of Holy Scripture, Engl. transl.; and HDB., Art. New Testament Canon, by *V. H. Stanton*, III, 529 ff.

⁴ Cf. nos. 48, 49, 63, 106 ff. of this volume.

doubts affected only a relatively small portion of the N. T., and they can be easily explained by the fact that these books were not known until a late period, on account of the difficulty of communication in the early ages, and by the fact that certain Churches were not in a position to reach a decision in regard to the origin of many parts of the N. T., until a comparatively late date.

Division. In view of the general subject matter and literary form of the N. T., its books are divided into three great sections. We have, first, the *historical* books which comprise the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; secondly, the *didactic* or *doctrinal* books which include the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul and the seven so called Catholic Epistles; and lastly, the *prophetical* book, the Apocalypse.

ART. II.

THE ORIGINALS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

3. Writing in the Greek World in the first age of Christianity.

MATERIALS. The vehicles of literature in the early ages were various. The most common material employed was wood, made in the form of tablets

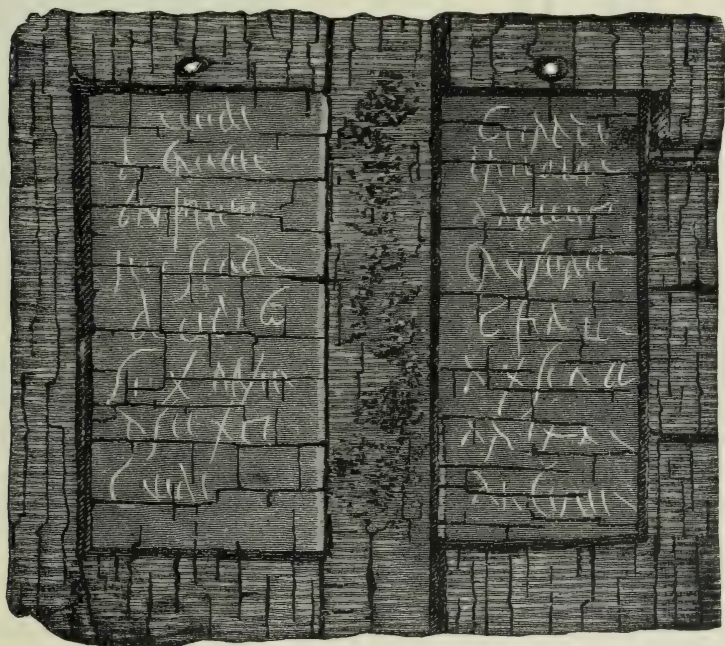


Fig. 1. Wax-tablet. Found in the house of L. Cæcilius Metellus in Pompeii.

(Fig. 1), and covered with wax; and the common implement for tracing characters on these tablets was a sharp, pointed, metallic instrument, called the stylus. It was probably this sort of tablet which is meant by the «writing table», upon which Zachary indicated by what name his son

should be known¹. Books and letters were ordinarily written on a kind of paper, manufactured from the pith of the stem of the papyrus plant (*Cyperus papyrus*)². The papyrus plant (πάπυρος) is a shrub which formerly grew in great abundance in the Delta of the Nile, and to-day flourishes in parts of Upper Egypt, in certain regions of Syria and Palestine, and in the Isle of Cyprus (Fig. 2). Besides the papyrus, the ancients made use of the skins of animals (ῥιφθέρα), and parchment (*membrana*)³. One

kind of skin deserves special mention. It was subjected to a special dressing in which great care was exercised. The skin was stretched and dried, the flesh removed from the under side, and the hair scraped off with pumice stone. It differs from the other brands of skins used in this that it was untanned. Its name leads to the belief that its use first originated in the city of Pergamum in Mysia. The characters were traced on both papyrus and parchment in black (μέλαν) ink, with a reed (χάλαμος)⁴ sharpened in the form of a goose-quill.

FORM OF BOOKS. The ancient books resembled, as their name in Hebrew and Latin (כְּתוּבָה, πῆχυς, *volvo*, *volumen*)⁵ would indicate, *rolls* (Fig. 3), to which the sheets of papyrus (Fig. 4) or of parchment were attached one upon the other. We find a clear reference to this in Lk. iv. 16—21, where Jesus, when he was invited in the synagogue of Nazareth, to read and explain the Scripture, «unrolled» the book. Because of their great bulk, and the inconvenience experienced in handling them, these rolls were replaced in the 4. century by large book-shaped texts quite similar to our present folios. It is in this form that the oldest MSS. have descended to us.

The Writing. The script, used on the early Greek monuments and for works of great value, was capital or «uncial» (*uncia*, Latin for *inch*, the 12. part of a foot), but for ordinary affairs the writing was *cursive*, connected like our own, and abounding in abbreviations and contractions. The

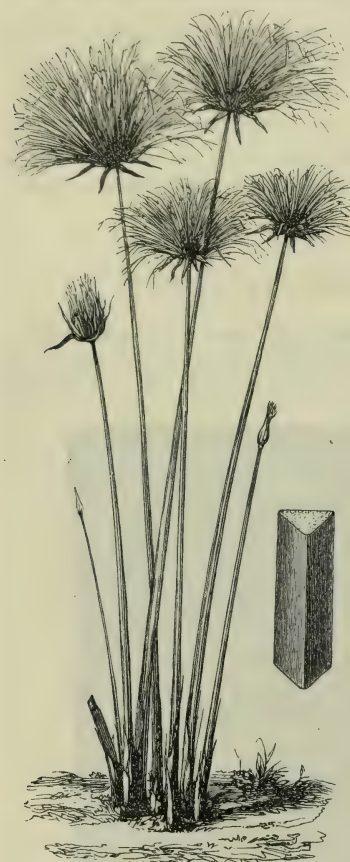


Fig. 2. Papyrus-shrub.
On the right a stalk-section.

words followed one upon the other, without interruption, without division, and without accent of any kind, a fact which rendered the reading difficult and the causes of error frequent.

It happened seldom that the ancient authors wrote their compositions with their own hand. As a rule, they dictated them to a secretary or

¹ Cf. Lk. i. 63.

² For a description of the method of manufacture cf. *Pliny*, *Historia naturalis* XIII, 21—27.

³ 2 Tim. iv. 13.

⁴ 3 Jn. 13.

⁵ *Gesenius*, *Thesaurus linguae hebraeae*: כְּתוּבָה, πῆχυς, p. 286 289.

amanuensis, who placed the written copy in the care of a «librarius», especially charged with the preparation of the text for publication. Eusebius informs us that Origen had seven amanuenses at his service, and just as many «librarii» and maidens, skilled in the art of writing¹.

4. Composition of the Original MSS. of the N. T. For the composition of their writings,

the sacred authors, in all probability, adapted themselves to the customs of the time and the country in which they lived. We know that St. Paul, as a rule, dictated his letters to a secretary, contenting himself with merely writing a salutation in his own hand. One of these secretaries, Tertius, who wrote the Epistle to the Romans, distinctly mentions himself as the writer². The Apostle, however, wrote the Epistle to Philemon with his own hand, and also, according to many, the Epistle to the Galatians; for in this letter he makes apology for his poor penmanship: «See in what huge characters I write to you with my own hand»³.

It is very probable that the originals of the N. T. were written on papyrus and not on parchment; for this material was far too expensive for the work. The words of St. Paul seem to be contradictory to this statement. He speaks of parchments which he had left at Troas⁴, but in all likelihood, he refers to texts of the O. T., which were jealously guarded by the Jews.

5. Disappearance of the N. T. Originals. The first copies of the sacred text disappeared at a very early date. This is borne out by the fact that we find the early Christian Apologists making no appeal to them



Fig. 3.
Papyrus roll.

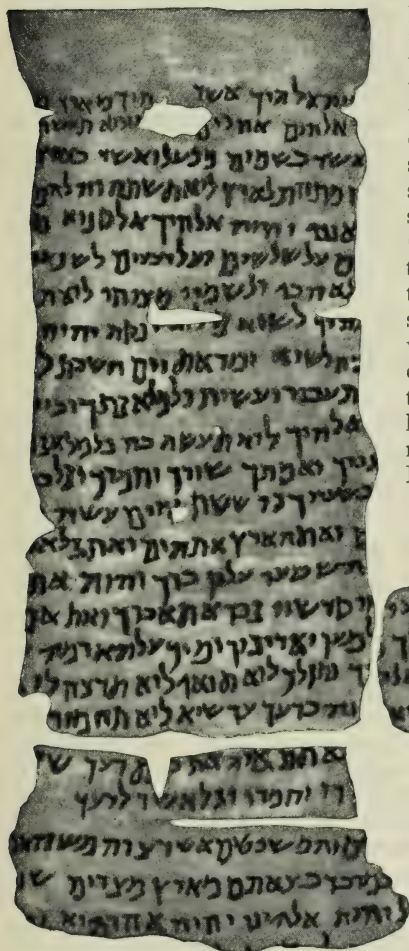


Fig. 4. Papyrus Nash⁵.
Example of Papyrus-sheet.

¹ *Eus.*, H. E. VI, 23; P. G. XX, 576.

² Rom. xvi. 22; cf. also 1 Cor. xvi. 21; 2 Thess. iii. 17; Col. iv. 18.

³ Gal. vi. 11; Phil. 19.

⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 13.

⁵ The Papyrus Nash, which is now preserved by the University Library of Cambridge (Ms. Or. 233), was presented in 1902 to the Society of Biblical Archaeology by its Secretary Mr. W. L. Nash (see *Peters*, Die älteste Abschrift der zehn Gebote. Freiburg 1905).

in their controversies with heretics, not even when disputing with Marcion, whom Tertullian brands as «the impostor who mutilated the Scriptures as with a knife»¹. This author, it is true, does make mention of the «authentic letters» of the Apostles which are read at Corinth, at Philippi, and at Thessalonica²; but these words may refer to a text free from corruption and do not designate necessarily the original of the Apostolic writings.

This early disappearance is easily explained if the originals were written on papyrus. This material was far too frail to withstand long exposure to the air and to dampness, and this, combined with the wear and tear entailed by the constant handling of copyists, helped much to its total destruction. Papyrus texts have been preserved in the monuments of the East, and some have been found in the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum. But these copies were well-protected and were not submitted to constant handling. According to St. Jerome, the library of Pamphila, which was written on papyrus, had to be renewed every hundred years³. It is likely, too, that by the edict of Diocletian, in 303 A. D., proclaiming the destruction of all Christian literature, many original texts of the N. T. were destroyed.

ART. III.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM⁴.

6. Object. We have seen that the original MSS. have been lost for a long time. Copies of them have been transmitted to us, but only after passing through a thousand hands. As a consequence mistakes were inevitable. It is «the object of Textual Criticism to recover the *ipsissima verba* of the documents of which the N. T. is composed, and to present them to modern readers as nearly as

¹ De praescr. XXXVIII: P. L. II, 52.

² Ib. XXXVI: P. L. II, 49.

³ Letter 34, 1: P. L. XXII, 448.

⁴ For a deeper and fuller study of this question the reader is referred to the following authorities: *Fr. Blass*, Philology of the Gospels, Engl. transl. London 1898; *F. C. Burkitt*, Two Lectures on the Gospels, London 1901; *G. L. Cary*, The Synoptic Gospels, New York 1900; *C. R. Gregory*, Prolegomena to Tischendorf (1884—1894); Canon and Text of the New Testament, New York 1909; *Hammond*, Outlines of Textual Criticism applied to the New Testament; *F. C. Kenyon*, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, London 1893; Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, London 1901; *P. Martin*, Introduction à la critique textuelle du N. T., Paris 1883; *Edward Miller*, A Textual Commentary on the Gospels (1899); The Textual Controversy and the Twentieth Century (1901); *J. O. F. Murray*, Textual Criticism of the N. T., in HDB., extra volume 208 ff.; *Eberhard Nestle*, The N. T. in the Original Greek, Engl. transl. London 1896; The Text of the N. T., in HDB. IV, 732; *Reuss*, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the N. T., Engl. transl.; *G. Salmon*, Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the N. T., London 1897; *William Sanday*, Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the N. T., New York 1910; *Scrivener*, A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T., London 1894; *E. M. Thompson*, Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography; *S. P. Tregelles*, An Account of the Printed Text of the N. T. (1854); *v. Soden*, Die Schriften des N. T., Berlin 1906; *Marvin Vincent*, History of the Textual Criticism of the N. T., London 1900; *Westcott and Hort*, The N. T. in the Original Greek (Introduction), London 1896.

possible in the form in which they left their authors' hands.»¹ Hence, we shall study successively the means employed in this reconstruction, the method pursued, and the results which textual criticism has acquired.

7. Means of Reconstruction. The means which the textual critic has at his disposal for this work, are three in number: the MSS., the ancient versions, and the writings of the Fathers.

MSS. in general. The MSS. are divided into two great classes, according to the form of the characters in which they were written: the *uncial* which are prior to the 11. century, and the *cursive* which are posterior to the 9. century. In order to facilitate the indication of references, the uncial MSS. are designated by capital letters taken from the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew alphabet: A, B, Δ, Σ...², and the cursives by Arabic numerals: 1, 2, 25, etc. In these MSS. the N. T. is divided into four parts, namely: the Gospels; the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles, the Epistles of St. Paul, and lastly the Apocalypse. The notation of the MSS. generally commences with each part, and hence it happens that the same letter or the same number can designate different MSS., and *vice versa* the same MS. can be designated by different letters and different numbers. For instance the letter B designates the celebrated *Codex Vaticanus*, and at the same time a MS. of the Apocalypse distinct from the *Vaticanus*.

In 1903, Kenyon counted 112 uncial MSS., in which were included the smaller fragments, and 2429 cursives³. This number is not at all fixed; for it is increasing each year, as the work of investigation goes on. To this number, Kenyon added 1273 lectionaries, both cursive and uncial, which contain the lessons of the N. T., usually read in the office of the Church. In 1909, Eberhard Nestle, with the aid of more complete lists, counted 127 uncials and 3702 cursives.

On the subject of the MSS. in general, it may be well to note the following brief remarks: «1. As uncial characters were employed down to the 10. or 11. century, and cursive letters began to come in use as early as the 9., it is not surprising to find that we have some cursive MSS. older than some uncial. 2. In general, the more upright, square and simple the uncial characters are, the

¹ J. O. F. Murray, Textual Criticism of the N. T., in HDB., extra volume 209.

² v. Soden and Gregory in their writings have proposed another system of indicating the MSS. Cf. *Revue biblique* (1904) 595, 596; (1909) 303—306. We have adhered to the old method, because it is better known.

³ Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts 101 102. *Scrivener* in his 4. edition of *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.* (1894) mentions 3791 MSS. These, however, do not form distinct writings; for some bear several numbers, as we have already indicated.

earlier is the writing; narrow, oblong, leaning, elaborate letters came in later. 3. The absence of letters larger than the rest is a sign of antiquity. 4. The antiquity of copies is also ascertained by means of the scarcity or the total absence of breathings, accents, and punctuation.»¹

8. Principal Uncial MSS. The CODEX VATICANUS (B, 4. cent.) is probably the oldest of them all, and is now found in the Vatican Library.

ΕΝΤΩΚΑΙΡΩΕΚΕΙΝΩ
ΛΕΓΩΝΔΙΑΚΟΥΕΤΕΑΝΑ
ΜΕΣΟΝΤΩΝΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ
ΥΜΩΝΚΑΙΚΡΕΙΝΑΤΕΔΙΚΥ
ΩΣΑΝΑΜΕΣΟΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΚΑΙΑΝΑΜΕΣΟΝΑΔΕΛΦΥ
ΚΑΙΑΝΑΜΕΣΟΝΠΡΟΣΧ
ΛΥΤΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΟΥΚΕΠΙ
ΓΝΩΣΗΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝΕΝ

Fig. 5. Codex Vaticanus. (Deut. i. 16 ff.)
Rome, Vatican Library.

It contains the whole N. T., with the exception of a part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles (1. and 2. Tim., and Tit.), and the Apocalypse. Besides it contains the LXX (Fig. 5).

The CODEX SINAITICUS (8, 4. cent.) receives its name from its having been found in a convent on Mt. Sinai, in 1859, by the German critic Tischendorf². It is now at St. Petersburg, and, with the N. T., includes the LXX, the Epistle of Barnabas, and a portion of the Shepherd of Hermas.

The CODEX ALEXANDRINUS (A, 5. cent.), which is now preserved in the British Museum, London (Fig. 6), was presented to King Charles I., by

ΚΑΙΙΩΑΝΝΗΝΗΝΚΑΙΑΝΑΦΕΡΕΙΝ
ΤΟΥΣΕΙΣΟΡΟΣΥΦΗΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΙ
ΜΟΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΜΕΤΕΛΙΟΡΦΩΘΗ
ΕΜΠΡΟΣΘΕΝΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΑΙ

Fig. 6. Codex Alexandrinus. London, British Museum.

Cyrillus Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople, who, at the time of its acquisition, was patriarch of Alexandria. It contains the N. T. almost in its entirety.

The CODEX REGIUS or CODEX EPHRAEMI RESCRIPTUS (C, 5. cent.) is a *palimpsest* (πάλιν, *new*, and ψάω, *to polish, to scrape*), that is a MS. from which the first writing has been erased. It receives its name Ephraemi from the fact that, after the erasure, the works of St. Ephrem were written on it. It is preserved in the National Library of Paris, and contains a third of the N. T.

The CODEX BEZAE (D, 6. cent.), presented by Beza in 1581 to the University of Cambridge, is Græco-Latin. It embodies the Gospels, the Acts, and a portion of the Catholic Epistles.

The CODEX CLAROMONTANUS (D², 6. cent.) is also Græco-Latin. It contains the Epistles of St. Paul, and is now at the National Library of Paris.

The CODEX LAUDIANUS (E², 6. cent.) belongs to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, to which it was presented by the unfortunate archbishop Laud in 1636. It is Græco-Latin and contains the Acts and the Catholic Epistles.

¹ F. E. Gigot, General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures 234.

² For Tischendorf's own account of his discovery see A General and Critical Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, by A. E. Breen, 448—451.

We might also mention, besides the foregoing, others of less importance. For the Gospels we have: the *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae* (F, 9. cent.), now in Utrecht; the *Codex Seidelianus* (H, 9. and 10. cents.), now in Hamburg; and the *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae* (E, 8. cent.) named from the town of Basle. For the Acts and the Catholic Epistles we may note: the *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae* (I, 7. cent.), now at St. Petersburg; and for the Epistles of St. Paul: the *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae* (E, 9. cent.), which is also at St. Petersburg¹.

In the ruins of Oxyrhynchus, in late years, «precious fragments of our canonical books (Mt. i., Jn. i. and fragments of xx., Rom. i. 1—7) have been discovered, which date back to a period somewhere between 200 and 300 A. D. As far as the quality of the text is concerned, we find that the small variants are not any greater than those of the uncial MSS. already known. Thanks to the discovery of the papyri, the diplomatic history of the N. T. has been traced to the 2. or beginning of the 3. century»².

In 1907, an American, Freer by name, gathered together many ancient uncial MSS., coming from Egypt. One, which apparently dates from the 4. to 6. century, contains the four Gospels, and another of the 5. century, embodies fragments of the Epistles³.

9. Ancient Versions. This set of writings furnishes the second means of reconstructing the original text of the N. T., inasmuch as they indicate the state of the text at the period in which they were formed. Their value can, from our point of view, surpass that of those MSS. with which they are contemporary, and they are tantamount to a public and official testimony; for they were occasionally used in the Churches which took great pains to be in possession of the exact texts of the Bible. It may be added that the critic cannot use them with much profit, until they are reconstructed in their primitive forms.

LATIN VERSIONS PRIOR TO THE VULGATE⁴. A long time did not elapse before the entire N. T. was translated into Latin. But before the time of St. Jerome it is not known whether there were many distinct versions of the Vulgate, or only one from which many recensions had been made. In any case, none of them are later than the year 150 A. D., as is proved by the numerous quotations of Tertullian (200), of St. Cyprian (250), by the testimony of St. Jerome who, in the 4. century, refers to one of the versions as *antiqua*, and of St. Augustine, in whose opinion the versions have strengthened the faith *primis fidei temporibus*⁵.

¹ For more ample details in regard to these MSS. see *A. E. Breen* l. c.; *F. E. Gigot* l. c. 241 f.; *J. F. Fenton*, in the Catholic Encyclopedia, art. Codex, IV, 80 f.; and *J. O. F. Murray*, in HDB., articles α (I, 1), A (I, 1), B (I, 209), C (I, 336) and D (I, 543).

² *Graffin-Nau*, Patrologia Orientalis 150. The fragments are cited on p. 141—150, and their fac-similes are given at the end of the book.

³ Cf. *Revue biblique* (July) 1908, 450—452.

⁴ See *F. E. Gigot* l. c. 307 f. Cf. also *Samuel Berger*, Histoire de la Vulgate, Paris 1893.

⁵ See *Aug.*, De doctrina christ. II, 11, 16: P. L. XXXIV, 43.

The MSS. of these versions are indicated by small letters. The principal are: the *Codex Vercellensis* (a, 4. cent.), the *Codex Veronensis* (a, 4. to 5. cent.), the *Codex Palatinus* (e, 5. cent.), the *Codex Bobiensis* (k, 4. to 5. cent.), the *Codex Corbiensis* (ff, 4. cent.), the *Codex Claromontanus* (d², 6. cent.) which is a Latin version of the Græco-Latin Codex D, the *Codex Bezae* (d¹, 6. cent.), the *Codex Laudianus* (e², 6. cent.), the *Codex Brixianus* (f¹, 6. cent.), and the *Codex Monacensis* (q, 5. to 6. cent.)¹.

The VULGATE², the most remarkable of the ancient versions, is a revision of the ancient Latin versions of the N. T., made by St. Jerome from the original, towards the end of the 4. century.

The most ancient MSS. are the *Codex Amiatinus* (am, 6. to 8. cent.), the *Codex Fuldensis* (fuld, 6. cent.), the *Codex Foroiulensis* (for, 6. to 7. cent.), the *Codex Cavensis* (cav, 6. to 9. cent.), and the *Codex Toletanus* (tol, 8. cent.).

10. The SYRIAC VERSIONS³. Of all the Syriac versions the most celebrated is the *Peshitto* which, in its original form, contained the whole N. T., with the exception of the Epistle of St. Jude, the Second and Third of St. John, the Second of St. Peter, and the Apocalypse. Under this heading must be included the «Curetonian», discovered in the 19. century by the English scholar Cureton⁴, and the «Sinaitic Palimpsest» discovered in 1892, on Mt. Sinai, by two English ladies, Mrs. Lewis and her sister⁵. These three versions are clearly related, yet it is quite impossible to determine with any certainty their dependence and the order in which they appeared. All of them are traced to the middle of the 2. century.

The PHILOXENIAN and the HARKLEAN appeared later. The first was begun in 508, by the order of Philoxenus, bishop of Mabbogh. The Harklean, which is a revision of the Philoxenian, was made in 616, by Thomas of Harkel, bishop of Mabbogh.

OTHER ANCIENT VERSIONS. The most useful versions for textual criticism are the Egyptian or Coptic, which date from the 2. or 3. century, and which are written in five dialects: the Bohairic, the Sahidic, the Fayoumic, the Middle Egyptian, and the Akhminic⁶; the Gothic Version of the 4. century, the Ethiopic Version of the same century, and the Armenian of the 5. century⁷.

¹ Cf. *Revue biblique* (1896) 138; also (1908) 608.

² See *F. E. Gigot*, *A General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures* 314 f. Also art. *Vulgate*, in *HDB.*, by *H. J. White*, IV, 873.

³ See *Kenyon*, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* 74; *Scrivener*, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.* II, 5 f.; and *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism* by *S. Davidson*. Also art. *Syriac Versions*, in *HDB.*, by *E. Nestle*, IV, 645.

⁴ Remains of a very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, discovered, edited and translated by *W. Cureton*, London 1858.

⁵ *A. S. Lewis*, *The old Syriac Gospels*, London 1910.

⁶ See *A. E. Breen* l. c. 508 f. Also *Forbes Robinson*, in *HDB.*, art. *Egyptian Versions*, I, 668.

⁷ Cf. *HDB.*, arts. *Versions (Gothic)*, by *L. J. M. Bebb*, IV, 861; *Ethiopic Versions*, by *R. H. Charles*, I, 741; *Armenian Versions*, by *F. C. Conybeare*, I, 153.

11. The Fathers. The word is taken here in its widest meaning, and embraces all the ancient ecclesiastical writers who lived before the 7. or 8. century. Although their writings are partly lost, there are no less than 200 authors living before the 4. century, known to us by their writings. Their quotations from the Sacred Scripture are abundant, and these can be utilized in the reconstruction of the original text. The use of the Fathers for this work is fraught with great difficulties for four reasons: 1. The Fathers laid more stress on the ideas expressed by the words than on the words themselves; hence they do not always quote Sacred Scripture literally, for often the same passage is found in their works under different forms. 2. They were too fond of uniting parallel passages. 3. Their work in many cases exists only in translations. 4. Their editors, both ancient and modern, looking upon divergent quotations as the result of negligence, rectified them according to the text most used in the country where the editions were made.

However, the citations of the Fathers generally embody the *sense* of Sacred Scripture. When it can be proved that they have come down to us in their literal form and wholly intact, we can ascribe to them the value of a contemporary manuscript. And if all the ancient Fathers are favourable to one reading, it is difficult to call its authenticity into question.

12. The Method of Reconstruction. We have seen that the MSS., the versions, and the quotations of the Fathers are the means available for the reconstruction of the Sacred Text, and we now proceed to show what methods critics have followed in making use of them.

Collection of Variants. It is chiefly within the last two hundred years that a great number of scholars of England and Germany have devoted their energies to the collection of the variants found in the MSS., the Versions, and the Fathers. This science has progressed rapidly since the publication of a critical edition, by the English scholar Hugh Mill, in 1707. There still remains, however, a large number of cursive MSS. and lectionaries to be studied, and the oldest Versions and the quotations of the Fathers of the first two centuries to be determined. When this work is done, we shall have a text anterior to the existing MSS., since the most important are not prior to the 4. century.

The critics most noted in this study are: Mill († 1707)¹, professor of Oxford, who discovered more than 30000 variants in the N. T.; Bengel († 1752)²; Griesbach († 1812), whose N. T. in Greek was made from

¹ N. T. Graecum cum lectionibus variantibus, Oxford 1707.

² N. T. Graece cum apparatu critico, Tübingae 1734.

more than 200 MSS.¹; Scholtz (Catholic) of Breslau († 1853), who published another Greek text drawn from a goodly number of MSS. not studied before, but which had the fault of being too favourable to MSS. relatively late in date and Byzantine in origin²; Lachmann († 1851)³; Tregelles († 1875)⁴; Tischendorf († 1874)⁵, whose N. T. is preceded by a scholarly introduction and accompanied by critical notes; Westcott († 1892) and Hort († 1907)⁶; Weymouth⁷; B. Weiss⁸; Blass († 1907)⁹; Hilgenfeld¹⁰; Nestle¹¹; Wordsworth and White¹²; von Soden¹³; Brandscheid¹⁴ (Catholic); G. R. Gregory.

Discussion of the Variants. Once the variants have been gathered, critics examine them in order to reconstruct the original text. There are chiefly two methods employed.

The first is called the method of «**genealogy**», and consists in classing the witnesses in families, examining the value of each, and eliminating the less perfect, in order to obtain those that possess a purer text.

In view of the classification adopted by Westcott and Hort, the texts are divided into four types:

The first is the *Syrian* text, originating apparently in Syria, which is found principally in the Syrian Fathers, in a large majority of the Greek Fathers of the time of St. John Chrysostom, and is represented by a large number of cursive MSS. and also by the «*Textus receptus*» (vide infra). It was the most prevalent of all the texts in the Middle Ages.

The *Western* text is so called because it is found principally, though not exclusively, in the Græco-Latin MSS., especially in the *Codex Bezae*, in the ancient Latin versions and in the citations of the Latin Fathers. In close relation with it are the Syriac Versions of Cureton and Mrs. Lewis, and the quotations of St. Justin, Tatian, Marcion, and St. Irenæus. A comparison with our critical editions reveals the tendency of the copyists to handle the text freely. It contains additions of traditional details in a greater or less quantity, it has rejected certain expressions almost arbitrarily, and has even inserted in one Gospel passages which really belong to another¹⁵. Had the copyists of other countries exercised the same liberty with the texts before them, all hope of reconstructing a reliable text of the N. T. would have to be abandoned.

The *Alexandrian* text (3., 4., 5. cent.) originated in Alexandria. Its variants are not so numerous, nor are they important. Its leading cha-

¹ 3 vols. Halle 1874, 1875, 1877. ² 2 vols. Leipsic 1831, 1835, 1838.

³ 2 vols. Berlin 1831. ⁴ The Greek Text (1857—1860).

⁵ Editio critica maior and Editio critica minor (1858).

⁶ The N. T. in the Original Greek, London 1898.

⁷ The Resultant Greek Testament, ib. 1892.

⁸ Das N. T. (1894); Die paulin. Briefe (1896); Texte-Kritik der Evangelien (1899).

⁹ Acta Apostolorum (1895); Evangelium secundum Lucam (1899); Evangelium secundum Matthaeum (1900); Evangelium secundum Iohannem (1902).

¹⁰ Acta Apostolorum Graece et Latine secundum antiquissimos testes (1899).

¹¹ N. T. Graece cum apparatu critico, Stuttgart 1904.

¹² Quatuor Evangelia (1889—1898); Actus Apostolorum (1905).

¹³ Die Schriften des N. T., Berlin 1906.

¹⁴ N. T. Graece et Latine, Freiburg 1907.

¹⁵ See Codex Bezae, in *Nestle's Novi Testamenti Supplementum*.

racteristic consists in modifying the grammatical construction and in correcting proper names, v. g. Bethabara, Gergesinians, Jesus Barabbas.

The fourth type is the *Neutral* text which, free from the alterations of the Western and Alexandrian texts, is found in the Egyptian Versions and in the ecclesiastical writers of the Alexandrian school from the time of Clement of Alexandria down to the time of St. Cyril.

These four groups existed simultaneously for a certain time, and one influenced the other, at least until the middle of the 4. century. The task of textual criticism is to study these four types, and from their examination to determine the true text. The fact that isolated MSS., or even groups of MSS., are representative of each of these types, simplifies matters considerably, and hence the genealogical arrangement of the text is made possible. Thus it is that B and κ belong, at least in their substance, to the Neutral group, although the former contains the Western readings in the Epistles of St. Paul, and the latter embodies both an Alexandrian and Western element.

The Syrian text is of a comparatively late date, for its readings are generally a combination of the Western and Alexandrian texts. As a consequence it is of little value to the textual critic, and little consideration is paid to it, since the other texts afford us its constituent elements. The ultimate success of textual criticism lies in an examination of the other three types. The Western and Alexandrian texts are full of alterations which must first be eliminated, in order to get at the Neutral text which in most instances contains the original reading. We say «in most instances», for the other two groups are descended from documents of such high antiquity, that in not a few texts their reading must be taken as the original.

This rapid method, introduced and made famous by Westcott and Hort, has failed, in the opinion of scholars in a position to know (Scrivener, Martin, Godet), in producing the purest text of the N. T. In part the method is correct, and the labours of these two scholars has benefited textual critics¹ by setting them on the right way of solution. It is difficult to establish the genealogy of the texts, as is well witnessed by the divergence which exists among critics in regard to their classification. Tischendorf² distinguishes two families: the Alexandrian and the Byzantine, whereas Griesbach admits three: the Alexandrian, the Byzantine, and the Western, and Westcott and Hort recognize four groups: the Syrian, the Western, the Alexandrian, and a fourth called the Neutral³, as we have described above.

The other method, which may be called the method of **individual examination**, takes each case separately, and examines it in the light of the following principles:

The antiquity of a MS. does not necessarily make it of more critical value than a later MS., since it might have happened, and has happened, that the later MS. may be a copy of critical texts.

¹ See *Scrivener*, A plain Introduction II, 275 f.; *Kenyon*, Our Bible 106 f.

² N. T. Graece I, p. LXIII, LXIV.

³ The N. T., Introduction, 119—134.

A reading which has in its favour the moral consensus of the texts, must be accepted as the true one, since it is very unlikely that all can be in error.

In the case of disagreement, the reading which has in its favour «the most witnesses, of a greater variety, the least suspected of connivance, and consequently the most diverse in regard to time, to place, to country, to language and to tendency», in a word, one that is more in conformity with the genius of the author or custom of the time in which the work was composed, must be given the preference over any other.

In general, the reading which is the briefer should be preferred to the longer, especially when there is question of quotations borrowed from the O. T.

The more difficult should be adopted over the clearer; for the ancient copyists were more tempted to amplify than to abridge, and to go into explanation, rather than leave an obscure text intact¹.

13. Results acquired by Textual Criticism. — **Number of Variants and Value of the Reconstructed Text.** Hugh Mill had as early as the 17. century pointed out 30.000 variants. To-day the number cannot be ascertained with exactness. It may be safely said, however, that the total number exceeds 120.000, and this number is being augmented daily, as the work of discovery and consulting new documents goes on. Though the number be large, this fact need not be the cause of concern. Only a comparatively small number are of any great importance, as we shall see further on, and the great majority are valueless, being merely «lapsus calami» or «lapsus memoriae», or blunders committed in copying, or mistakes made in punctuation. Taking all in all, the whole number of variants, which can be really classed as important, forms only a thousandth part of the N. T., if we do not count the deutero-canonical passages.

Still another consequence follows, and that is, that some texts cannot be brought with the same force as heretofore in defence of certain theses. Dogmatic and moral teaching suffer no great damage from this, since the doctrine embodied in passages of a doubtful nature is found in more explicit terms in other passages of Scripture. Despite the great number of variants, the original text can be reconstructed with a reasonable amount of certainty, if not in details, at least in substance. Textual criticism has not obtained a like result for any prose work of classical antiquity.

¹ Cf. *Scrivener*, A Plain Introduction II, 244 f. Also *Westcott and Hort*, The N. T., Introd., 19 f. For examples of this see nos. 49, 63, 107, 108, 158 of this volume.

Important Variants. The most important variants are those which concern the deuterocanonical fragments of the N. T. They are: the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel (xvi. 9—20), the bloody sweat of our Lord and the apparition of the angel during His agony (Lk. xxii. 43, 44), and the history of the woman taken in adultery (Jn. viii. 1—11). Besides these we have others which have affected other passages. The principal are: the command to baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost (Mt. xxviii. 19); the author of the *Magnificat* (Lk. i. 46); the doxology: «Christus qui est super omnia Deus» (Rom. ix. 5); and the famous verse of the three heavenly witnesses (1 Jn. v. 7). The authenticity of each of these passages will be discussed later on¹.

Causes of Variants. A brief survey of the mode of writing in vogue in the early ages affords an easy explanation of the existence of a large number of variants. The texts were written with the words following one upon the other, with no intervening space to distinguish them, absolutely unpunctuated and unaccented, and full of *lincola*, used to designate certain words in an abbreviated form. Add to this the fact that for five centuries these texts, defective as they must appear from our point of view, were left to the mercy of copyists, some skilled, some unskilled, who reproduced the MSS. directly, or wrote under the dictation of another, and the wonder is that our variants are not double in their present number.

Very often, and it might be said, in most cases, these variants were caused unwittingly by the copyist, whose intention was far from altering the text in the least particular. Sometimes the scribe has mistaken one word for another, v. g. copying *μνῆαις* remembrances, instead of *χρείαις* necessities. Again, the copyist writing under dictation has fallen into error «ex ore dictantis», v. g. mistaking *νένη* see, for *καινῶ* new. «Lapsus memoriae» even on the part of a writer who read and understood well enough what was before him, often caused the omission of a word, or change of place in a sentence, or even its substitution by a synonym. Finally, scribes took it upon themselves sometimes to do some original work of their own, and the effect was to produce a wrong separation of words, thereby cutting up certain phrases in such a way as to give a contrary meaning etc. All this is well attested by Origen: «The difference in MSS. has now become really great, both from the carelessness of copyists and also from the arbitrary conduct of those to whom is entrusted the correction of the copies; and further from emendations, additions, and omissions, made by many according to their own judgment.»²

Apart from these unconscious causes of error, there are others which were produced by design of their authors. These were the outcome of dogmatic beliefs. In this respect both heretics and the orthodox were active. Heretics altered the text in the interest of their peculiar belief, whilst the orthodox suppressed all texts which they thought were incompatible with the dignity of Jesus Christ, for instance the word *ἐκλαυσε*

¹ Cf. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew by *W. C. Allen* 306; A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark by *E. P. Gould* 301; A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke by *Alfred Plummer* 544; A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans by *William Sanday* 233. All these are in the International Critical Commentary. Besides see Life of Christ by *F. W. Farrar* 404; Caesarem appello, a Letter to Dr. Kennedy, by *E. H. Gifford* D. D., Cambridge 1883; Das Comma Iohanneum, by *E. Künstle*, Freiburg 1905.

² Commentary on Mt. xix. 19.

(Lk. xix. 41). These variants, however, are not so numerous, and are easily corrected. Other alterations in the text are due to the exegetical pre-occupations of the copyist, who endeavoured to correct an obscure text into a clearer meaning, or who rashly righted fancied inaccuracies¹, softened solecisms and barbarisms, and even completed a passage by parallel passages.²

The «**Textus receptus**»³. ORIGIN AND SOURCES. The «Textus receptus» is a Greek edition of the N. T., which is none other than the third edition of Robert Stephen, reprinted at Leyden, by the Elzevirs, in 1624, with the aid of corrections made by Beza. In 1516, Erasmus had published his Greek N. T. at Basle, using for this work six MSS., of which only one was ancient and bore any value. This edition was reprinted many times and slightly improved. In the interval, the entire Bible appeared at Complutum or Alcalá (1521), edited by the order of Cardinal Ximenes⁴. Robert Stephen, in 1550, reproduced the third edition of Erasmus, which he corrected by the Complutensian Text and by fifteen MSS. comparatively late in date, now, as then, preserved in the Library of Paris. The following year, 1551, he reprinted this edition and divided the text into verses. From 1561 to 1611 Beza published several texts. Beza's work, together with a revision of the third edition of Robert Stephen, was put out in a separate edition by the Elzevir brothers in 1624. The success of this edition was such that in the preface of the second, in 1633, the editors qualified it as «Textus ab omnibus receptus», a title which it has retained and which is even accorded it by those who charge it with imperfections.

VALUE. There are some critics who grant a real critical value to the «Textus receptus», because it departs little from the text of the present Greek Churches, not differing at all from that of St. John Chrysostom and the other Greek Fathers of the 4. century. Others, and by far the greater number, observe rightly that this text can bear with it no authority, because only a few recent MSS. were utilized in its formation, and because its authors failed to employ the oldest versions and the Fathers of the first ages, whose authority, as far as this question is concerned, is weighty.

The **Novum Testamentum Graece, of Nestle**. This German critic tells us in the preface of his book, that he arrived at his text, by utilizing the most important editions of the N. T. in existence, namely, that of Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort, B. Weiss, and Weymouth. When the first three critics agree on a reading, Nestle inserts it in the text and places in a note the reading of Weymouth. He has added also in footnotes variants drawn from the manuscripts, from the ancient versions, and even from the Fathers.

This edition, which has met with considerable success, contains the text which, at the present time, appears to enjoy the greatest probability of being the best yet edited. However, it must be observed that the solution adopted by Nestle, regarding the deuterocanonical passages, is open to question. Furthermore, no definite edition of the N. T. can be obtained as long as critics refrain from making the Western text, the citations of the Fathers of the first centuries, and the oldest versions, the object of a study more deep than they have heretofore received.

¹ v. g. ἐν βῆθαβαρᾶ, for ἐν βῆθανιά.

² Cf. *Scrivener*, A plain Introduction I, 1—18; *Cornely*, Introd. I, 290—295.

³ For ampler details see *Gigot*, General Introd. 249 f.

⁴ Cf. *Scrivener* I. c. II, 176—195.

We cannot conclude this branch of our subject better than in the words of Lias: «If, on the one hand, we are forced to confess that the labours of scholars present us only with successive approximations to a result the absolute attainment of which is impossible; on the other, we may congratulate ourselves on the fact, on which all competent scholars are agreed, that in our incapacity to construct an absolutely perfect text our loss is practically infinitesimal, for that no important principle of the Christian religion is compromised or perilled thereby.»¹

ART. IV.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND RATIONALISTIC CRITICISM².

14. For centuries, millions of intelligent beings looked upon the Bible with respect and reverence. For ages it was considered THE BOOK, with history, prophecy and moral teachings, doubly sacred because God spoke to mankind from its pages. Isolated attacks had been made upon its credibility by Celsus, Porphyry and Julian the Apostate, in a last effort to gain a hearing for pagan philosophy. Unproductive in result they were forgotten in the eager effort made on all sides to make God's message to mankind known and loved everywhere. With the dawn of the Reformation came a reaction. Private interpretation led, as it was in its nature bound to lead, to a free handling of the Sacred Text. Gradually this liberty in examining the Bible crystallized, until in the last half of the 18. century that movement was born, which to-day has increased rather than diminished, known as Biblical Rationalism. Its progress has become so marked, and its attacks so persistent, that in the interest of truth, they cannot be set aside as those of former times were, but must be examined and their underlying errors refuted. For this work, a brief exposition of the fundamental principle of rationalistic exegesis, together with a sketch of the leading systems which have been proposed in explanation of the N. T., will be given.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF RATIONALISM.

As their name indicates, Rationalists admit only those truths which can be proved by reason, or in other words by natural facts, and hence they deny a divinely-given revelation, and disallow the authority of the Church. They scoff at the idea of the supernatural, and uncompromisingly reject the existence of grace, of

¹ *J. J. Lias*, Principles of Biblical Criticism 211.

² *Cornely*, Introd. I, 712; *Lias* l. c.; *Harper*, The Bible and Modern Discoveries; *Rose*, Studies on the Gospels; Supernatural Religion (anonymous); *Lightfoot*, Answer to Supernatural Religion; *Godet*, Introduction to the N. T.; *Strauss*, Life of Jesus; *Renan*, Life of Jesus; *Blass*, Philology of the Gospels; *Loisy*, The Gospel and the Church; *Quelques lettres* 61, 235; *Simplex réflexions* 150; *Harnack*, What is Christianity; *Durand*, The Childhood of Jesus; *Lépin*, Christ and the Gospel.

miracles, of a divine revelation, and Biblical inspiration. For them the Bible is in no sense inspired. Human hands produced it, and consequently it is a book in which truth and error are freely intermingled.

Renan (1823—1892) wrote in the preface of his famous book, «Vie de Jésus»: «Until a new order of things prevails, we shall maintain the principle of historical criticism — that a supernatural account cannot be admitted as such, that it always implies the incredible or imposture»¹. And in the same measure Loisy writes: «Neither in the world, nor in history, has God ever intervened as an individual who would, from time to time, capriciously interrupt the 'nexus' of natural and human phenomena. The idea of such an intervention seems philosophically inconceivable.»²

Criticism. It is not within the province of this work to enter into proofs of the possibility and the existence of miracles³. Our remarks shall be confined to the following observations:

1. In general terms a miracle may be defined as a sensible fact, which in its very nature or in the circumstances that surround it, cannot be produced by a creature, or by the combined action of creatures left to their own natural resources. Such a fact would be, for instance, the resurrection of the dead, or the immediate healing of a broken limb. But once it be granted that God exists, that He is the Creator of all things and a Being personally distinct from the world — and this can be proved — it must follow necessarily that as such He can suspend the laws which He Himself has imposed upon nature and her forces.

2. As a sensible fact, a miracle is as easy to establish as natural facts. Even though all the energies of nature are not known, still in a special given case it can be seen that the forces put into play are out of proportion to the effect produced. Keeping this in mind, it is impossible to claim that among all the miracles history affords us, and those which the Church submits to a critical examination in her processes of beatification and canonization, there is not one real miracle in the sense defined above. To argue otherwise would lead to the absurd admission that history possesses no real value. History embodies supernatural as well as natural facts. The former stand or fall with the latter. Deny the existence of miracles: and a denial of the existence of all natural occurrences must follow. And

¹ Introduction: Life of Jesus¹³ (Transl.) 62.

² *Simplex réflexions* 150.

³ For this cf. Bishop Hay, *On Miracles*, 2 vols.; Card. Newman, *Essay on Miracles*; Catholic Truth Society vol. XVI; Schanz, *A Christian Apology* II, c. 10; Walworth, *A Gentle Skeptic* c. 15; Hettinger, *Revealed Religion* c. 3; Chatard, *Occasional Essays*, Essay 16; Hunter, *Outlines of Dogmatic Theology* I, treatise I, c. 2; The Irish Ecclesiastical Record, August 1897.

«a pari», admit the one: and the other must be granted likewise. If, from all the miraculous events which have come to our knowledge, we can prove the existence of *one* only, we shall show that in its underlying principle Rationalism is false.

3. Most of the Rationalistic critics, whose notions on philosophy are known to us, deny the existence of miracles because they deny the existence of God, or identify Him, as Renan and Loisy, with the Universe¹. Others, admitting the existence of a Deity, reject miracles because they wrongly insist on the absolute immutability of the laws of nature. To this class belong the Unitarians².

II. THE VARIOUS SYSTEMS OF BIBLICAL RATIONALISM.

A. THE SYSTEM OF ACCOMMODATION.

15. The German critic Semler (1721—1791) was the founder of this system. According to him, Jesus and His Apostles were not ordinary impostors, but accommodated themselves to the ideas of their time and country. The Jews expected a Messiah, Jesus palmed Himself off as such, and left the people under the impression that His natural cures were miracles.

These statements are absolutely without foundation. They are totally out of harmony with the integrity, the nobility and the sanctity of Jesus, and they can find no agreement with the zeal and disinterestedness which so actuated the Apostles, that all of them were put to death in attestation of the truth of the religion which they preached.

B. NATURALISM.

The adherents of this system explain the miracles of Scripture as natural facts, which owe their miraculous character to the wrong conception of the sacred authors and commentators. They are related in an incomplete fashion, or amplified in a language, figurative, poetic, and Oriental. Eichhorn (1752—1827) applied this method to the O. T.; *Paulus* (1761—1851), professor of the University of Jena, adopted it in explaining the N. T. According to the latter, for example, the angels of the Nativity narrative were nothing but will-o'-the wisps, apt to deceive any one, or they were passers-by who were illuminated by the light of their own torches. The man who was blind from

¹ *Loisy*, Quelques lettres 47, 48, 149, 150.

² Unitarianism looks to the natural operation of the human mind for truth, and holds itself in sympathy with all sincere thought, and in readiness for new revelations. Nor does it believe that God must break the laws of Nature to make Himself known. On the contrary, it is in those laws that He is best seen. The real miracle is the order and harmony of the whole, not the disturbance of any part; and the way to a deeper knowledge of God lies not in being startled now and then by some exceptional thing, but by studying reverently and patiently the world as it is (*W. H. Lyon*, A Study of the Sects 171).

his birth was not healed by a miracle, but either by a salve or the medicinal power of the waters of the brook of Siloe. The subjects of the Gospel resurrections were not really dead, but merely lay in a state of coma or lethargy.

Many Rationalists have refused to accept these conclusions of Paulus, looking upon them as baseless exaggerations. «The Rationalists of the school of Paulus have accumulated these platitudes, under the pretext of explaining away the miraculous», is the criticism passed on this system by A. Réville¹. In fact, the Gospel narrative with its cool positiveness and impersonal tone betrays no unwonted enthusiasm in the recording of the miracles, nor does it lead to the suspicion that this was in a sense the main pre-occupation of the narrators. To even infer as much would be to totally disregard the exigencies of the context, and defy all the rules of grammar.

C. MYTHISM.

16. David Friedrich Strauss (1808—1874), professor of Protestant theology in the University of Tübingen, is the author of this system which he gave to the world in his famous «*Leben Jesu*», published in 1835. Fully recognizing that the theories of imposture or accommodation were incompatible with the simplicity, the naive candour and the sincerity portrayed by the sacred writers, and that the system of Naturalism did violence to the text in its attempt at an explanation, he essayed to eliminate the miraculous element of the N. T. by another means. With this object in view he rejected the traditional dates, and assigned the composition of the N. T., especially the Gospels, to an indefinite time somewhere in the 2. century. Between this date and the death of Christ he placed the gradual formation of the legends or myths which are embodied in the N. T. For him the N. T. does not possess history in the true sense of the word, its character being wholly mythical. It was due to this conception that his system began to be called Mythism.

According to him, a **myth in general** is «the representation of an event or of an idea in a form which is historical, but at the same time characterized by the rich pictorial and imaginative mode of thought and expression of the primitive ages»². He admits three kinds of myths: «*historical myths*, i. e. narratives of real events coloured by the light of antiquity, which confounded the divine and the human, the natural and the supernatural». In the Bible such a myth would be the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha, which explains a purely natural cataclysm as a chastisement from heaven. Secondly, there are *philosophical myths*, «such as clothe in the garb

¹ Jésus de Nazareth II, 67.

² Life of Christ, Engl. Transl. by *George Eliot* 53.

of the historical a simple thought, a precept, or an idea of the time». Thus the sole purpose of the legend of Prometheus stealing fire from heaven was to explain the origin of fire on earth. Thirdly, there are *poetical myths*, «in which the original fact or idea is almost obscured by the veil which the fancy of the poet has woven around it», as the vision of the seraphim in Isaias¹.

A myth can be the creation of an individual, but is ordinarily a spontaneous, collective, anonymous creation, the product of the native fiction of the early ages. «Some one speaks the word, a thousand repeat it, perfect it and give point to it; even the one who has spoken it, has been, when he spoke it, the mere interpreter of all. All this is the work of that grand impostor which men call the multitude.» A myth differs from a fable in this, that it is taken in all seriousness by the whole world and becomes a belief or religious tradition in the very place in which it originated.

«**The evangelical myth** is a narrative relating directly or indirectly to Jesus, which may not be considered as the expression of a fact, but as the product of an idea of His earliest followers, such a narrative being mythical in proportion as it exhibits this characteristic. The myth in this sense of the term meets us in the Gospel, as elsewhere, sometimes in its pure form, constituting the substance of the narrative, and sometimes as an accidental adjunct to the actual history.»² There are two principal marks by which a myth may be determined: if a narrative embodies the miraculous, or if it is in conformity with the pre-occupations of the age in which it was written, it must be set down as mythical.

After His death, our Lord was transfigured and glorified by legend; for «death adds perfection to the most perfect man, it frees him from all defect in the eyes of those who have loved him»³. This legendary character was traced on the lines marked down by the so-called prophecies of the O. T.; for the Messianic hope created the Jesus of the Gospels. The writers and believers were convinced that the Messiah ought to do such and such, and it was but a step to the conclusion that Jesus, who was the Messiah, did do such a thing⁴. They supposed that the water at the marriage feast in Cana was changed into wine, just as the water of the Nile was changed into blood. The idea of the Resurrection was suggested to the Apostles by their Messianic beliefs. It was not long before their imagination, under the stress of exalted feeling, strove to attribute the extraordinary to Jesus, and it invented the circumstances of this miracle.

¹ Ib. ² Ib. 86.

³ Renan, *Life of Jesus*¹³ (Transl.) 58.

⁴ Renan argued the same way; see his *Life of Jesus* 61.

Criticism. 1. In his work, Strauss rightly lays stress on one principle especially in regard to the credibility of the events in the Gospel, when he writes: «It would unquestionably be an argument of decisive weight in favour of the Biblical narrative, could it indeed be shown that it was written by eye-witnesses or even by persons nearly contemporaneous with the events narrated.»¹ But this is just precisely the point that can be proved. As we shall demonstrate further on, the first three Gospels were written within forty years after the events they narrate, and the fourth, even though its date be as late as the end of the 1. century, has an eye-witness for its author.

2. According to the definition given by Strauss, a myth ought to bear upon its face the impress of the people and the nation most concerned in its creation. As such, the Gospels are not an embodiment of myths. Instead of concurring with the Jewish beliefs prevalent in the early ages, they are in direct opposition to them on many points. The Jews fully expected a temporal kingdom², and Jesus founded a spiritual kingdom. The Jews believed that the Mosaic Law was inviolable, and Jesus, from their point of view at least, deliberately broke the Sabbath. If the mythical idea has failed in its application to these and other details, there is no reason to suppose that it bore any influence on the rest of the Gospel narrative.

3. The dogma of the Resurrection of Jesus, in particular, was incapable of a mythical origin; for we find St. Peter, on the day of Pentecost, a few weeks after the Passion — before the myth could have shaped itself — making this fact the keystone of his preaching³. And if it be objected that this discourse is an invention of St. Luke, we reply that this assertion is merely gratuitous, and is refuted by St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, whose authenticity is «uncontested and incontestible». In one short sentence the Apostle stakes the whole future of Christianity on this dogma: «If Christ be not risen again, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.»⁴

4. The foundation and propagation of Christianity finds no explanation in the mythical system of Strauss. The belief in Christ and His doctrines could not have been implanted in the hearts of the Apostles and the early believers, nor could it have overcome the prejudices of the old polity, unless the Person of Jesus transcended all human character in a singular manner, presenting an individuality as marked, and a character as profoundly original and divine, as depicted in our Gospels.

¹ *Renan*, *Life of Jesus* 69. ² Acts i. 6; cf. also nos. 87 and 142 of this volume.

³ Acts ii. 23. ⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 14.

5. Strauss' whole work is influenced by his philosophical pre-occupations which show a marked leaning towards the doctrine of Hegel. «It is far more from a desire of working out on a historical ground the philosophical principles of his master, than from any attachment to mythical theories on their own account, that we are clearly to deduce the destructive process which Strauss has applied to the Life of Jesus.»¹

D. THE TENDENCY THEORY.

17. Christian Baur (1792—1860) was the author of this system. It was during his 34 years of professorship in the University of Tübingen that he formulated it and gave it to the world. From the place of its origin it is often called the system of the Tübingen School, but generally, because of the method adopted in its formulation, it is referred to as «the Tendency Theory». Baur, in his study of the origin of Christianity, arrived at the conclusion that the doctrine of the Church was formulated by degrees, and that the development in doctrine, as well as the composition of the Sacred Books, were the outcome of the disputes and the compromises, which these contentions of the Christians created during the first two centuries².

This system has had and still has numerous disciples, who have, it must be admitted, adopted it in a very much modified form. Among the best known we may mention: Edward Zeller († 1908), Albert Schweigler († 1857), Ritschl († 1889), A. Hilgenfeld (of Jena), Keim, Volkmar († 1893), Holsten (of Heidelberg, † 1896), K. v. Weizsäcker († 1899), O. Pfleiderer (of Berlin, † 1908).

Baur gave the first intimation of his theory to the world in the «Tübingen Zeitschrift» for 1831. Basing his ideas on the text of 1 Cor. i., he divided early Christianity into four parties: the party of Paul, the party of Peter, the party of Apollo, and the party of Christ Himself.

Fourteen years later he produced his ideas in a more systematic form and boldly denied the authenticity of the N. T. books with the exception of St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians. All Christianity he divided into three great phases: the Phase of the Petrine Party, the Phase of the Pauline Party, and the Phase of Reconciliation.

1. The Petrine Party. Baur maintained that Christianity in the beginning was a Jewish sect rather inclining towards the Ebionites. Its founder, Christ, and the first Apostles, had only in mind the reform and propagation of Judaism, and as a consequence the practice of the Mosaic Law remained the one condition of salvation for the whole human race. All the legal observances, as circumcision and sacrifices, were still obligatory and possessed a sanctifying power. Grace was reserved to the Jews and to those who embraced their religion. The Israelitish nation would spread over the whole world and would once more take its place as the greatest nation of the earth. After the death of Jesus Christ, this doctrine was personified in St. Peter and St. James, the bishop of Jerusalem, and all who embraced it formed the Petrine or Judaizing Party.

¹ *Dr. Mill*, Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels II.

² Baur developed his theory in the following works: *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi*; *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*; *Kirchengeschichte der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*. For a short exposition and refutation of this theory see *Principles of Biblical Criticism* by J. J. Lias 182 f.

2. **The Pauline Party.** It was not long before St. Paul arrived on the scene. Seeing in the organization of the Roman Empire the fusion of all peoples, he began to preach against the exclusive character of the Judaizing doctrine. He claimed that the Lord intended the abolition of the Mosaic economy, and in its stead founded a new cult, definite in outline, and destined for all regardless of the distinction of race or nationality. This is proved clearly from his words to the Galatians: «There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus.»¹

The Pauline idea was destined to carry the day, but not without a long and bitter struggle. Each party gained many adherents, and, for more than half a century, bitter contentions divided the Church into two hostile factions: that of Paul or the universalists, and that of Peter or the Judaizers. In order to substantiate this position, Baur urged the incident at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11) where Paul boldly withstood Peter to his face, because he compelled the Gentiles to become Judaized and to observe the provisions of the Mosaic Law. He adroitly singles out all the passages in which Paul speaks of his preaching, as his Gospel, as well as those in which he complains of the hatred and persecutions of the false teachers to which he is being constantly subjected, and those in which he staunchly defends his title to the Apostolate². He finds great support for his ideas in the *Clementine Homilies*, a kind of Syrian novel of the 2. century, in which St. Peter takes revenge, for his rebuff at Antioch, upon St. Paul, who is insultingly alluded to under the name of Simon Magus³.

In order to propagate and eventually secure the ascendancy of their ideas, the two rival parties manufactured or falsified the greater portion of the N. T. An examination of the characteristics of these works, together with their language, their style, their allusions and their tendencies, reveals the medium under which they were composed, and the epoch and the party producing them. The Judaizing or Ebionite party composed the Gospel of the Nazarenes, the Gospel of the Egyptians, the Gospel of St. Peter, the Gospel of St. Matthew, which forcibly urges the pre-eminence of Peter (*Beatus es, Simon Barjona*, etc. xvi. 18, 19) whilst it limits the mission of the Apostles to the house of Israel (*In viam Gentium ne abieritis*, x. 5), the Epistle of St. James, whose object was to counteract the effect produced by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans and the Epistle to the Galatians, and lastly, the Apocalypse.

In opposition to this literature the Pauline party produced the Gospel of St. Luke, filled throughout with Gentile favouritism, the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, to the Corinthians, and to the Galatians, all of which are full of complaints, apologies and invectives against his enemies⁴.

18. 3. **The Phase of Reconciliation.** This controversy could not last forever. The appearance of a common enemy forced both factions to lay aside their differences and arrive at some sort of an understanding. This enemy was none other than Gnosticism which for a time threatened the very life of the Church. The Gospel of St. Mark was the first step in this direction. It was produced with the idea of reconciling all factions,

¹ Gal. iii. 28.

² Rom. ii. 16; xvi. 25; 2 Cor. iii. 1; x. 7—12; xi. 5, 22; Gal. i. 11; ii. 7—9; 2 Thess. ii. 13.

³ Cf. *Lias* l. c. 183; also *Bardenheuer*, Patrology 82—84.

⁴ Gal. i. ii; 2 Cor. x—xii.

as its impartial attitude to both Jews and Gentiles plainly shows. Then both the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke were touched up and modified, the former in favour of the universalists and the latter in favour of the Judaizers. It was in this wise that our first three Gospels were formed. To the same period belong the *Pastoral Epistles*, destined to give the sanction of the Apostles to the hierarchical distinctions and the religious practices derived from the Law, the *Second Epistle of St. Peter*, in which a eulogy of St. Paul is carefully inserted, the *Gospel of St. John*, composed in 170, and the *Acts of the Apostles*, which are wrongly attributed to St. Luke. This last work aimed at wiping out the last vestiges of the old strife. The contention is slightly referred to, and instead of a strong dissension separating them the Apostles seem to be in friendly accord. They maintain the same principles, they aim at the same object, and they act in concert. Peter baptizes the first Gentiles¹, and takes up the defence of Paul at the Council of Jerusalem; Paul takes the vow of the Nazarite, carries the alms to the saints at Jerusalem, and goes up to the Temple to pray². From beginning to end, the writer is careful to strike a balance between the activity of both in the success of their ministry and in the number and magnitude of their miracles. Thus each party made concessions to the other, and each modified its pretensions. However, the Judaizers are called upon to make the greater sacrifices. The ideas of Paul triumphed in the long run, so much so that in him we can see, rather than in Christ Himself, the founder of Christianity. It was not long before intolerance re-appeared, and went on increasing until the dawn of the 16. century. Then it was that Luther the reformer emancipated the human mind from the slavish shackles of the Church, until that time when the school of Tübingen was destined to free men from the yoke of faith in the inspired books.

Criticism. 1. This reconstruction of the original elements at play in the foundation of Christianity, though ingenious, rests on grounds far from convincing. No one will deny that, as must be found among all men, there were among the Apostles differences in point of view. But these differences never extended to questions of a doctrinal nature, but to those which were primarily disciplinary or personal. Thus St. Paul and St. Barnabas separated, not because of a difference of teaching, but because St. Paul refused to accede to the request of St. Barnabas to take St. Mark on the second missionary journey, for the sole reason that Mark had failed him on the first.

Too much stress has been laid on the *incident at Antioch*. St. Peter knew as well as St. Paul that the old legal observations no longer imposed any obligation, and his conduct bears out this statement. We find him associating with the Gentile converts, living and eating with them, contrary to all Jewish custom and regulation. It was only on the arrival of the party of St. James at Antioch that he changed front. Peter, though fiery in character, was lacking in firmness, and knowing the fanatical zeal with which this party was attached to the Mosaic Law and its requirements, he feared to scandalize them and lay himself open to criticism. As a consequence he deserted the Gentile converts and imitated the Jewish proselytes. This change of front aroused the indignation of St. Paul and was the occasion of his «withstanding Peter to the face»³.

¹ Acts x. 48; xv. 7—11.

² Acts xviii. 18; xxi. 26; xxiv. 17. For the vow of the Nazirite see Num. vi.

³ Gal. ii. 11—14.

Nor can it be said that St. Matthew places more stress on the primacy of St. Peter than the other three Gospels, or that he is less universal than the three others, especially less universal than St. Luke; for we read in St. Luke, who is supposed to embody St. Paul's teaching: «*Simon, Simon, ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua; et tu aliquando conversus, confirma fratres tuos.*»¹

Again, the command of Jesus: «*In viam Gentium ne abieritis*», was only given in regard to the temporary mission of the Apostles in Galilee during the public ministry of Christ, and has no reference to that general mission to the whole world which was entrusted to them after the Resurrection.

2. Without intending in the least to weaken the value of internal evidence, it must be admitted that the Tübingen school places entirely too much stress upon it. The origin of any book is a historical fact, and as such can and should be determined by external testimony, if such be available, and we know that the early ages afford us abundant evidence as to the books of the N. T. Besides, the dates which these critics assign for the composition of the Sacred Books are totally out of harmony with the data of tradition and even with the internal evidence upon which they depend so much.

E. MODERN CRITICISM.

19. I. Representatives of Modern Destructive Criticism.

Since the time of Paulus, Strauss and Baur, many Rationalists adopted the methods of these leaders more or less extensively, and formed what might be called *eclectic Rationalism* or *Criticism*; for these authors boast loudly of their so-called *Critique*. Under this head must also be included *Biblical Modernism*.

The best known representatives of this system are: E. Reuss (1804—1891), E. Renan (1823—1892), A. Sabatier († 1901), Albert Réville († 1906), John Réville († 1908), E. Stapfer († 1908), Guignebert, Loisy, in France; A. Harnack, John H. Holtzmann († 1910), Oscar Holtzmann, Jülicher, Von Soden, Schmiedel, in Germany; Cheyne and many collaborators of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, in England; McGifford, Toy, Sullivan, and the Unitarians, in America².

¹ Lk. xxii 31, 32.

² The principal works of these authors are: *Reuss*, La Bible, 19 vols., Paris 1874 to 1881. — *Renan*, Life of Jesus; The Apostles; St. Paul; The Antechrist; The Gospels; Christian Church; Marcus Aurelius — *A. Sabatier*, The Apostle Paul; The Vitality of Christian Dogmas. — *A. Réville*, Jésus de Nazareth. — *J. Réville*, Le IV. Évangile, son origine et sa valeur historique²; Les origines de l'Épiscopat. — *Ed. Stapfer*, Jesus Christ before His Ministry; Jesus Christ during His ministry; The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. — *Ch. Guignebert*, Manuel d'histoire ancienne du Christianisme, Les Origines. — *Loisy*, The Gospel and the Church; Autour d'un petit livre; Études évangéliques; Le IV. Évangile (these four works of Loisy were condemned by the Index and the Holy Office, in 1903); Simples réflexions sur le décret du St.-Office «Lamentabili sane exitu» et sur l'Encyclique «Pascendi dominici gregis»; Quelques lettres sur des questions actuelles et des événements récents; Les Évangiles synoptiques. (See also *Lépin*, Les théories de M. Loisy.) Loisy, at first a staunch defender of Christianity and Catholicism, has become a critic imbued with the most radical and destructive criticism. ²Because of his views and his attitude towards

A certain number of critics have even gone farther in their wholesale denials and have rejected the historical existence of Jesus¹. But all the hypercritical assertions of these men will scarcely be taken earnestly by any one; a mere citation of the testimonies of Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Suetonius, St. Paul, and the Apostolic Fathers, together with the data of both canonical and uncanonical Gospels, are a sufficient refutation of this unwarranted position; for they are such that only the most rabid criticism would attempt to tear from them the kernel of history which they embody.

20. II. Doctrine. 1. IN REGARD TO THE BOOKS OF THE N. T. These critics admit more generally the authenticity of the second and third Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, to the Galatians, and the First and Second to the Corinthians. But they deny, and they are pretty unanimous in this denial, the authenticity of the Gospels of St. Matthew and of St. John, the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles, the Epistles of St. John, and the Apocalypse. They affirm that the fourth Gospel is not historical, while the Synoptics are partially fiction, and partially legendary.

2. IN REGARD TO THE PERSON OF CHRIST. As might be expected these critics deny the divinity of Christ. They affirm that He is God only in a relative sense, «in the sense that Jesus is the person who has impelled his fellowmen to make the greatest steps towards the divine»², or in the sense that His human nature was penetrated by the divine Spirit more completely than that of any other mortal.

«We cannot look upon the prophet of Galilee as the very absolute infinite eternal Deity. But when did He ever say that He was? Not once. A wholly unique place in God's designs, a peculiar privilege of divine filiation, He claimed. But that He was the everlasting God! He never made so awful a pretension.... To maintain this is not only a hopeless scandal to our intellect, but the most grievous shock to our spiritual sense. Lift Jesus as high as we may; grant Him a union with the Godhead such as no other man may share; kneel before Him as showing forth to us the moral perfection of Deity, so far as a created nature can; but Infinity, Omnipotence, Omniscience, these He Himself has disclaimed.»³

«Jesus never claimed to be the historical manifestation of a Being who subsisted in God before He revealed Himself to men.» «He was the Son of God inasmuch as He was predestined to the Messianic royalty; He was such also by the inner consciousness which united Him to God, the author of His calling.» The texts which claim to prove His divinity are in the fourth Gospel, which is not historical. Those found in the Synoptics are

the Church, he was excommunicated particularly (*nominatim*), March 7., 1908. — *Harnack*, Geschichte der althristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius; What is Christianity? — *H. Holtzmann*, Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung in das N. T.; Lehrbuch der neuest. Theologie; Die Synoptiker. — *Jülicher*, Introduction to the N. T.; Die Gleichnisreden.

¹ There are in England: *Edwin Johnson*, in Holland: *Pierson* and *Naber*, in Germany: *Bruno Bauer* († 1882) and *Kalthoff* († 1906), in America: *W. B. Smith*.

² *Renan* l. c. 342.

³ Letters to His Holiness, by a Modernist, 272 273.

without proving force; for they are the expression of the faith of the primitive Church, and not the authentic testimony of Christ.

The mission of Jesus was but a dream, and like all dreams, «was narrow and fragile as our science is. To us it seems absurd as our fondest ideas shall appear absurd to our posterity. Nevertheless it contained the most precious germs of human truth and the most fruitful principles of human progress»¹.

3. IN REGARD TO MIRACLES. The position of Rationalists on this point is peculiar. Some reject all of them as unhistorical. Others reject the historicity of all except the miraculous cures, which they claim can be explained naturally, as they were wrought by mental suggestion.

Harnack divides the Gospel miracles into five classes: a) those which are exaggerations of natural facts; b) those which are the result of the discourses and parables of Jesus, or which are the projection of interior feeling into the outward world; c) those which were created to prove that the O. T. was fulfilled; d) the miraculous cures produced by the psychic influence of Jesus; e) those that remain impenetrable and cannot be explained².

4. IN REGARD TO THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. Jesus, it is claimed, never formulated any dogmas, nor did He make a system containing doctrines which should be final and obligatory. Those that we possess are the outcome of traditional theology, and have, as the miracles, a mythical origin³.

According to Loisy, «the three essential elements of the living Gospel» are: «the idea of the heavenly kingdom; the idea of the Messiah, the maker of the kingdom; the idea of the Apostolate, or the preaching of the kingdom»⁴.

«The conceptions that the Church preserves as revealed dogmas, are not truths fallen from heaven and preserved by religious tradition in the precise form in which they first appeared. The historian sees in them the interpretation of religious facts, acquired by a laborious effort of theological thought⁵. The truths of revelation are living in the assertions of faith, before being analyzed in the speculation of doctrine. Their primitive form is a supernatural intuition and a religious experience, but not an abstract consideration, or a systematic definition of their object.»⁶

«Christian thought at the commencement was Jewish, and could not be other than Jewish, although evangelical Christianity contained the germ of a universal religion. The first change, the most decisive, most important, most rapid also perhaps, it ever experienced, was that which made out of a Jewish movement, founded on the idea of the reign of the Messiah, a religion acceptable to the Græco-Roman world and to humanity. However rapid it was, the change was effected in successive stages: St. Paul, the fourth Gospel, St. Justin, St. Irenæus, Origen, mark the steps of this progression.... From a historical point of view, it may be maintained that

¹ Loisy, *Les Évangiles synoptiques* I, 252, 253.

² What is Christianity? 42.

³ Cf. *ib.* 173; *Stapfer*, *Jesus Christ during His Ministry* (Transl.) 238 f.

⁴ *The Gospel and the Church* (Transl.) 167.

⁵ *Ib.* 210.

⁶ *Autour d'un petit livre* 200.

the Trinity and the Incarnation are Greek dogmas, since they are unknown to Judaism and Judaic Christianity, and that Greek philosophy which helped to make them, also aids in their comprehension.»¹

«Jesus had no idea, nor any intention whatever as regards the Sacraments of the Church.... It has not been, nor will it ever be proved that the institution of Christian Baptism dates from the historical Christ.... I thought it right to affirm that neither the words 'This is my Body', nor the words 'This is my Blood', belong to the primitive tradition of the Last Supper.... From a historical point of view, the idea of Christ instituting the hierarchy with three degrees, bishops, priests and lower ministers, is a mere chimera.»²

III. Criticism. 1. IN REGARD TO THE BOOKS OF THE N. T. The Rationalistic position in regard to the authenticity of the books of the N. T. will be refuted further on. In order to avoid repetition, we shall simply remark here that the traditional testimony in regard to the authenticity of the first Gospel, the Pastoral Epistles, the fourth Gospel and the other writings of John, are as clear, as ancient, and as certain as the testimonies for the other parts of the N. T., whose genuineness is not called into question. We grant that there are difficulties from internal evidence, but they can be satisfactorily explained.

As regards the historical character of the fourth Gospel, it can be as readily proven as that of the Synoptic Gospels.

2. IN REGARD TO THE PERSON OF JESUS. The denial of the divinity or Christ is based on a historical error. He affirms and proves His divine origin, as clearly as possible, in the fourth Gospel, whose historicity cannot be doubted. His affirmations are not so clear in the Synoptics, but they reproduce, as St. John, the authentic teaching of the Master.

3. IN REGARD TO MIRACLES. We shall have more to say on this subject further on. It will suffice here to remark that Rationalists deny the existence of miracles on *a priori* grounds. It is true that imagination and suggestion can, in the case of certain nervous diseases, work astonishing cures. But they have not the power to heal grave injuries, less much to bring life to dead bodies, and consequently they cannot explain a large number of the miracles of the N. T., such as the immediate healing of the blind man, and the resurrection of the dead. In fact they cannot explain one of them.

4. IN REGARD TO THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. Rationalists minimize the doctrines of Jesus in a way that cannot be accepted by a right thinking man. In fact, His doctrinal system is very complex, that is, if the Synoptics reproduce His teaching correctly, and we know that they do. These same Gospels expressly attribute to Him the institution of several Sacraments.

¹ The Gospel and the Church 188, 195.

² Simples réflexions 84, 87, 90, 96.

Respecting the mythical origin of Christian dogma, there is no proof. Before the death of St. Paul, we find belief in the Trinity¹, the divinity of Jesus Christ², the personality of the Holy Ghost³, the Incarnation of the Word⁴, the redemption of the world⁵, the glorification of Jesus Christ in heaven⁶, the necessity and efficacy of grace⁷, such Sacraments as Baptism⁸, Confirmation⁹, the Eucharist¹⁰, Holy Orders¹¹, the resurrection of the body¹², the last judgment¹³ and eternal life¹⁴. But all these dogmas are found in the Gospels and a few of them formed the subject matter of the early Apostolic preaching.

Rationalists mark the death of Jesus as the first step in what they call «progressive idealisation», and make St. Paul the real founder of Christianity. But this Apostle again and again urges that what he preaches and teaches, is not his own, but the teaching of Jesus, and it would be unfair to say that he was deceived or that he attempted deception.

F. SYNCRETISM OR EVOLUTION¹⁵.

21. Exposition. The most recent system, formulated to give a satisfactory explanation of the origin of Christianity, might be designated either by the name of evolution or syncretism; the former, because its main object is to interpret the doctrines and the institutions ascribed to Our Lord and the Apostles in the light of an evolutionary progression, entirely natural in its make-up; the latter, because it claims that both the Apostles and Our Lord drew the chief, and even the fundamental elements of their teaching from the religious and philosophical systems of the time and the country in which they lived.

The system is by no means new. It dates back some time, having been propounded by Biblical critics here and there¹⁶. Lately, during the past few years, it has become, through the efforts of its

¹ Rom. viii. 11; xv. 30; 2 Cor. xiii. 13.

² Rom. i. 3, 4, 9; viii. 3; ix. 5; 1 Cor. i. 9; viii. 6; 2 Cor. viii. 9; xi. 31.

³ Rom. viii. 15, 16; 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11; xii. 4, 7, 11; Gal. iv. 6.

⁴ Rom. i. 2, 3; 2 Cor. viii. 9; Gal. iv. 4.

⁵ Rom. iii. 25, 26; iv. 25; v. 9, 10, 12—18; viii. 32; 1 Cor. xv. 3; Gal. iv. 20.

⁶ Rom. vi. 4, 5; viii. 17, 34. ⁷ 1 Cor. xv. 10; 2 Cor. iii. 5; xii. 9.

⁸ Rom. vi. 3, 4, 6; 1 Cor. vi. 11; Gal. iii. 27. ⁹ 2 Cor. i. 21, 22.

¹⁰ 1 Cor. x. 16, 17; xi. 24—29. ¹¹ 1 Cor. iv. 1; 2 Cor. v. 20.

¹² 1 Cor. xv. 1—58; 2 Cor. iv. 14.

¹³ Rom. ii. 2, 6, 16; xiv. 10; 1 Cor. i. 8; 2 Cor. v. 10.

¹⁴ 2 Cor. iv. 18; Gal. vi. 8.

¹⁵ *De Broglie*, Problèmes et conclusions de l'histoire des religions; *F. Cumont*, Les mystères de Mithra; Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain; *G. Boissier*, La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins; *A. Dufourcq*, L'avenir du Christianisme; *S. Reinach*, Cultes, mythes, et religions; Orpheus (Transl.); *B. Allo*, L'Évangile en face du syncrétisme païen; *Fillion*, Les étapes du rationalisme 296—319; *Habert*, La religion de la Grèce antique.

¹⁶ Dupuis, Wegscheider, Richter, Hase.

defenders, a system in the strict sense of the word. The best known of the promoters of this theory are Bousset¹, Gunkel², C. Clemen³, Zimmern⁴, Jeremias⁵, Jensen⁶, S. Reinach⁷. To this list must be added some of the historians or commentators who have been referred to under the discussion of Criticism, such as Wernle⁸, J. Weiss⁹, Soltau¹⁰, Loisy . . . The system has been expressed in a variety of forms, although none of them precludes any other; for all possess common features, thus making it necessary to define them by the fundamental characteristics which they reveal. Applying this method of classification, we have chiefly four varieties of this system.

Græco-Oriental Syncretism. The age which marked the birth of Christianity, was also marked by the general decadence of paganism in both the Greek and the Roman world. In by far the greater portion of the Roman Empire, paganism had given way to the practices of the Oriental cults. Throughout the provinces and even at Rome itself, side by side with the gods of Olympus, the people worshipped the gods of Egypt, as Isis and Osiris, Cybele of the Phrygians, Adonis and Aphrodite of Byblos, Mithra, the god of the Persians, and others. The ceremonies that surrounded the worship of each of these divinities, appealed strongly to the masses of the people for three reasons. First, because the Oriental ceremonies by their strange character, the clamorous tone which they assumed, and the publicity which was given them, were of such a nature as to make a deep impression on the senses, and placed them in singular contrast with the cold and suppressed worship which was accorded to the gods of Olympus. Secondly, the fact that these religions exacted renunciation of the world's goods and prescribed all manner of austerities, clothed them with a certain moral value. Thirdly, by their very character, which in certain respects was higher, they responded to the mystic needs of those souls which could find no satisfaction in the worship of the state¹¹.

Despite these differences, there are, nevertheless, some striking resemblances between Christianity and the religious systems of the Orient. Cumont has summed them up in the following words: «With them (the Oriental cults) religion ceased to be circumscribed by the

¹ Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentl. Zeitalter.

² Zum religionsgeschichtl. Verständnis des N. T. (Rev. bibl. 1904, 271—273).

³ Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N. T.

⁴ Zum Streit um die Christusmythe. Das babylonische Material in seinen Hauptpunkten zusammengestellt.

⁵ Babylonisches im N. T.

⁶ Der Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur.

⁷ Orpheus. ⁸ Die Anfänge unserer Religion.

⁹ Die Aufgaben der neutestamentl. Wissenschaft in der Gegenwart.

¹⁰ Das Fortleben des Heidentums in der altchristl. Kirche.

¹¹ *Allo*, L'Évangile 28, 29; *Cumont*, Les religions orientales 84—86.

limits of any one state, so that it might assume a universal character; it was no longer looked upon as a public duty, but was regarded as a personal obligation; it was no longer limited to the individual inhabitants of a city, but gave, as its paramount claim, the assurance of each man's personal salvation in this world and especially in the other. The mysteries of the Oriental religions held out, to their followers, the glowing prospect of an eternal happiness. In this wise the very axis of morality was displaced; unlike Greek philosophy, these religions no longer sought to realize the sovereign good in this life, but only after death. . . .

The salvation of the soul, which had become the most essential of human affairs, is in these mysteries made sure especially by the scrupulous fulfilment of religious ceremonies. The rites possess the power of both purification and redemption; for they tend to make man better and free him from the dominion of evil spirits. As a consequence the religious worship is of vital importance, and hence the liturgy cannot be carried out by any other save a clergy which has been consecrated to it entirely. The Asiatic gods demanded an undivided service: their priests were no longer magistrates, still less mere citizens; for they dedicated themselves unreservedly to their ministry, and demanded that the faithful submit to their divine authority.»¹

Gradually, the religious ideas and institutions of the Græco-Oriental system passed over into Christianity, so much that the triumph which the Church has achieved must be regarded «as the crowning point in the long evolution of beliefs»².

The Eucharist is only an imitation of the sacred meals, especially those which accompanied the mysteries of Eleusis. Baptism is but the echo of the rites of initiation practised in these religions. «From an historical point of view, it may be maintained that the Trinity and the Incarnation are Greek dogmas, since they are unknown to Judaism and to Judaic Christianity, and that Greek philosophy which helped to make them, also aids in their comprehension.»³ It was due to this same influence that the Gospel of the Infancy was drawn up (especially the dogma of the virginity of Mary), the dogma of the divinity of Jesus, and also a certain number of the episodes of His life, such as His transfiguration, His descent into hell, and His ascension.

Christianity and Mithraism. Besides these Græco-Oriental infiltrations, several scholars⁴ pretend to find in Christianity traces of the influence

¹ *Cumont*, *Les religions orientales* xxii, xxiii.

² *Ib.* xxiv.

³ *Loisy*, *The Gospel and the Church* 195.

⁴ *Grill*, *Die persische Mysterienreligion im römischen Reich und das Christentum*; *Reinach*, *Orpheus*; *Cultes, mythes, et religions* II, 220—233; *Cumont*, in his various works on Mithra; *Clemen*, in *Rev. bibl.* 1909, 280—284.

of Mithraism. «The analogies with Christianity can be summarized as follows: Mithra is the mediator between God and man; he pledges the salvation of men by a sacrifice, its ceremonies permit Baptism and the keeping of fasts; its adherents are called *brethren*; in the priesthood of Mithraism there are men and women who vow a life of celibacy; its morality is imperative and identical with that of Christianity. . . . The conclusion which forces itself upon us is that Christianity and Mithraism have a common origin, at least in part, emanating from one or several of the old Asiatic religions, the character of which we are familiar with only under forms which are relatively modern.»¹

Christianity and the Religion of Babylon. There are other scholars², who have endeavoured to trace the Gospels and the other books of the N. T. as so many borrowings from the religion of Babylon. The Christian dogma of the Trinity, «which is not an invention of the Christians»³, is correlated to the Babylonian triads. The Resurrection of Christ is a myth engendered by a pagan feast which was formerly celebrated by the Semites⁴. In the Apocalypse, xii, the battle of the dragon and the woman is nothing else than the legend of Tiamat battling against Marduk⁵.

These and like pretensions have been surpassed in the claim of Jensen, who thinks he has proven the non-existence of Jesus by means of the celebrated epic of the Babylonian hero Gilgamesh⁶. The history of St. Paul is likewise, at least in its main features, a Babylonian myth.

Christianity and Buddhism. Between the history of Our Lord and the history of Buddha who lived four or five centuries before Christ, there are many points of difference, and at the same time many points of similarity, which makes it appear at first sight that the Gospels were influenced by infiltrations from Buddhism⁷. As a matter of fact, Buddha was conceived miraculously of a virgin. Immediately after his birth, Asita the sage received a visit from the gods who expressed their great joy at the occurrence of so happy an event. Without any delay, the wise man repairs to the home of the child, and prophesies that he will not be a sovereign but a buddha (sage), and continues: «I shall be dead before he begins to preach the law of salvation.» These are so many facts which immediately bring recollections of the virginal conception of Jesus, the vision of the shepherds, the hymn of the angels, the presentation in the Temple, and the prophecy of Simeon.

Having attained a certain prominence, Buddha sent his monks upon a missionary journey, and this at a time when «there were sixty-one saints upon earth».

Lastly, a robber was converted, just as the repentant thief. . .

Criticism. — General-Observations. a) The undeniable resemblances which exist between Christianity and the human religions as regards asceticism, sacrifices and the priesthood, need not be the

¹ *Reinach*, Orpheus 102, 103, also 337, 338; Cultes I, 332—341 (on the Passion of Jesus), II, 220—233.

² Jeremias, Gunkel.

³ *Reinach*, Orpheus 50.

⁴ *Radau* (cf. Rev. des Sciences phil. et théol. 1909, 586, 587).

⁵ Man. IV, nos. 1165, 1179.

⁶ For this epic see *George Smith*, A Chaldean Account of the Creation.

⁷ *Van den Bergh van Eysinga*, Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen; *A. Edmonds*, Buddhist and Christian Gospels; *Loisy*, Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rel. 1905, 512.

cause of any surprise; for paganism was not evil in all the elements it possessed, and did not need to be, as a matter of necessity, entirely different from Christianity. Human reason can, with the exercise of its own proper forces, arrive at certain truths, just as the human will can, by its own resources, realize some good of the natural order¹. Besides, primitive revelation which embodies the essentials of religion, has imbedded itself in many elements in the course of ages and nations, and readily gives an explanation of the resemblances existing between the various religious systems².

b) It cannot be maintained that the essential elements of Christianity, namely the life of its Founder, the truths which we claim as supernatural . . . were borrowed from paganism; for such a supposition would be tantamount to a rejection of the historical foundation of Christianity and a denial of its divine origin. Granting this, it is certainly lawful, on *a priori* grounds, to admit that the natural truths which belonged exclusively to the domain of profane philosophy, have made their way into Christianity, but, of course, under the influence of the Holy Ghost. The same remark applies to the rites and ceremonies which might have been taken over into Christianity, as a condition of sanctification and the formation of men's souls into new spirits. Prayer, sacrifices, ablutions . . . belong to a common domain, and can be found in all worships. This borrowing possessed certain advantages; for it would have made the new religion more accessible to the people of the 1. century.

c) As a matter of fact the analogies which are drawn between Christianity and the pagan religions are very often much exaggerated. For instance, the Eucharistic meal, instead of originating from the sacred repasts of the pagans, is in a certain sense the perpetuation of the Paschal meal of the Jews. Other resemblances which are real, do not necessarily suppose a borrowing, but are easily explained by the common object of all religions. Every religion no matter what it be, has the grand purpose of giving satisfaction to the instinctive spiritual cravings of man, and of furnishing him with the means whereby he may participate in the life of the divinity Himself. This gives a ready explanation why they all should resemble each other in some particulars at least. Religions are like the palaces of the world; for no matter who their architects may be, and no matter what material is used for their construction, all bear a certain common resemblance which naturally arises from the common end for which they are destined³.

d) All these various theories which have occupied us here, rest on the rationalistic conception which eliminates all history bearing

¹ *De Broglie*, Problèmes et conclusions de l'histoire des religions 242 ff.

² *A. Le Roy*, La religion des primitifs 484—498.

³ *De Broglie* l. c. 254, 271

the traces of the supernatural, and denies all divine intervention, modifying all such history at every turn, and substituting in its stead the evolution of ideas. S. Reinach, who denies the existence of the supernatural, writes: «Evolution is the standard for the study of humanity, because it is the standard of humanity itself.»¹

Christianity and Græco-Oriental Syncretism. — The Attitude of the Apostles towards Paganism. Taking the matter as it stands, it is to the last degree improbable that Christianity did in any way borrow from paganism for its important teachings. The authors of the N. T. who relate the life, the doctrine and the institutions of Christ, were either eye-witnesses or the disciples of eye-witnesses. Moreover, they were, with the exception of St. Luke², Jews by birth and by education, and by that very fact were hostile to paganism³. This being the case, the first Churches should have been modelled on the Jewish synagogues and should have borrowed — if they did borrow — from Judaism. St. Peter hesitated a long while before entering the house of the centurion Cornelius, and only reached a decision after he had been told to go in vision⁴. St. Paul forbids Christians to take part in the repasts which were celebrated in the temples of the idols⁵, declaring that the idols are nothing, and that the pagans offer their sacrifices to demons⁶, and that there can be no concord between Christ and Belial⁷. In his Apocalypse, St. John condemns those who partake of the food offered to idols⁸, and, according to an interpretation which enjoys high probability⁹, he devotes a part of his book to caution the faithful against the worship offered to Cæsar. Actuated with such feelings, how could this set of Jewish authors even dream of adopting any of the teachings of paganism? Again, on their part, the pagans were as hostile to Christianity and its followers, as strongly as Christianity was opposed to them. Under the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, there lived a certain wonder-worker Alexander by name¹⁰, who cursed the Christians, classing them in the same category as atheists. Then, too, every one knows that it was this very hostility exhibited by paganism against Christianity, that gave rise to the persecutions.

Comparison of Christianity with the Græco-Oriental Religions. It must be conceded that syncretism was in many respects superior to paganism. Yet between it and Christianity there is a vast difference. In the syncretic religions there was neither belief nor formal dogma. Nay more, there could be no dogmatic or

¹ Cultes II, II; see also I—II.² No. 64.³ *Stapfer*, Palestine in the Time of Jesus Christ 123—126.⁴ Acts x. 28.⁵ I Cor. viii. 10.⁶ I Cor. viii; x. 20.⁷ 2 Cor. vi. 15.⁸ ii. 14.⁹ Man. IV, no. 1160.¹⁰ Quoted by *Allo*, L'Évangile 71.

religious teaching; for in the nature of things this was impossible; for faith meant very little to cults that were so tolerant and which in no way interdicted one another. As a rule, their moral teaching was evil. Not only were they indulgent in those things which directly affected the soul, and exacting in the requirement of a certain exterior and official purity in place of the purity of mind and heart, but many of their deities were only so many excuses for sacred prostitutions, so much so that in many cases the temple was but a brothel, and the worship, especially that of Bacchus and Osiris, resembled an orgy¹.

Pagan asceticism was wholly unlike Christian asceticism. St. Paul condemns the asceticism of the false teachers of Colossæ², places godliness above all things³, arraigns the excess of those who forbid marriage and the use of certain meats⁴, and there is nothing which in the least can lead any one to the supposition that Christianity was familiar with the excesses of paganism on this point. And with greater reason we can assert that never did Christianity sanction the moral abuses of paganism.

Universality, a character which the Græco-Oriental religions assumed, was not real. It would have been real, if everybody were permitted to participate in a part of the ceremonies, and if every body were allowed to be initiated in the religious mysteries. But as a matter of fact only the initiated were familiar with the details; for it was considered a grave impiety to reveal the divine mysteries to the multitude⁵.

Finally, the proselytizing spirit which was essential characteristic of the Apostles and the Christians, was totally lacking in the adherents of the syncretic pagan religion; for their gods never gave the command: Go teach all nations, rather each one retained his good fortune for himself solely.

Christianity and Mithraism. Fasting and fraternal feeling are two characteristics which are common to Christianity, to Mithraism, and to all religions. And here the comparison ends. Mithra is called a mediator only in the writings of Plutarch, where he is described as the mediator between the god of good and the god of evil⁶; nothing is known of the direct relation of the sacrifice of the bull with salvation, and it is not Mithra who is sacrificed as is the case with Jesus; Baptism among the Mithraists is but one ablution among many others; their communion consists merely in the offering of bread and water, of which it is not even said that they represent Mithra; women ordinarily did not participate in the celebration of the mysteries and could not therefore vow a life of celibacy; as regards the men, there is no information on this subject, except a text of Tertullian, which has been wrongly understood⁷; all morality is more

¹ *Cumont*, *Les religions orientales* 75 ff.

² Col. ii. 16 ff.

³ 1 Tim. iv. 7.

⁴ 1 Tim. iv. 3.

⁵ *Allo* l. c. 39, 40.

⁶ Isis and Osiris 46.

⁷ De præscriptione 40. See *d'Alès*, *Rev. prat. d'apol.*, févr. 1907, III, 462 to 469, 519—528.

or less imperative, and if the morality of the religion of Mithra is identical with that of Christianity, why did the Emperor Julian, himself a fervent follower of this system, recommend imitation of the Christian life to pagans? ¹

Christianity and the Religion of Babylon. It is likewise highly improbable that Christianity has borrowed any of its material from the religion of Babylon; for there is no explanation of the familiarity of the Apostles with Babylonian mythology. The attempts of Radau and Jensen on this point rest on comparisons, at once forced and improbable, which are rejected by nearly all Assyriologists. The basis of the analogies drawn «is lost to those well-disposed and those more accustomed to comparisons of this kind» ². Thus to cite one example, it is impossible to compare the Christian idea of the Trinity, in which the Persons make up an intimate and vivifying unity, with the Babylonian triads (Anu, Bel, and Ea ³) whose character is purely artificial. They are so many juxtapositions and not three persons living in the closest intimacy ⁴.

Christianity and Buddhism ⁵. a) «There is not one single argument for the position that Buddhism was known in Palestine at the time of the redaction of the Gospels, or that the details of the biography of Buddha were either directly brought to the knowledge of our sacred writers, or vulgarized in the medium in which the primitive tradition was moulded.» ⁶

b) The coincidences which exist between the Gospels and the legend of Buddha are not of such a nature as to suppose a direct borrowing, and can be, and that with the greatest probability, otherwise explained. If abstraction be made of the points of contact which really ought to exist between the two traditions, namely «the idea of a man, divine, a Saviour, a teacher pointing the way of salvation by the attainment of moral perfection, there is no point of agreement between the biography of Christ and that of Buddha from these coincidences, at best merely fortuitous, which alone are capable of affording any indications of a direct borrowing.» ⁷

The alleged resemblances which are asserted appear insignificant when the texts of the Gospel are compared with the Buddhist texts ⁸.

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22. For this see the works quoted for the study of the Gospels. See the Special Introduction to the N. T. and the various Lives of Christ. Also consult the commentaries on the different Gospels which are given in nos. 26, 42, 55, 70, 81, 116.

¹ *Lagrange*, Quelques remarques sur l'Orpheus de M. S. Reinach 57, 58.

² See *Loisy*, Rev. d'hist. et de litt. 1906, 575, 576.

³ See *Dhorme*, La religion assyro-babylonienne 66 ff.

⁴ In regard to the Passion of Jesus of which general episodes were suggested by a feast celebrated in Babylonia and in Persia, see *Lagrange*, Quelques remarques 35—52; *Batifol*, Orpheus et l'Évangile 266—272, against *S. Reinach*, Orpheus 337, 338.

⁵ *De la Vallée Poussin*, Le Bouddhisme et les Évangiles canoniques, in Rev. bibl., July 1906; Bouddhisme: Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique; *A. Roussel*, Le Bouddhisme primitif.

⁶ Rev. bibl. 1906, 355.

⁷ Rev. bibl. 1906, 360.

⁸ Rev. bibl. 1906, 366, 367, 373, 377; *Roussel*, Le Bouddhisme 50—55, 98 ff.

PART I.

THE GOSPELS.

OBJECT OF THIS FIRST PART.

23. The main object in this part shall be the determination of the historical value of the Gospel narrative, because it is the most authoritative source we have for the study of the life and teachings of the Saviour, which study shall form the object of the second section of this work. After a preliminary chapter on the Gospels in general, we shall study them individually in the order in which they appear in our Bibles, viz. St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, which, for reasons explained further on, are called Synoptics. Then we shall consider their mutual relations (the Synoptic Problem) and their historical value. Lastly we shall treat the Gospel of St. John, together with its relation to the Synoptics (the Johannean Question).

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

THE GOSPELS IN GENERAL¹.

24. 1. **Meaning of the Word.** The word «Gospel» in its etymological sense is derived from the Anglo-Saxon word «spellian», to tell. The noun «spell» meant something told or a story. Hence the Gospels are «God's spell» or «God's story», or according to a more probable view, «good spell», or good story. Ordinarily, in its Greek form it denotes the good tidings, *par excellence*, namely that salvation was brought to the world through Jesus Christ, and in an extended sense, it means the books of the N. T., which contain these glad tidings. In time, however, custom began to ascribe this title to the first four books of the N. T., since they expose the life and teachings of the Redeemer in a special manner.

¹ *Westcott*, Introduction to the Study of the Gospels⁸ (1895); *Wilkinson*, Four Lectures on the Early History of the Gospels, London 1898; *Godet*, Introduction to the N. T., Engl. Transl., New York 1899; *Adeney*, Biblical Introduction, New York 1904; art. Gospels by *V. H. Stanton*, HDB. II, 234 f.; art. Gospels by *F. E. Gigot*, Catholic Encycl. IV, 655 f.

2. **The Oral Gospel**¹. *Existence*. Nowadays, all critics agree in maintaining that the Gospel was first oral, that is, that it was preached before it was written. This statement alone is sufficient to make any one realize the great part tradition played in Christianity, and how wrong is the position of Protestants in rejecting everything not found in the inspired texts, as irrelevant to faith and revelation. In fact our Lord did not put any of His teachings in writing, nor did He leave any command for His disciples to write; for His last injunction was that they *teach* the people all things that He had commanded them². We know from the Acts that on the day of Pentecost the Apostles began to carry out this last command of the Saviour; for we read that they gave themselves «continually to prayer and the ministry of the word»³.

The existence of the Gospel in this form need not cause any surprise. At that time, the memory of men was tenacious to an extraordinary degree, and oral teaching was far more prevalent, and the need of having recourse to written text was not felt as keenly as it is to-day. Even in the middle of the 2. century, Papias the bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, emphasizes the spoken word in preference to the written. «I do not think», he says, that I derived so much benefit from books as from the living voice of those that are still surviving.»⁴ And a few years later St. Irenæus wrote to Florinus: «I listened to these lessons (of Polycarp), attentively noting them down not on paper but in my heart, and continually through God's grace I recalled them faithfully.»⁵

CONTENTS. The discourses of the first ten chapters of the Acts furnish a basis for the *reconstruction of the oral catecheses* or Apostolic preaching during the first years of Christianity. The main idea of them all was the life of Christ on earth, His discourses, His miracles, His sufferings, His resurrection, His ascension. A summary of this preaching may be seen in the short address of St. Peter to the centurion Cornelius.⁶

Likewise, the oral Gospel can be reconstructed from the Epistles and the second part of the Acts, thirty years after the day of Pentecost, just as it was on that day.⁷

¹ Westcott l. c.; Wright, Composition of the Four Gospels and Some N. T. Problems; Salmon, A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the N. T., London 1894; Robinson, The Study of the Gospels, London 1902; Gloag, Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels, Edinburgh 1895; Batiffol, Six Leçons sur les Évangiles, Paris 1897, 27—30; Zahn, Introduction to the N. T., New York 1905, 159—173.

² Mt. xxviii. 12, 20.

³ Acts vi. 4; cf. also Acts ii.

⁴ Eus., H. E. III, xxxix. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2. series, I, 239.

⁵ Eus., H. E. V, xx: P. G. XX, 485.

⁶ Acts x. 34—43. See also ii. 22—36; iii. 12—26; iv. 8—12; v. 29—32.

⁷ Conget, La Catéchèse apostolique (1906) 11—17.

25. 3. The Number of the Gospels¹. The Church never admitted any but the four canonical Gospels, as tradition, relating to the Gospels, readily evidences. St. Irenæus affirms that there are four Gospels, just as there are four cardinal points, four moral virtues, and four figures of the cherubim². Without doubt many authors, under the influence of heresy or misguided piety, altered our canonical Gospels, or manufactured spurious ones. Such are the Gospel of St. Peter, the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Gospel of the Egyptians, the Gospel of Andrew, the Gospel of Bartholomew, etc.³ Some called their authority into question, others were deceived and admitted them as genuine, but the Church *never* received them as canonical or inspired writings.

4. The Titles of the Gospels. It is generally recognized that the titles of our Gospels, «*Evangelium secundum Matthæum*», etc. were not written by the men whose names they bear. The ancient authors and especially the Orientals never put their names at the head of their works. St. John Chrysostom affirms this explicitly in regard to the sacred authors, and especially in regard to the Evangelists⁴. They, however, go back to a very early period, probably to the middle of the 2. century. They are found in a great many manuscripts, which, it must be admitted, are not earlier than the 4. century, in the Canon of Muratori (160—170), in the writings of St. Irenæus (c. a. 185), of Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian (beginning of the 3. century)⁵.

Taken merely in themselves, these titles are obscure and really show that our present Gospels instead of being written from beginning to end by St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, are only traditions coming from each of these writers and clothed with their authority. But all antiquity has interpreted the matter in another light, taking the view, as we shall see later⁶, that they are really an indication of authorship. For instance, the Canon of Muratori, after indicating the title of the Third Gospel, adds immediately: «*Lucas iste medicus conscripsit*».

5. The dates assigned by the critics of different schools for the composition of the Gospels, vary considerably, in proportion to their acceptance or denial of their authenticity, as can be seen from the following table:

¹ *Rose*, Studies on the Gospels 1—38. Consult also the authors cited in no. 24.

² Adv. Haer. III, xi, 7—9.

³ See art. Apocryphal Gospels by *Tasker*, HDB. (extr. vol. 420 f.), and the literature there referred to.

⁴ In Rom. Hom. I; P. G. LX, 395.

⁵ *St. Iren.*, Adv. Haer. I, xxvi, 2: P. G. VII, 687; I, xxvii, 2: ib. VII, 688; III, xi, 7: ib. VII, 884; III, xiv, 4: ib. VII, 916; *Clem. of Alex.*, Strom. I: P. G. VIII, 885, 889; *Tertull.*, Contra Marc. IV, 2: P. L. II, 363.

⁶ Nos. 28 f.

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
S. Davidson . . .	105	120	c. a. 110	c. a. 150
Volkmar . . .	125	73	90—100	c. a. 130
Jacquier . . .	before 70	64—67	60—70	98—117
Cornely . . .	40—50	52—62	59—63	96—98
Batiffol . . .	60—70	before Matt.	63—70	90—100
Belser . . .	41—42	44	61—62	92—96
Zahn . . .	62	64	75	80—90
Harnack ¹ . . .	before 70	before 60	before 60	80—110
Jülicher . . .	81—96	79—100	105	after 100
Loisy . . .	c. a. 100	75	90—100	100—125

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¹ *Harnack* gives these dates for the composition of the Synoptics in his work: «Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und zur Abfassungszeit der Synoptischen Evangelien» (1911). In this work Harnack modified the sentiment which he had expressed in «Die Chronologie» and in «Die Apostelgeschichte» (1908).

CHAPTER I.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW¹.

I. THE PERSON OF ST. MATTHEW.

27. 1. His Origin. St. Matthew (*Ματθαῖος* or *Ματθαῖος*, probably מַתְתִּיָּה, or by abbreviation מַתִּי, gift of Yahveh) like the other Apostles sprung from an humble origin. He was the son of Alpheus, who cannot by any direct argument be identified with the Alpheus

¹ Under the 19. of June, 1911, the *Biblical Commission* has issued, *De auctore, de tempore compositionis et de historica veritate Evangelii secundum Matthaeum*, the following decree:

I. Utrum, attento universali et a primis saeculis constanti Ecclesiae consensu, quem luculenter ostendunt diserta Patrum testimonia, codicum Evangeliorum inscriptiones, sacrorum librorum versiones vel antiquissimae et catalogi a Sanctis Patribus, ab ecclesiasticis scriptoribus, a Summis Pontificibus et a Conciliis traditi, ac tandem usus liturgicus Ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis, affirmari certo possit et debeat Matthaeum, Christi Apostolum, revera Evangelii sub eius nomine vulgati esse auctorem? — Resp.: Affirmative.

II. Utrum traditionis suffragio satis fulciri censenda sit sententia quae tenet Matthaeum et ceteros Evangelistas in scribendo praecessisse et primum Evangelium patrio sermone a Iudaeis palaestinensibus tunc usitato, quibus opus illud erat directum, conscripsisse? — Resp.: Affirmative ad utramque partem.

III. Utrum redactio huius originalis textus differri possit ultra tempus eversionis Hierusalem, ita ut vaticinia quae de eadem eversione ibi leguntur, scripta fuerint post eventum; aut, quod allegari solet Irenaei testimonium (*Adv. haer.* III, i, 2), incertae et controversae interpretationis, tanti ponderis sit existimandum, ut cogat reiicere eorum sententiam qui congruentius traditioni censent eandem redactionem etiam ante Pauli in Urbem adventum fuisse confectam? — Resp.: Negative ad utramque partem.

IV. Utrum sustineri vel probabiliter possit illa modernorum quorundam opinio, iuxta quam Matthaeus non proprie et stricte Evangelium composuisset, quale nobis est traditum, sed tantummodo collectionem aliquam dictorum seu sermonum Christi, quibus tamquam fontibus usus esset alius auctor anonymus, quem Evangelii ipsius redactorem faciunt? — Resp.: Negative.

V. Utrum ex eo quod Patres et ecclesiastici scriptores omnes, imo Ecclesia ipsa iam a suis incunabulis, unice usi sunt, tamquam canonico, graeco textu Evangelii sub Matthaei nomine cogniti, ne iis quidem exceptis, qui Matthaeum Apostolum patrio scripsisse sermone expresse tradiderunt, certo probari possit ipsum Evangelium graecum identicum esse quoad substantiam cum Evangelio illo patrio sermone ab eodem Apostolo exarato? — Resp.: Affirmative.

VI. Utrum ex eo quod auctor primi Evangelii scopum prosequitur praecipue dogmaticum et apologeticum, demonstrandi nempe Iudaeis Iesum esse Messiam a prophetis

who was the father of James the Less, the Lord's cousin¹. By profession he was a publican or tax-gatherer, performing his duties at Capharnaum on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee². Like many other persons in early Church History (Simon Cephas, Joseph Barsabas) he bore two names, both Hebrew, Levi and Matthew. It has been conjectured that the latter name was conferred upon him by our Lord, because he immediately and unhesitatingly abandoned his profession at His call. Is he to be identified with the publican Levi of St. Luke and St. Mark? There have been some who denied the identity, but the great majority nowadays recognize in Levi and Matthew one and the same person, because the call to the Apostolate and the attendant circumstances in both cases are similar. The call came after the cure of the paralytic at Capharnaum, and was followed by the feast that was given to Jesus, His disciples and many publicans, with the same circumstances of criticism on the part of the Pharisees and the same response of the Master to their murmurings³.

2. The Call to the Apostolate. As soon as he received the call of the Lord he abandoned all things and followed Him. In all probability he had heard and seen the Lord before this; for he belonged to a group of publicans who were in a position to hear His preaching and were well-disposed to take it to heart⁴. While not possessing great wealth, Matthew was nevertheless in comfortable circumstances; for he could afford to give a great feast to our Lord and His disciples «together with a great company» of publicans⁵. This did not take place at the beginning of the public ministry of Jesus, since Andrew, Peter, James, and John were already disciples of Jesus, and He was already engaged in His struggle with the Pharisees⁶.

praenuntiatum et e davidica stirpe progenitum, et quod insuper in disponendis factis et dictis quae enarrat et refert, non semper ordinem chronologicum tenet, deduci inde liceat ea non esse ut vera recipienda; aut etiam affirmari possit narrationes gestorum et sermonum Christi, quae in ipso Evangelio leguntur, alterationem quamdam et adaptationem sub influxu prophetiarum Veteris Testamenti et adultioris Ecclesiae status subiisse, ac proinde historicae veritati haud esse conformes? — Resp.: Negative ad utramque partem.

VII. *Utrum speciatim solido fundamento destitutae censi iure debeant opiniones eorum, qui in dubium revocant authenticitatem historicam duorum priorum capitum, in quibus genealogia et infantia Christi narrantur, sicut et quarumdam in re dogmatica magni momenti sententiarum, uti sunt illae quae respiciunt primatum Petri (Mt. xvi. 17—19), formam baptizandi cum universali missione praedicandi Apostolis traditam (Mt. xxviii. 19, 20), professionem fidei Apostolorum in divinitatem Christi (Mt. xiv. 33), et alia huiusmodi, quae apud Matthaeum peculiari modo enuntiata occurrunt? — Resp.: Affirmative.*

¹ Mk. ii. 14; iii. 18; Mt. x. 3; Lk. vi. 15.

² Lk. v. 27; Mt. ix. 9; Mk. ii. 13, 14.

³ Mt. ix. 9; x. 3; Mk. ii. 14; Lk. v. 27, 28.

⁴ Mt. xi. 19; Lk. xv. 1.

⁵ Lk. v. 29 ⁶ Mt. iv. 18—22; ix. 10—13.

From this time the history of St. Matthew is interwoven with that of the other Apostles. Like them he accompanied the Master, and aided in the formation of the Church of Jerusalem. As regards the rest of his life there are only vague and contradictory notices in tradition. According to Eusebius, and Clement of Alexandria who maintains the same view, he preached the Gospel to the Jews. St. Irenæus supposes this also when he affirms that this Apostle published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their mother tongue¹. After this, according to some, he preached the Gospel in Arabia; others say it was Persia or among the Parthians, while according to others he went to Ethiopia, Syria, Macedonia².

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE HEBREW GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.

28. State of the Question. Is our first Gospel the work of St. Matthew, or of another? In answering this question two facts must be borne in mind. First, a strong and undoubted tradition assigns the composition of a Gospel in *Hebrew* to the Apostle St. Matthew. Secondly, our first Gospel, as we now have it, is in Greek. Did Matthew write both? If he did, what relation does the Hebrew Gospel bear to the Greek?

Before going into detail regarding these questions, it will be well to have a clear understanding of the proofs that are advanced in the determination of the authenticity of any work. Ordinarily two sets of arguments are resorted to. The first set are *extrinsic* or *external* proofs which are drawn from data outside of the book and are based on authority. As a general rule they are decisive. A question of authenticity always implies a question of fact, and a question of fact is amply established by testimony which is sincere and authentic. The other arguments are *intrinsic* or *internal*. They are drawn from the book itself, from its style, its methods and its ideas. They are, in a word, the application of these two principles: «A book is the image of a soul, a soul is the image of a world.»³ If they agree with the extrinsic arguments, they help to corroborate them; but if they are at variance with them, they may render them ineffective, especially if they establish the existence of allusions and of a setting incompatible with the author and date indicated by tradition.

The Opinion of Critics. All critics, with the exception of Loisy, grant to St. Matthew at least the Hebrew redaction of the discourses or *λόγια* of the first Gospel. According to many Protestants

¹ *Eus.*, H. E. III, xxiv; IV, viii: P. G. XX, 275, 449.

² Cf. *Cornély*, Introductio IV, 15—20.

³ *Gondal*, La provenance des Évangiles 142 f.

and Rationalists (Renan, A. Réville, Stapfer, Harnack, Jülicher, Allen, Moffat) Matthew's authorship only extends to the discourses, and the Greek Gospel is in reality the work of an unknown who combined the *λόγια* of St. Matthew with the second Gospel and other sources¹. Nearly all Catholics and many Protestants (Zahn, Godet, Bartlet)² claim that St. Matthew wrote a real Gospel, with discourses and facts. Protestant critics, however, maintain that the Apostle did not write the work with his own hand, but entrusted this task to one of his disciples. Before the decision of the Biblical Commission (1911) some Catholic scholars³ were of the opinion that St. Matthew composed the *λόγια* in Aramaic, taking the word in a restricted sense. Our first Gospel was attributed to him, because the greater portion of it is the work of Matthew, or better, because our present Gospel is a Greek adaptation of the Aramaic Gospel.

As a first proposition, we advance that the composition of the first Gospel in Hebrew by St. Matthew must be regarded as historically demonstrated by tradition.

29. External Testimony. — **Papias** (70?—165?), bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, gives the following testimony in regard to the first two Gospels: «This also the Elder John used to say: Mark wrote down accurately, but not in order, as much as he remembered of the things said or done by Christ; for he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him; but he had accompanied Peter who used to give his instructions according to what was required, but not as giving an orderly exposition of the Lord's words. . . . These things are related by Papias concerning Mark. Concerning Matthew he (Papias or John) writes as follows: Matthew wrote the oracles (*λόγια*) in the Hebrew tongue, and every one interpreted them as he was able.»⁴

Papias is described as an ancient who belonged to the first or second Christian generation. His testimony is of paramount value; for he was «a hearer of John» (either the Apostle or an Apostolic man⁵), «the friend of Polycarp» who was bishop of Smyrna and a disciple of St. John⁶. Besides he was a man «of great learning», «well-versed in the study

¹ For an exposition of this position see *Allen*, St. Matthew, in International Critical Commentary LXXIX—LXXXIII; *Moffat*, An Introduction to the Literature of the N. T., in International Theological Library 194 f.

² *Zahn*, Einleitung in das N. T. II, 252 f.; *Godet*, Introduction to the N. T. II, 266, 267; *Bartlet*, art. Gospel of St. Matthew, in HDB. III, 304.

³ *Barnes*, Origin of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, in Journal of Theological Studies 1905, 188 f.; also his The Witness of the Gospels. Cf. also *Batiffol*, Six leçons 66—70.

⁴ *Eus.*, H. E. III, xxxix, 2: P. G. XX, 300.

⁵ According to Eusebius, he was not a hearer of the Apostles: H. E. III, xxxix, 1: P. G. XX, 295.

⁶ *Iren.*, Adv. haer. V, xxxiii, 4: P. G. VII, 1214.

of Scripture, always on the alert to gain and retain all that the living and permanent voice of tradition furnished him»¹. Eusebius accuses him of narrow-mindedness, which, if true, was probably due to the principles of millenarism with which he was imbued². Yet this charge, even if proven, would not invalidate his testimony; for a person fairly intelligent is capable of collecting traditional testimonies concerning the origin of a book.

The real difficulty lies in determining whether the word *λόγια* refers to discourses alone or to both discourses and facts. a) In its Greek form *λόγια* ordinarily has the meaning of *sayings* or *oracles*. In the language of the LXX, of Philo and the ancient ecclesiastical authors, the word has a wider meaning and refers to a *narrative composed of both discourses and facts*. Clement of Rome tells the Corinthians (a. 53) that they have studied the *λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and forthwith recalls to them the narratives and the discourses of Deut. ix. 12, and of Ex. xxxii. 9, 10. St. Irenæus accuses the Gnostics of perverting τὰ κυριακὰ λόγια, and he cites as an example their interpretation of the raising of the daughter of Jairus to life³. And it seems that Papias himself has given the word this meaning; for, in speaking of Mark, he says his work contains τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ παραχθέντα, and he does not hesitate to characterize it as σύνταξις τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων. b) If the expression *λόγια* only meant discourses, our present Gospel of Matthew in which the discourses occupy a prominent position, deserves to be called *κυριακὰ λόγια*, in virtue of the principle: *a potiore fit denominatio*. c) Finally, a single testimony, especially if it is obscure, should be interpreted in the light of contemporary thought. But no ecclesiastical author has restricted St. Matthew's authorship of the first Gospel to a document embodying discourses only. St. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Jerome afford no such testimony. Even Eusebius, who knew and read the lost works of Papias, and who carefully records the doubts of the primitive Church in regard to the deuterocanonical books, fails to confine the word *λόγια* to this meaning.

St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons and a disciple of St. Polycarp, who himself had been disciple of St. John, witness of the traditions of Asia where he had received his education, witness of the traditions of the Roman Church⁴ to which he had had relation, St. Irenæus who had read and knew the writings of Papias⁵, writing about the year 185, says: «Matthew issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were presiding at Rome and

¹ *Eus.*, H. E. III, xxxvi, xxxix: P. G. XX, 287, 300.

² *Eus.*, H. E. III, xxxix: P. G. XX, 300.

³ Adv. haer. I, viii, 1, 2: P. G. VII, 522—523.

⁴ *Eus.*, H. E. V, iv: P. G. XX, 439 (note 44).

⁵ Haer. V, xxxiii, 4: P. G. VII, 1214.

laying the foundation of the Church. After their departure, Mark wrote a Gospel which Peter had preached.»¹ This saint's testimony is strong, for he represents the tradition of both the East and the West.

In the 4. century, according to Eusebius, it was said that **St. Pantænus**, the president of the catecheses of Alexandria, betook himself (before 180) to India (more probably the south of Arabia) to preach the Gospel to the inhabitants, and found there the Gospel of Matthew written in Hebrew characters which St. Bartholomew, the first missionary to that district, had left there². This testimony is completed by St. Jerome, who adds that St. Pantænus brought the Gospel to Alexandria³.

Origen (185—254), who does not refer to the writings of Papias at all, expresses himself thus on the point: «Among the four Gospels which are the only indisputable ones in the Church of God, I have *learnt by tradition* that the first was written by Matthew, who was once a publican but afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and delivered it to the Jewish believers, composed in the Hebrew language.»⁴

In the 4. century, **St. Jerome** and **Eusebius** bear out the testimony of the above mentioned writers. The former declares «that Matthew, also called Levi, who from being a publican became an Apostle, first of all, wrote a Gospel of Christ in Judea, in Hebrew letters and words, for the sake of the converted Jews»⁵; the latter says that «Matthew, after having evangelized the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other nations, delivered to them, as a compensation, his Gospel, written in the native tongue»⁶.

The Value of these Testimonies. We have seen that many ecclesiastical authorities unhesitatingly and unanimously ascribe the composition of a Hebrew Gospel, embodying both discourses and facts, to St. Matthew. We have shown, too, that this tradition did not understand the so-called *logia* of St. Matthew in the sense of some modern critics. Papias was directly linked with the Apostolic times, and he could not have confounded the Gospel of the Hebrews with the Hebrew writing of St. Matthew, if we take it for granted, that these two are really distinct. In fact, he says that each man interpreted the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew as far as he was able. But if the Gospel of the Hebrews is not one with the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, then it must have been only a local Gospel, which by its character was not susceptible of frequent interpretation.

¹ Adv. haer. III, 1, 1: P. G. VII, 844—845.

² Eus., H. E. V, x: P. G. XX, 455.

³ Jerome, De vir. ill. XXXVI: P. L. XXIII, 651.

⁴ Eus., H. E. VI, xxv: P. G. XX, 582.

⁵ De vir. ill. III: P. L. XXIII, 613. ⁶ Eus., H. E. III, xxiv: P. G. XX, 265.

Perhaps, as Loisy¹ contends, Papias «supported the Catholic tradition, in regard to the origin of the first two Gospels»? It is most unlikely that he did. Origen, who was writing from a place quite distant from Phrygia, refers especially to the same tradition. Besides, even if Papias can be rightly charged with supporting the Catholic tradition, this would not be a sufficient reason for setting aside his testimony; for the apologetical trend of his evidence, even if real, does not necessarily destroy its historical and objective character.

These considerations gain additional force from the fact that, in the Apostolic college, Matthew played rather a secondary role. He was called to the Apostolate very late, and little of his life is known. With this in mind, it becomes clear that, if the author's name was arbitrarily chosen to cover up an anonymous work, the names of Peter, Andrew, Philip or James, the son of Zebedee, would have suited as well and would have clothed it with more authority than the obscure name of Matthew.

Lastly, the tradition is in no way unfavourable to the modern view which maintains that a redaction of the first Gospel was made by a disciple of St. Matthew; for in this case the writer was under the orders of the Apostle, and wrote on his responsibility, and hence St. Matthew should be regarded as the principal and real author.

30. The Original Language of the Primitive Gospel of St. Matthew. — A. The Language spoken in Palestine in the Time of Christ². After the Captivity the Hebrew language became little by little a dead language. It remained, however, the official language of the synagogue, for the reading of the Sacred Books. *The common language of the Palestinian Jews in the time of Christ was Syro-Chaldean or Aramaic*, a Semitic language, closely approaching the Hebrew, and very often confounded with it.

The words of our Lord which have descended to us in their literal form, and the expressions preserved in their original cast in the Gospel, such as: *Abba, Akel-dama, Gabbatha, Golgotha, mammona, Messias, Eloi, Eloi, lamma sabachtani, Talitha cumi* etc. are Aramaic.

When St. Paul was arrested in Jerusalem and conducted to prison, he harangued the crowd «in the *Hebrew* language»³. From which fact we deduce that it was the language of the people.

The indications furnished us by St. John and by Josephus lead the conclusion that the word *Hebrew* in its N. T. use denotes the

¹ Les Évangiles synoptiques I, 24 f.

² Dalman, The Words of Jesus 1—12; Miss Lewis, Century Mag., Dec. 1896; What Language did Christ speak? Stapfer, Palestine 132 f.; Schürer, History of the Jewish People II, 67—69; Jacquier, Histoire II, 25—30.

³ Acts xxi. 40.

Aramaic and not the Hebrew language proper. Hence, St. John records that Golgotha and Bethsaida are Hebrew terms, though in reality they are Aramaic¹.

At the siege of Jerusalem, «Titus...being sensible that exhortations are frequently more effectual than arms...sent Josephus to speak to them in *their own language*». This language was not Greek; for this was not spoken widely by the people at large because of the difficulties it presented. Aside from this when Josephus speaks of the language of his country, he had in mind the Aramaic and not Greek; for we find him opposing the latter in his writings and vehemently urging the use of the language of the country instead².

31. B. Was the Original Language of the First Gospel Hebrew or Aramaic? On this question opinions vastly differ. According to the most prevalent opinion of to-day, the original Gospel was written in Greek. Despite this, the majority of Catholics and a few Protestants (Godet, Zahn) staunchly maintain the view of a Semitic original written in either Hebrew or Aramaic. The view of a Semitic original is historically certain, and it appears to us the more likely opinion that the Semitic language employed was Aramaic.

The tradition which we have already considered is as clear and as precise as it possibly can be in favour of a Semitic original. But does the Hebrew which the early writers refer to, mean Hebrew proper or Aramaic? Quite a few scholars, among whom is Resch³, have tried to prove from the patristic statements that the original language of the first Gospel was Hebrew and not Aramaic. It is the natural sense, they say, of the expressions employed by the Fathers; St. Jerome, in particular, says that the first Gospel was written «Hebraico sermone», and he must have intended that these words be taken in their strict sense; for he makes the observation that the Gospel of the Hebrews was written «Chaldaico sermone»⁴. Moreover, many passages of the first Gospel suppose a Hebrew and not an Aramaic original.

Though plausible, these reasons are not decisive. The discourses of our Lord were spoken in Aramaic, and it is more natural to suppose that, as the Gospel was destined for the Jews of Palestine, it was written in the language of the Lord and that of the author's readers. Many authors, as Eusebius and Irenæus, avoid the ambiguity of the word *Hebrew*; for they are careful to explain that St. Matthew wrote in the language of his Palestine hearers, and consequently in

¹ Jn. v. 2; xix. 17.

² *Josephus*, J. W. V, iv, 2; ix, 2; VI, ii, 1; J. A. XX, xi, 2; x, 6; III, x, 6.

³ *Agrapha* (1906) and *Ausserkanonische Paralleltexzte zu den Evangelien* (1893).

⁴ Prol. in *Matth.*, and *Epist. ad Dam.* XX.

Aramaic. However, Hebrew and Aramaic are so nearly similar that no philological study can absolutely determine just what the original was¹.

C. The Fate of the Aramaic Original. This original text did not have a wide circulation outside of the small Christian circle which alone was capable of understanding it. With the dissolution of the Christian Church of Jerusalem, it disappeared entirely. Because of the unsettled condition of Palestine in those days, many Christians emigrated from Palestine and intermingled with Greek-speaking peoples. They adopted the customs of their neighbours, and it was not long before they ceased speaking their native tongue. Besides many of them drifted into the sect of the Nazarenes or Ebionites. If they preserved the original of the first Gospel at all, it was in a much altered form which was, as many critics affirm, known under the name of «the Gospel according to the Hebrews».

32. The Aramaic Text of the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Gospel of the Hebrews. The ancient ecclesiastical authors tell us that they knew of the existence of a Gospel, sometimes referred to as «the Gospel according to the Hebrews» or «according to the Nazarenes» and at others as «the Gospel according to the Ebionites». St. Jerome stated that it was written in Aramaic in Hebrew characters. He himself found a copy, which he afterwards translated into Greek and Latin, in the library of Cæsarea and at Berea in Syria². There remain of it but a very few fragments³ which are of such a nature, that they afford no basis whereby the relation of Matthew's Gospel to the Gospel of the Hebrews can be determined. St. Irenæus and Eusebius assure us that the Ebionites made use of the Gospel according to Matthew exclusively, but this testimony is too vague and tells us nothing of the original language of the writing. St. Epiphanius is more explicit. He affirms that the Ebionites followed the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Nazarenes possessed a Hebrew Gospel written by this Apostle. This testimony must be received with caution; for St. Epiphanius did not see the recension of the Nazarenes, for he confesses that he did not know whether it contained the genealogy of Our Lord or not⁴. St. Jerome translated the work and was in a better position to speak. He claims explicitly that the work was the original of Matthew in Aramaic, adding that not all, but many (plerique) regard it as «Matthæi authenticum»⁵. At all events the resemblances were so close that one could identify them, but the differences were so marked as to make St. Jerome translate the work into Greek and Latin. It was altered by the two Judaizing sects, the Ebionites and the Nazarenes, and this is why it is called the «Gospel of the Ebionites» or the «Gospel of the Nazarenes».

Since the Nazarenes also possessed the fourth Gospel and the Acts in Aramaic, which were originally written in Greek, it may be possible that

¹ *Dalman*, *The Words of Jesus* 1—90.

² *Adv. Pel.* III, 2: P. L. XXIII, 570; *De vir. ill.* II and III: P. L. XXIII, 611, 613; *Comm. in S. Matth.* XII, 13: P. L. XXVI, 78.

³ These can be seen in *Nestle*, *N. T. graeci supplementum* 76, 77, and in *Hilgenfeld*, *N. T. extra Canonem receptum* IV, 10—38.

⁴ *Haer.* XXX, iii, 13; XXIX, ix: P. G. XLI, 409, 428, 405.

⁵ *De vir. ill.* III: P. L. XXIII, 613; *Adv. Pel.* III, 2: P. L. XXIII, 570.

their Gospel of St. Matthew was a translation of its Greek form. Nothing, however, can be proved positively. The problem remains unsolved and nothing can be concluded with certainty, regarding the original language of our first Gospel¹.

III. THE ORIGIN OF THE GREEK GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.

33. The Ascribing of the Greek Gospel to St. Matthew.—

Quotations. From the end of the 1. century until the middle of the 2., we find many quotations of the first Gospel, both among orthodox and heterodox writers. These at least prove the existence and the early circulation of our Greek Gospel. That they are drawn from the Greek Gospel is evident from the fact that these authors lived outside the confines of Palestine and were not familiar with Hebrew or Aramaic. Many of the quotations are not literal, either because the ancient authors cited Scripture from memory, or because their text differed slightly from ours. Perhaps too, they borrowed certain formulas from tradition which had become proverbial. The textual resemblances suppose a direct borrowing from the first Gospel, for oral tradition could remain identically the same among many nations and last for many years only with great difficulty.

It has been said², that the ancient ecclesiastical writers drew their quotations not from our canonical Gospels, but from a collection of texts, closely resembling our Gospels. That there were uncanonical Gospels in the 1. century cannot be doubted³, but this does not prove at all that the Fathers used them in their quotations. Besides, it makes very little difference, since even Rationalistic critics⁴ do not date the composition of the first Gospel after the year 100 A. D.

1. ORTHODOX AUTHORS⁵. Thirty passages of the *Doctrine of the Apostles* (80?—100?) show familiarity with the first Gospel. Many of the passages are striking and textually the same, as is shown by the following words which are read only, and almost verbatim, in St. Matthew: «*Neque orate sicut hypocritæ, sed, sicut praecepit Dominus in Evangelio suo, ita orate: Pater Noster ... etc.*», and the «Our Father» is cited almost literally (Did. viii; Mt. vi. 5, 9—13). Again, *Dixit Dominus: Nolite dare sanctum canibus* (Did. ix. 5; Mt. vii. 6). Many passages of the *Epistle of Clement of Rome* to the Corinthians (93—95) contain allusions to our Gospel. Thus: «*Miseremini ut misericordiam consequamini*» (I Clem. xiii. 2; Mt. v. 7). *The Epistle of the Pseudo-Barnabas* (96—98 or 130) contains two literal quotations: «*Multi vocati, pauci electi*» (iv. 14; Mt. xx. 16); «*Non venisse vocare iustos sed peccatores*» (Bar. v. 9; Mt. ix. 13). *St. Ignatius*, bishop of Antioch (110—117), has ten passages which, although not literal, resemble our first Gospel very much. The most literal is the following: «*Prudens*

¹ On this question see *Menzies*, in HDB., art. Gospel according to the Hebrews, extra vol. 338—343; *Cornely*, Introductio IV, 47—52; *Batiffol*, Six leçons 34—38; *Harnack*, Die Chronologie 631 f.; *Zahn*, Introduction to the N. T. II, 255, 261—263.

² *Loisy*, Les Évangiles synoptiques I, 17, 20, 142.

³ Lk. i. 1.

⁴ Cf. the table of no. 26.

⁵ *Bardenheuer*, Patrology.

esto sicut serpens in omnibus et simplex semper ut columba (Ad Polyc. ii. 2; Mt. x. 16). A few years later (120), *St. Polycarp* shows that he, too, borrowed from the first Gospel: «Vigilantes et orationibus, . . . rogantes ne nos inducat in tentationem, sicut dixit Dominus: Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma» (Ad Phil. vii. 2; Mt. vi. 13; xxvi. 41; Mk. xiv. 38). There are also a number of similarities between St. Matthew and the *Shepherd of Hermas* (140—155).

Tatian (160—170) embodies in his *Harmony of the Gospels* or *Diatessaron* (τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων, i. e. made up of four) the first Gospel just as we have it.

2. HETERODOX AUTHORS. *Basilides*, one of the leaders of Gnosticism, wrote (125 to 130) a sort of commentary on the Gospel in 24 books¹. One passage recorded by Clement of Alexandria and attributed to the disciples of Basilides, is an explanation of Mt. xix. 10—12². The *Valentinians* used Matthew in the middle of the 2. century, especially Mark, the disciple of Valentius³. In like manner *Cerinthus* and *Carpocrates*, at the beginning of the 2. century, made use of the Gospel⁴. *Celsus*, «the Voltaire of the 2. century» (125 or 178), knew many of the facts of Christ's life, which our Matthew alone embodies, as the visit of the Magi, the massacre of the Holy Innocents, the flight into Egypt, etc.⁵

34. Explicit Testimony. The very same authors who attribute to Matthew the composition of a Hebrew Gospel, also credit him with the writing of a Gospel in Greek. To the testimony of these authors, it is necessary, to be complete, to add the following:

ST. JUSTIN, who died between 163 and 167, cites the first Gospel 175 times, and records not only the sayings it contains, but the facts also. Rarely ever, it must be confessed, are these quotations literal, because the author quotes from memory. This cannot be used as an argument against his testimony, for his quotations from the O. T. are scarcely ever literal. He speaks many times of «the memories of the Apostles, which are called Gospels and which were drawn up by the Apostles and their disciples»⁶. Now of our four Gospels, two, he says, are the work of Apostles and two the work of their disciples.

THE CANON OF MURATORI (composed c. a. 160—170, and reproducing the traditions of the Roman Church) does not mention the first Gospel explicitly, because the opening words are missing. But there is a clear inference to it, for it states that the Gospel of Luke is the third⁷. Later, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA († 217) clearly looked upon Matthew as the author of the first Gospel⁸. In Africa, TERTULLIAN, writing against Marcion, affirms: «Of the Apostles, John and Matthew first instil faith into us, whilst of Apostolic men Luke and

¹ *Eus.*, H. E. IV, 7; P. G. XX, 317.

² Strom. III, 1; P. G. VIII, 1100.

³ *Iren.*, Adv. haer. I, 3, 2; 14, 1; P. G. VII, 470, 593.

⁴ *Epiph.*, Haer. I, 27, 5; 28, 5; P. G. XLI, 370, 383.

⁵ *Orig.*, Contra Cels. I, 58, 66; P. G. XI, 768, 784.

⁶ 1. Apol. 66, 67; P. G. VI, 429; Dial. 101, 103, 104, 106; P. G. VI, 718—720.

⁷ *Loisy*, Les Évangiles synoptiques I, 50.

⁸ Strom. I, 21; P. G. VIII, 890.

Mark renew it afterwards.»¹ It is clear that all these writers speak of our first Gospel in Greek, as their numerous citations prove². It is quite superfluous to insist further on facts, which no one denies. But of what demonstrative value are they?

The considerations which we urged in favour of a Hebrew original retain their value here. We merely add that the primitive tradition carries with it the highest cogency, since the Fathers of the 1. and 2. centuries were closely linked to the Apostolic times and were in a position to speak with authority, and it is quite improbable that they could be guilty of negligence on so important a point. Like us, they were anxious to know something definite about the exact origin of the Gospels, seeing that they embodied the rule of faith and morals. From all ages, human passion and human ambition have hurled objection after objection against the Evangelic doctrine and its moral code. Yet the early teachers, or rather the Church, has always provided herself against untold falsifications, and she has rejected all apocryphal books, because she was quick to note their uninspired character. Bearing this in mind we have a right to clothe the primitive tradition regarding our canonical Gospels with the highest authority.

Principal Objections. 1. The first Gospel used the second. But it is not at all likely that an eye-witness like Matthew would glean his information second hand, when he had opportunities of making statements on his own personal experiences. Therefore, Matthew did not write the first Gospel³.

Answer. It has not been proved by any means that the author of the first Gospel made use of the second. This relates to the Synoptic Problem which is not and probably never will be explained satisfactorily⁴. There is nothing unlikely in the position that St. Matthew and St. Mark used a common source differing from our Second Gospel. Although an eye-witness, St. Matthew made use of it, because it represented a catechesis which Apostolic tradition had made sacred.

2. «It appears certain that the work was written in Greek, and cannot be a translation from an Aramaic original.»⁵

Answer. In studying the language of the First Gospel, we shall prove that we have here a free translation and a Greek adaptation.

3. «That the first Gospel was not written after the personal recollections of a companion of Jesus, is clear from its composition and its unhistorical character, which points to the work of a redactor.»⁶

¹ Adv. Marcionem IV, 2: P. L. II, 363.

² *Iren.*, Adv. haer., praef. 2, 3, and Mt. vii. 15; x. 26; *Clement*, Cohortatio ad gentes I, and Mt. iii. 9; xii. 15; xi. 27.

³ *Allen*, Comm. on St. Matt. (Int. Crit. Comm.) LXXX; *Loisy*, Les Évangiles synoptiques I, 120 f. ⁴ Cf. nos. 74 f. ⁵ *Loisy* l. c. I, 141. ⁶ *Ib.*

Answer. We admit that the events are described with less circumstance than they are in St. Mark, who was not an eye-witness (no. 44). Yet many of the narratives are remarkable for their precision, v. g. the call of the publican Matthew, the cure of the man with the withered hand, and the tempest at sea¹.

In the matter of imports and taxes the first Gospel is more precise than the other three². It is better informed regarding the history of St. Matthew. It alone notes that this Apostle was a publican at Capharnaum³. That profession was much despised because of the exorbitant demands which the publicans made on the people, and the word is synonymous with «sinner» and one excommunicated (*si Ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus*)⁴.

The author has in mind but one thesis, and that is to prove the Messianic character of Jesus (no. 38). Hence he does not trace a chronological and detailed biography. He selected the facts that fell in with his object and in the measure in which they suited his purpose, with no development, nor detailed description of scenes and persons. It is with him as with other authors, who, although they are eye-witnesses, fail in giving minute and detailed descriptions, because they lack the necessary skill and talent.

35. The Relation of The Hebrew and The Greck Gospel of St. Mathew. — Basis. There are two points which the ancient ecclesiastical authors firmly maintain: that Matthew wrote both a Hebrew and Greek Gospel. No doubt, unconcerned the question of the redaction in Greek, St. Matthew was the author of the Hebrew Gospel, and, as for the matter of the Greek, we must attribute him, certainly, the *contents* of the Greek Gospel which bears his name.

Form. The great majority of non-Catholic critics and some Catholics⁵ are of the opinion that the original of the first Gospel was written in Greek. The reasons which they allege, merely prove that the Hebrew Gospel underwent a certain transformation, and that the Greek translation is very similar in character to an original composition. The substance of the work remained unaffected, and hence this explanation can be reconciled with the tradition which regards the first Greek Gospel as the work of St. Matthew.

a) The Greek of the first Gospel is of first hand, for it is less charged with Hebraisms than the Gospel of St. Mark. Throughout the propositions are subordinated, and such terms as *βαπτολογῆν. πολυλογία* (Mt. vi. 7) are peculiar to the Greek and find no parallel in Hebrew. The genitive absolute, the Greek forms *μὲν—ὁς*, and the play on words are quite frequent. Besides this, there are many

¹ Mt. ix. 9—13; xii. 10—13; xiv. 24—32.

² Mt. xvii. 24—26; xxii. 19.

³ Mt. ix. 9; x. 3.

⁴ Mt. xviii. 17.

⁵ *Batiffol*, Six leçons 46—51.

particulars irreconcilable with a translation from the Semitic; the syntax of Aramaic differs vastly from that of the Greek, and it is quite incapable of producing such «*paronomasia*» as we find in the following: *κακὸς κακῶς ἀπολέσει* (xxi. 41), and *ἀφανίζουσι . . . ὅπως φανῶσιν* (vi. 16)¹.

b) When our Gospel records the words of Isaiah: «you shall call Him Emmanuel», the author is careful to explain that Emmanuel means «God with us» (Mt. i. 23), all of which supposes that his readers were unable to understand its meaning. Hence the Gospel must be a translation².

Answer. This merely proves that the translation was made freely and that it reproduced the substance of the Aramaic by adapting it to Greek readers. The play on words, in particular, is rare. Perhaps there were just as many such expressions in the Aramaic as are now found in the Latin Version.

36. The Greek Version: Date and Place of its Composition. Be it as it may, the Greek Version was soon made, for it is so quoted at the end of the 1. century and at the beginning of the 2., by writers who had no knowledge of Aramaic, as spoken in Palestine. Its author and the country from which it sprung, are unknown. Many (Bengel, Fouard) claim that Matthew himself is the author. As Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis, implicitly informs us that the Hebrew text was known and interpreted orally or by writing throughout the Greek provinces of Asia Minor, it is most likely that the Greek version was made there, and from there was diffused throughout the Christian world.

IV. DESTINATION AND PURPOSE.

37. I. Destination. The author wrote for the Jewish converts of Palestine. a) For **Jews**. The author's main idea is proof enough for this. His desire was to show by means of the O. T. that Jesus is the Messias. This could be of special interest only to the Jews who, with a full knowledge of the prophets, were the only nation who expected the Messias.

Like the purpose of the work, the ideas embodied in it suppose a Jewish class of readers. Thus: Jesus is the Son of David³; the Temple is the holy place and Jerusalem the holy city⁴; the Gentiles are placed in the same category with the publicans⁵; the rule of the synagogue is ended, a universal Church is to be raised on its ruins⁶.

¹ *Jülicher*, N. T. Introduction 260—261.

² *Batiffol* l. c. 46, 47.

³ 8 times: i. 1; ix. 27; xii. 23; xv. 22; xx. 30, 31; xxi. 9, 15.

⁴ xxiv. 15; iv. 5.

⁵ xviii. 17; cf. v. 46, 47; vi. 7, 32; x. 5.

⁶ x. 17; xvi. 18; xxiii. 34—38; xxviii. 19.

The author records in detail the invectives against the Pharisees, which would scarcely be of interest to Gentile readers¹.

b) **The work was destined for Palestinian Converts.** Origen², Jerome, and Eusebius explicitly state this. Since the original Gospel was in Aramaic, it could only be addressed to the Palestinians who alone were familiar with that language. Finally, we find no explanation of the Jewish laws, of their customs (*parasceve*, *bread of the Azymes*; *ablution*³), nor the topographical indications which St. Mark, who wrote for Gentile readers, is always careful to note⁴. On the contrary, it possesses features, which, wholly meaningless to other converts, are of special interest to the residents of Palestine; for instance, the detail of Haceldama is given in order to impress the fact that the field, even to this day, is called the field of blood⁵.

38. II. Purpose. The author's *principal intention* was not to give a biography of Christ nor a complete summary of His preaching, but it was his main idea to prove that Christ was the Messiah, and to show the necessity of men's following Him and living as Christians. It was because of this dogmatic thesis that he groups the discourses and facts. He carefully describes the Person of Jesus, and he assigns to Him all the prerogatives that the prophets of old had granted Him. He is the king⁶, law-giver⁷, the wonder-worker⁸, the prophet⁹, the high priest¹⁰. He exposes the agreement of the prophets with the history of Jesus, establishing the relation by such expressive formulas, as: «tum adimpletum est», «ut adimpleretur», «sicut scriptum est»¹¹.

Besides the main purpose, a good many critics are of the opinion that St. Matthew also had a *polemical one*. He wishes, as St. Irenæus has said, to attack the still unbelieving Jews, to convince them of their incredulity, and to convert them to Christianity. Again he desires to justify the doctrine of divine Providence in the eyes of the faithful. At the time he wrote, the Jews to whom Jesus was sent, remained obstinately in their unbelief, while the pagans of the Roman Empire were being converted in great numbers. In order to solve this difficulty which was a source of trouble to the believers, St. Matthew resorted to the explanation that «Jesus, during His life, ran foul of an obstinate and blameworthy opposition, although He had shown to Israel evident signs of His divine mission; that then the Gentiles received Him with eagerness, and in view of this attitude of theirs the Saviour gave the command to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles ... and by them to establish a new theocracy»¹².

¹ Mt. xxiii. 2—44; vi. 2, 5. ² Fragm. XXIX: P. G. VII, 1244.

³ xxvii. 62; xxvi. 17; Mk. xvi. 12; vii. 3, 4; Lk. xxii. 7; xv. 1, 2; cf. no. 51.

⁴ Mt. iii. 5; Mk. i. 5. ⁵ Mt. xxvii. 8.

⁶ Is. ix. 6, 7; Jer. xxiii. 5; Dan. ii. 44; Mich. v. 2, 8; Mt. i. 1; xxi. 1—9.

⁷ Is. ii. 3, 4; Mt. v—vii. ⁸ Is. xxxv. 3—6; Mt. viii—xviii.

⁹ Deut. xviii. 15; Is. xli. 1—4; Joël ii. 23; Mt. xix—xxv. 10.

¹⁰ Ps. cix. 4; Mt. xxvi—xxviii.

¹¹ Mt. i. 23; ii. 5, 6, 15, 17, 18, 23; iii. 3; iv. 14, 15, viii. 17; xi. 2, 3, 4, 10; xii. 17—21; xiii. 35; xxi. 4, 5, 16, 42. ¹² Rose, *Évangile selon S. Matth. XII—XX.*

V. DATE AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION.

39. I. Date. Critics are divided on this point. The more conservative, among whom most Catholics are to be found, date the first Gospel somewhere between the year 36 and 70. Rationalists and liberal Protestants place it after 70, and some of them as late as the year 100.

It is certain that **Matthew's Gospel was the first written.** St. Irenæus and Origen, who appeal to a tradition of long standing, Eusebius, St. Augustine and St. Jerome leave no doubt as to what was the ancient belief on this point¹. Clement of Alexandria, who wrote before Origen, places the Gospels containing the genealogies (Matthew, Luke)² as the first written, and this is not in contradiction with the witness of the before mentioned Fathers, concerning the first Gospel.

There is **no weighty reason** why the composition of the first Gospel should be dated after the year 70, as Jülicher and others contend. Too much stress is laid upon the parable of the wedding feast³. They claim that the prophetic element here is too pronounced to have been written before the event, and the whole narrative supposes that Jerusalem was already destroyed. Their reasoning is clearly «a priori» and proves nothing as far as the date of the first Gospel is concerned; for Christ was able to foretell the future, with or without minute circumstances.

If the Gospel was written before the year 70, how long was it in existence when the Holy City was destroyed? Nothing definite is known on this period. Eusebius tells us that «Matthew, having first preached the Gospel to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other nations, delivered to them the Gospel in their native tongue.»⁴ These words would seem to refer to the dispersion of the Apostles. This, according to another tradition, took place twelve years after the Ascension⁵, in which case our first Gospel was composed about the year 41 or 42.

On the other hand, St. Irenæus furnishes us with information which makes for a much later date: «Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching and laying the foundation of the Church at Rome.»⁶

¹ *Iren.*, Adv. haer. III, 1: P. G. VII, 844; *Eus.*, H. E. III, xxiv and V, viii: P. G. XX, 265, 449; *Or.*, H. E. VI, 25, 3: P. G. XX, 581; *Aug.*, De cons. Evang. I, ii: P. L. XXXIV, 1043; *Jerome*, De vir. ill. III: P. L. XXIII, 613.

² *Eus.*, H. E. VI, xiv: P. G. XX, 552. ³ Mt. xxii. 7.

⁴ H. E. III, xxiv: P. G. XX, 265.

⁵ *Jerome*, De vir. ill. XL: P. L. XXIII, 655. Cf. *Eus.*, H. E. V, xviii: P. G. XX, 479; *Clem. Alex.*, Strom. VI, v: P. G. IX, 263 (note 32).

⁶ Τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐδιδάσκοντων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. *Iren.*, Adv. haer. III, 1, 1: P. G. VII, 844; *Eus.*, H. E. V, viii, 2: P. G. XX, 449.

As we know from other sources, St. Peter and St. Paul did not meet in Rome, until some time between the years 60 and 67, and hence if Irenæus' testimony is to be accepted as trustworthy, the date of the first Gospel must be placed at this period. However, it has been said the bishop of Lyons had no intention of affirming the synchronism of the labours of St. Matthew and the two chief Apostles, but only wished to express the various ways in which they manifested their zeal, and consequently he does not furnish any data as regards the date of the Gospel. This explanation, plausible as it is, can scarcely be reconciled with the context of the Saint's words, where his manifest purpose is to indicate the period in which our Gospels appeared: «After the departure of St. Peter and St. Paul, Mark wrote the preaching of Peter, Luke produced the preaching of Paul. Lastly John wrote from Ephesus.»¹ Although this testimony is isolated and is contradicted by Eusebius, it is our opinion that the date furnished by St. Irenæus carries with it the most probability. At all events, on account of its obscurity, this text does not give the claim on rejecting the opinion of those who give an earlier date to the composition of this writing. And consequently the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew may be dated between the years 60 and 67. The Greek version was probably not much later (cf. no. 36).

40. II. Place of Composition. The Aramaic Gospel was composed in Palestine — perhaps in Jerusalem. — Eusebius inclines to this inference and Irenæus states it explicitly. Besides, as the author preached the Gospel to the Palestinians and destined his writing for them, it is only natural to suppose that this is the locality whence it sprung. There are some² who are of the opinion that the Gospel was written in Greek for the Hellenistic Jews and was drawn up in Antioch in Syria. Palestine, they claim, is out of the question; for the author would not dare record the severe arraignment of the Scribes and Pharisees, were he writing at Jerusalem, nor would he have alluded to the high priest as a «whited sepulchre» (Acts xxiii. 1—5). This view fails to take into consideration the fact that the Gospel was composed for the Jewish converts at Palestine, and the Pharisees and Scribes could not be hurt or insulted at its tone; for it would never reach them.

VI. CHARACTERISTICS AND PLAN OF THE FIRST GOSPEL.

41. I. Characteristics. a) *From a historical point of view.* Properly speaking the Gospel of Matthew is neither a history, nor a biography. It contains a sketch of the life of the Saviour and a summary of

¹ Cf. *Cornely*, Introductio IV, 76—80; *Godet*, Introduction II, 10—30.

² V. g. *Batiffol*, Six leçons 49—50.

His preaching. The author bothers himself little about the circumstantial setting of his events, and he frequently groups his discourses. The chronological order is often at fault, and the same may be said of the dates he gives. Over and above all, the design of the author is both dogmatic and moral.

b) *From a doctrinal point of view.* The «kingdom of heaven» is the central idea pervading the Gospel. The author refers to it as the great work of the Son of God, namely, His Church. Because of this, this Gospel has been called the «Gospel of the Kingdom of God»¹. This kingdom is spiritual and open to all men². The author is especially careful to note that the Jews, because of their passions, excluded themselves from it.

c) *From a literary point of view.* As the Aramaic original has perished, nothing can be said of its style. As regards the Greek version, its style is simple, uniform, and precise. There is everywhere the same manner of passing from the facts to the discourses, and vice versa. It strikes a medium between the clumsy and prolix simplicity of St. Mark and the almost classical elegance of St. Luke. The author employs a certain number of words and literary turns which are not found at all, or rarely, in the other Gospels, such as «kingdom of heaven» «heavenly Father», «consummation of the world», «Son of David, etc.»³

II. **Plan.** The 28 chapters of the first Gospel are divided into three parts: 1. The infancy and hidden life of the Saviour; 2. His public ministry; 3. His suffering and glorious life:

1. Jesus the King (Chapt. i. ii). 2. Jesus as Law-giver (Chapt. iii—vii); Jesus as Wonder-worker (Chapt. viii—xviii); Jesus as Prophet (Chapt. xix to xxv). 3. Jesus as Victim (Chapt. xxvi—xxviii).

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42. Maldonat, Comm. in quattuor Evangelistas; Schanz, Kommentar über das Evangelium des hl. Matthäus; Knabenbauer, Comm. in S. Matthei Evangelium; Adeney, The Gospel according to the Hebrews; Deissmann, Bible Studies; Hastings, Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels; Merx, Das Evangelium Matthäus; Robinson, The Study of the Gospels; Rose, Évangile selon S. Matthieu; Allen, Commentary on St. Matthew; Plummer, An exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew.

¹ The expression βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν is found 37 times in this Gospel; οὐρανός, 80 times.

² Mt. xiii.

³ For a list of these words and expressions see Samuel Davidson, Introduction to the N. T. I, 371 f.

CHAPTER II.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK.

I. THE PERSON OF ST. MARK.

43. I. Identification of Mark with John Mark. Tradition tells us that the author of the second Gospel was called Mark, and was a companion of St. Peter. The Acts of the Apostles¹ speak of a certain John surnamed Mark and refer to him sometimes under the name of John² and at others as Mark³ simply. In the Pauline Epistles, there is question of a Mark who is referred to as the cousin or nephew (*ἀνεψιός*) of St. Barnabas, and probably, like him, a Levite⁴. Are they one and the same person, or two distinct persons? The ancient ecclesiastical authors and the great majority of modern critics rightly identify Mark and John Mark. John Mark, as we shall show, was a companion of St. Barnabas and a relative of St. Peter. Mark was the cousin of Barnabas and the «spiritual» son of St. Peter, which means in the language of the time that he was converted and baptized by St. Peter⁵.

Nevertheless, a few modern authors are of the opinion that the two should be distinguished⁶. The only special reason that they can allege is the fact that the same person appears some times with St. Peter and at others with St. Paul. But it should be remembered that John Mark, who was well-known to St. Peter, attached himself to St. Paul in order to separate himself from his master for a little time. Nor can the difference in names be urged as an objection; for it was customary in apostolic times for men to bear two names: one Hebrew which was seldom used, the other Greek by which the person was generally known. It is in this wise that St. Peter was called Cephas; and Paul, Saul.

44. II. The Life of St. Mark. The mother of John Mark was a certain Mary who possessed a house in Jerusalem, where the Christians

¹ Acts xii. 12, 25; xv. 37.

² Acts xiii. 5, 13.

³ Acts xv. 37, 39.

⁴ Col. iv. 10; Philemon 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11; 1 Pet. v. 13; Acts iv. 36.

⁵ 1 Pet. v. 13; 2 Tim. i. 2; Tit. i. 4; Philemon 10.

⁶ *Baronius, Tillemont, Patrizi, De Evangelii libri tres* I, 35, and also *Loisy, Les Évangiles synopt.* I, 112, 113.

were wont to take refuge in times of persecution. It was here that St. Peter went immediately upon his miraculous delivery from the prison into which he had been cast by Herod¹. According to the testimony of the *presbyteros* John as recorded by Papias (no. 29), and also according to many ancient ecclesiastical authors², Mark was not a follower of Christ nor His disciple. Many indeed regard him as one of the 72 disciples, but their testimony is much later than that of the *presbyteros* John, and hence they do not counterbalance his authority. In our days many commentators identify him with the young man who fled naked from Gethsemane at the time of the Passion³. St. Mark is the only one among the Evangelists to record this incident, and that with such detailed precision that he himself must have played this part in it. This supposition is easily harmonized with tradition. Mark may have seen the Lord, but very rarely, perhaps on this occasion only.

About the year 44, Mark was in Antioch with Paul and Barnabas. All three went on a missionary journey and evangelized the Isle of Cyprus and part of Pamphylia. But at Perge John Mark deserted his companions and returned to Jerusalem⁴, discouraged perhaps by the hardships of the Apostolate.

A few years later, about 51 A.D., we find John Mark at Antioch.⁵ But after this mention he appears no more in the Acts of the Apostles. His history, however, can be completed by the data afforded by the Epistles and the testimony of the ancient ecclesiastical writers. About the years 61—63, while in prison, St. Paul in the letter to the Collosians (iv. 10) and Philemon (24) refers to Mark as his fellow labourer. About the year 64, St. Peter sends from Babylon (Rome) to the faithful of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, the salutations of Mark who was well-known⁶.

The most ancient tradition (see no. 45) regards our Evangelist as the interpreter (*ἑρμηνευτής*) of Peter, in this sense that he was his secretary, or rather that he composed his Gospel according to the preaching of St. Peter. During the second captivity of St. Paul, 66—67, Mark was in the East, probably in Asia Minor; for the Apostle of the Gentiles wrote to Timothy, who was at Ephesus at this time, to come to Rome and bring Mark with him⁷.

Many and diverse traditions refer to our Evangelist as the founder and the first bishop of the Church in Alexandria⁸. But the length

¹ Acts xii. 12—17.

² *Eus.*, Dem. evang. III, 5: P. G. XXII, 215; *Hier.*, Prol. in Ev. Matth.: P. L. XXVI, 18.

³ Mk. xiv. 51, 52.

⁴ Acts xi. 27—30; xii. 25; xiii. 4—13; for the facts see *Fouard*, St. Paul, ses missions, Chapter i. (Engl. ed.)

⁵ Acts xv. 36—41.

⁶ 1 Pet. i. 1; v. 13.

⁷ 2 Tim. iv. 8, 11.

⁸ *Eus.*, H. E. II, 16; *Jerome*, De vir. ill. VIII: P. L. XXIII, 622.

and circumstances of his sojourn in Egypt cannot be determined with precision. The rest of his life is equally unknown¹.

II. THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SECOND GOSPEL.

45. The substantial authenticity of the second Gospel is admitted by nearly all critics, although it has been questioned by Strauss, Baur and their school, and in later days by Loisy. «It is impossible», writes Harnack, «to call into question the identity of our Gospel of Mark with the evangelical writing which tradition, by the pen of Papias, attributes to Mark who was a secretary of Peter.»² And this is the proposition which we shall prove.

I. Tradition. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers do not contain any actual quotations from the second Gospel³, a fact which is due to the lack of characteristic details. But there are other ecclesiastical writers who clearly attribute the Gospel to St. Mark. Papias, whose testimony has already been given, is most explicit (no. 29).

St. Justin, who died between the years 163 and 167, was familiar with the second Gospel from which he quotes frequently, calling our Lord *τέκτων*, and refers explicitly to the Gospel under the title of «Memoirs of Peter», taking from it the name «Boanerges: sons of thunder», given to the sons of Zebedee⁴. Besides this he makes explicit mention of certain «Memoirs of the Apostles which are called Gospels, and which came from the Apostles and their disciples». Again, he speaks of our four Gospels and says that two are the work of Apostles and the other two the work of disciples of the Apostles⁵.

The Canon of Muratori refers to St. Luke's Gospel as the third, without mentioning the Gospel of Mark. The notice regarding Luke: «Dominum nec ipse vidit», bears an allusion to St. Mark who was not an eye-witness.

St. Irenæus wrote about the year 185: «Mark, the interpreter and follower of Peter, does thus commence his Gospel: The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God»; and again, «he wrote what Peter preached», and «he wrote after the departure of Peter and Paul» (*μετὰ τὴν τοῦτων ἔξοδον*)⁶.

Clement of Alexandria († 217) who travelled in Italy, Greece, Syria and Palestine, said that the «elders of former time» (*τῶν*

¹ Acta Sanctorum, June, II, 440; April III, 346 f. See also *Godet*, Introduction to the New Testament 326—334; *Knabenbauer*, In Marcum 1—6.

² Die Chronologie I, 652. ³ Cf. *Cornely*, Introductio IV, 88.

⁴ Mk. vi. 3; *Justin*, Dial. 88: P. G. VI, 688. Cf. also Mk. iii. 17; Dial. 106: P. G. VI, 724. ⁵ 1 Apology 66: P. G. VI, 429; Dial. 103: ib. VI, 718—720.

⁶ Adv. haer. III, 10, 6: P. G. VII, 878; III, 1, 1: ib. VII, 845; *Eus.*, H. E. VIII: P. G. XX, 449.

ἀνέξαθεν πρᾶσβυτέρων) heard the following opinion in regard to the second Gospel: «When Peter had publicly preached at Rome... Those being present, being many, urged Mark as one who had followed him for a long time and remembered what he said, to record what he stated, and that he having made the Gospel gave it to those who made the request of him. Peter, having heard that, did neither encourage, nor forbid him.»¹

Origen (185—254), the glory of the Alexandrian school, says that «the second Gospel is according to Mark, and this he wrote as Peter taught him»².

In Africa, in the 3. century, *Tertullian* is also explicit on this point. In the 4. century, *Eusebius* citing Papias, Clement of Alexandria and Origen records in turn that Mark, having arrived in Egypt, preached the Gospel which was composed according to the preaching of Peter³. In the same period, *St. Jerome* sums up the tradition in these words: «Secundus Marcus, interpres Apostoli Petri et Alexandriae primus episcopus, qui Dominum quidem non vidit, sed ex eis quae magistrum audierat praedicantem, juxta fidem magis gestorum narravit quam ordinem ... Rogatus Romae a fratribus breve scripsit evangelium.»⁴

These numerous and unanimous testimonies, coming from diverse sources and going back to Apostolic times, leave no doubt in regard to the authorship of the second Gospel. No forger, in an attempt to add credence and authority to his work, would hit upon the comparatively unknown Mark; for «Mark was not of such importance as to have the credit of any writing attributed to him»⁵.

46. II. Internal Evidence. The intrinsic study of the second Gospel leads to the belief that its author, as the traditional data has indicated, was a Jew, a contemporary of the Apostles and a disciple of St. Peter.

1. The Author was a Jew. His work abounds in Hebraisms: «una (die) sabbatorum», «una sabbati» (xvi. 2, 9); and Aramaic citations, as «ephphetha» (vii. 34); «Talitha cumi» (v. 41); «Eloi, Eloi, lamma sabachthani» (xv. 34). The construction of the phrases is rudimentary, and the sentences, instead of being coordinated, are generally in juxtaposition and connected by «and», «again», «immediately», «then».

The author is familiar with the customs and the manners of the Jews and shows full acquaintance with the geography of Palestine. He tells us that the Jews do not eat without having washed their

¹ *Eus.*, H. E. VI, 14; P. G. XX, 552.

² *Ib.* VI, 25; *ib.* XX, 581.

³ *Ib.* II, 16; *ib.* XX, 173; *Dem. evang.* III, 5; P. G. XXII, 216—217.

⁴ *Comm. in Matth. Prol.*: P. L. XXVI, 18; *De vir. ill.* I, 8; *ib.* XXIII, 609, 621.

⁵ *Renan*, *The Gospels* 108, note 1.

hands frequently (vii. 2, 4); that the Sadducees do not believe in the resurrection (xii. 18); that the Pasch is celebrated on the first day of unleavened bread (xiv. 12; xv. 42); and that Mt. Olivet is opposite the Temple (xiii. 3). Only a Jew by nationality and education, living in Palestine and speaking Aramaic, could write in this strain.

2. The Author was Contemporary with the Apostles.

In this Gospel everything is handled with animation, and the strong impression left by Jesus is found throughout. We see Him really living, acting¹. Clearness, precision in detail, the originality, the picturesqueness and the life of the narrative mark it as the work of an Apostle or one who was close to the Apostles.

The author pays strict attention to *the small details of time*: «rising very early» (i. 35), «He saith to them that day when evening was come» (iv. 35), «and when the Sabbath was come» (vi. 2), «when now eventide was come» (xi. 11), «and when evening was come» (xi. 19), «and it was the third hour» (xv. 25). *He brings out the details of place*: «He went forth to the seaside» (ii. 13; iii. 7; iv. 1; vii. 31), «And Jesus sitting over against the treasury» (xii. 41), «He was in the hinder part of the ship, sleeping upon a pillow» (iv. 38); *of number*: «and the herd... being about 2000» (v. 13), «five loaves and two fishes» (vi. 37, 38), «and they sat down in ranks, by hundreds and fifties» (vi. 40), «before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny Me thrice» (xiv. 30); *of gesture*: «Stretch forth thy hand, and he stretched it forth» (iii. 5), «and looking round about on them who sat about Him» (iii. 34), «and He looked about to see her who had done this» (v. 32; ix. 36; x. 16, 23, 32; xi. 21), «Who (the blind man) casting off his garment, leaped up and came to Him» (x. 50); *of the dispositions and qualities of persons*: «and looking round about on them with anger, being grieved» (iii. 5), «and sighing deeply in spirit» (viii. 12), «and Jesus looking on him loved him» (x. 21), «who being struck sad at that saying, went away sorrowful» (x. 22), «and there cometh one of the rulers of the synagogue named Jairus» (v. 22), «For the woman, was a Gentile, a Syro-phenician born» (vii. 26), «Bartimeus, the blind man, the son of Timeus, sat by the way side begging» (x. 46), «and James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James, and He named them Boanerges» (iii. 17), «Joseph of Arimathea was a member of the Sanhedrin, and Simon of Cyrene was the father of Alexander and Rufus» (xv. 21, 43).

47. 3. The Author was a Disciple of St. Peter. St. Peter occupies a prominent place in the second Gospel. Yet he is revealed in circumstances rather humiliating. We know from tradition that the author reproduces the preaching of St. Peter, and this fact cannot be explained unless the author were one of his disciples and wrote his work from the personal recollection of his master.

In the second Gospel we find more notice given to this Apostle than in any other of the Gospels. The other Evangelists name the Apostles in general, St. Mark designates St. Peter personally, and generally before all the rest, v. g. in the narratives of the cure of Peter's mother-in-law (i. 29, 36), of the raising of the daughter of Jairus to life (v. 37, 38), of the prediction

¹ *Godet*, Introd. II, 367—368.

of the destruction of Jerusalem (xiii. 3), and of the command of the risen Christ directed especially to him (xvi. 7). Furthermore, the author depicts St. Peter in circumstances rather humiliating, as when our Saviour says: «Get thee behind Me, Satan» (viii. 33), when he slept in the Garden of Olives (xiv. 37), when he denied his Master (xiv. 68), etc. On the other hand, he says nothing of His walking on the Sea of Tiberias (Mt. xiv. 28—31), nor of the primacy which our Lord bestowed upon him in return for his faith and his love (Mt. xvi. 17—19). The story is told as if Peter were writing his own life; for one can scarcely hold that it was composed by one of his personal enemies.

In the same manner the preaching of Jesus Christ is recorded. The program which St. Peter mapped out in the Cenacle, when there was question of the selection of Matthias, and in the address to the centurion Cornelius (Acts i. 21, 22; x. 36—38), is summed up in these few words: «Wherefore of these men who companied with us all the time... from the baptism of John until the Ascension, one of these must be made a witness with us of His resurrection.... The Lord of all... who went about doing good, and healing all that were possessed by the devil.» But the author of the second Gospel omits the narratives of the infancy, and commences his account of the life of the Saviour with the baptism of John the Baptist. Like St. Peter, he is most striking in relating the miracles which Christ wrought, and in regard to the power which He exercised over those possessed by the devil (i. 23, 27, 32, 34, 39; iii. 10, 11, 15; v. 1—20; vi. 13; viii. 29; ix. 16—25; xvi. 9, 17).

Hence the discourse of Peter to Cornelius has been called »The Gospel of Mark in a nutshell», *in nuce*.

III. THE INTEGRITY OF THE SECOND GOSPEL; THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE FINAL VERSES, xvi. 9—20¹.

48. Like the other biblical writings, the second Gospel was subject to alterations in details. But its substantial integrity has never been contested. The authenticity of the final verses alone presents some difficulty, although the inspiration of this passage is a truth of faith; for the Council of Trent² and the Council of the Vatican defined the inspiration of Holy Scripture «cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia catholica et in veteri vulgata editione habentur». A certain number of critics reject its genuineness because first of all it is wanting, or recorded as doubtful in many of the ancient MSS.; secondly, because it is unknown to quite a number of the Fathers; and thirdly, because the style is not the style of St. Mark. Nevertheless the majority of critics and mostly all Catholics rightly ascribe it to the pen of St. Mark. They are supported by a great number of witnesses, and they maintain that the intrinsic difficulties, in spite of their force, are not decisive and can be met with counter-intrinsic arguments equally as weighty.

¹ Dean Burgon's valuable monograph on this subject gives all the testimony pro-and-con. See also *Scrivener*, A plain Introduction of the Criticism of the N. T. II, 336—344.

² Sess. iv.

49. I. Arguments against the Authenticity of the Final Verses.

A. *Extrinsic Arguments.* According to Eusebius¹ and other ecclesiastical authors, like St. Jerome², the actual ending of Mark in the 4. century was embodied in few MSS. and was wanting in the best. It is omitted in s, B, and is found in L (8. century), T³ (7. or 8. century), W (8. or 9. century), but they give over and above this another and shorter ending. It is found in the cursive MSS. of which 40 evidence the ancient doubts. The Codex Bobiensis (5. century), the type of the most ancient version of the Vulgate before Jerome's time, contains only the short ending. The canonical ending is not found in some MSS. of the Armenian version nor in the Sinaitic text of Mrs. Lewis. It is unknown to Clement of Alexandria, to Origen, to Tertullian, to St. Cyprian, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Denis of Alexandria, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and St. Ephrem....

B. *Intrinsic Arguments.* The twelve verses which make up the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel, are not connected with what precedes, and form no agreement with it. They are not written in the style of St. Mark which is always simple, precise and picturesque; for the propositions are parallel and well-balanced, and the phrases well-constructed. More than 20 words are found here which are not found in the rest of the book. Finally, there is evidence here of compilation from the other Gospels, and not the original work of the author.

II. Arguments in favour of the Authenticity. A. *Extrinsic Arguments.* The ending of Mark is found in most of the uncial MSS., A, C, D, E, etc., in the minuscules, in all the evangeliaries, and Greek synaxeries, in all the versions with the exception of the Sinaitic of Mrs. Lewis, in the Vulgate before the time of St. Jerome except MS. k, in the Vulgate of St. Jerome, in the Peshito, in the Curetonian, in the Philoxenoharklean, in the Armenian, in the Gothic, in the Ethiopic, and among the Coptic versions in the Sahidic and Bohairic.

It was probably known to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (64—66) or reciprocally, to the author of the Shepherd of Hermas, to Hippolytus, and certainly to St. Justin, Tatian, St. Irenæus, the author of the Apostolic Canons. Eusebius and Jerome are rather favourable to it; for, instead of rejecting this difficult passage, they attempt to reconcile it with St. Matthew. St. Jerome preserves it in the Vulgate. The final verses are cited by Didymus the Blind, probably by St. Epiphanius, by St. John Chrysostom, by Nestorius, St. Ambrose, St. Paulinus of Nola, St. Peter Chrysologus, St. Fulgentius, St. Gregory the Great, St. Bede, and most of the Syrian writers.

B. *Intrinsic Arguments.* There are a number of indications which lead to the belief that this section was composed by the same hand that penned the rest of the book. It is hard to understand how the primitive text could have ended so abruptly with the words: «For they were afraid». Without the canonical ending, the book has no conclusion at all. Besides, the author insists here, as he does in the body of his work, on miracles. This is why he speaks of the expulsion of devils (xvi. 9, 17), and the incredulity of the Apostles (xvi. 11, 13, 14). Finally he embodies special characteristics (15—18) which precludes the hypothesis of compilation from other Gospels.

¹ Quæst. ad Mar. I: P. G. XXII, 937.

² Letter 120, 3: P. L. XXII, 987.

³ A MS of the 5. or 6. century, acquired at Cairo in 1907 by Freer, containing an important addition, after Mk. xvi. 14, a part of which Jerome read «in quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in graecis codicibus».

III. **Conclusion.** The conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel probably existed before the year 66, and certainly before the middle of the 2. century, as the Latin and Syriac versions and the citations of St. Justin and Tatian prove. The great bulk of evidence is in favour of its authenticity. The silence of a certain number of authorities and the internal difficulties are susceptible at least of a probable explanation. It can be supposed that Mark was interrupted in the composition of his Gospel by an unknown cause, and that he ended it later, after a certain number of the incomplete copies had been diffused. In this wise, the silence of witnesses can be explained as also the differences in style. It is possible, too, that the difficulty of reconciling the passage with the other Gospels induced some bold critic to suppress it. But be that as it may, the authenticity of the passage is not necessarily bound up with its inspiration¹.

IV. SOURCES OF THE SECOND GOSPEL.

50. The traditional testimonies and the internal examination of the second Gospel have proved that Mark reproduced the preaching of St. Peter. However, he used other sources. Following St. Augustine, some critics look upon him as the «abbreviator» of St. Matthew, with whose Greek or Aramaic text he must have been familiar. Other scholars maintain that in the beginning there existed a proto-Mark or a collection of the acts of the Saviour which was afterwards combined with a collection of discourses drawn up by St. Matthew. Finally, others again maintain that the second Gospel was composed from other sources also, taken from the tradition of the time; that there was one narrative source, then a collection of discourses, further additions proceeding from an intermediary redactor, and finally additions of the last redactor, who was prejudiced against the Apostles, but was under the influence of St. Paul, either because he was his disciple or had otherwise become familiar with that Apostle's teaching².

In order to prove the existence of an intermediary redaction in the second Gospel, scholars who maintain the foregoing, say for example that the text of Malachy³: «Behold I send My angel before thy face who shall prepare the way before thee», is quoted as coming from Isaias⁴, and that this quotation is referred to in the wording of the title: «The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ», and in the beginning of the narration: «John was in the desert»⁵. They add also that the description of the baptism⁶ begins too abruptly.

¹ According to an Armenian MS., in the convent of Etschmiadzin, copied in 989 from older MSS., the authorship of this fragment is assigned to Ariston, who probably is identical with the Ariston whom Papias makes a disciple of the Lord and places in the same category with John the Presbyter. Little authority can be given this testimony. It is not old and besides the date of the MSS. from which it was copied cannot be determined.

² *Wrede*, Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien, Göttingen 1901.

³ Mal. iii. 1; Mk. i. 2.

⁴ Is. xl. 3; Mk. i. 2, 3.

⁵ Mk. i. 4.

⁶ Mk. i. 8.

Criticism. The existence of documents in the composition of the second Gospel can and must be admitted. The author was not an eye-witness and could not give an historical account without having recourse to written or oral sources. But at the same time it must be granted that Mark made those documents his own, and that they, for the most part, come from St. Peter himself. The clear and unanimous testimonies of most of the ancient ecclesiastical authors assign the authorship of the second Gospel to Mark, at least in its substantial integrity, and regard St. Peter as the one who chiefly inspired it. If this be so, then we can attempt a resolution of the second Gospel into its parts. Yet it should be borne in mind that this reconstruction presents serious difficulties, so serious in fact that all critics are divided on the subject¹. The internal reasons which they allege in favour of their position embody a subjective element very often deceptive. Probably the «clumsiness, incoherences and divergences» which they assert are found in the Gospel, are simply faults of an author who was not skilled in composition and who was not influenced much by the modern ideas of proportion and balance (see nos. 71 f.)².

V. READERS AND PURPOSE.

51. The Readers. The Fathers, especially Clement of Alexandria and St. Jerome (see no. 45), assure us that the second Gospel was written for the Christians of Rome.

This assertion, admitted by all present day critics, is confirmed by internal evidence.

a) *The author did not write for the Jews of Palestine nor for the Jews of Dispersion.* The name of the Law is never mentioned by him. Except in two instances³, he makes no quotation from the Prophets. He explains Jewish customs, such as the washing of the hands before eating and the purification of cups and vessels before use is made of them⁴, Jewish expressions like «Bread of the Azymes», the *παρασκευή* or eve of the Sabbath⁵, the time for the ripening of figs in Palestine⁶. He is careful to say that the Jordan is a river, that the Mount of Olives is opposite the Temple⁷. He adverts to the fact that the Sadducees do not believe in the resurrection, that the Pharisees fast frequently⁸, that the Jews sacrifice the Paschal Lamb on the first day of Unleavened Bread, and that they had the privi-

¹ Godet, Introduction II, 416—418.

² The determination of the sources is rendered impossible by the unity of style, proceeding, and composition which characterize the second Gospel. The author, by utilizing written sources, has changed and not only juxtaposed them. Lagrange, St. Marc LXIV—LXXVIII.

³ i. 2, 3; xv. 28.

⁴ vii. 3, 4

⁵ xiv. 12; xv. 42.

⁶ xi. 13.

⁷ i. 5; xiii. 3.

⁸ xii. 18; ii. 18.

lege of claiming the liberty of a prisoner at the Paschal time¹. Again, he translates the Aramaic terms which he employs, as: *Boanerges* that is, sons of thunder; *Talitha cumi*, Young woman, arise; *Ephpheta*, Be thou open², etc. Now if St. Mark wrote for the Jews he would not pass over the Law and the Prophets in silence, nor would he have furnished so many explanations, which for Jewish readers would have been superfluous.

b) On the other hand, there are a number of indications which point to *his readers being Latins and Romans*. St. Mark gives the value of Greek coins in Latin money: *λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης*³ (2 small pieces being worth together the 4. part of an as). Without any explanation whatsoever, he employs a number of Latin expressions: *δηνάριον, κεντυρίων, κήσος, κοδράντης, ξέστης, πραιτώριον, φραγελλῶν, σπεκουλάτωρ*⁴. He notes that Simon of Cyrene was the father of Alexander and Rufus⁵. These two latter were known to his readers; for St. Paul tells us that there was at Rome a Christian family by the name of Rufus⁶.

52. Purpose. The author of the second Gospel had one grand purpose in mind, and that was both *historical* and *catechetical*, namely, to make the Saviour known and to reproduce the preaching of St. Peter. Side by side with this object, he endeavoured to show that Jesus is the *Messias*, the *Son of God*, and at the same time to explain the *incredulity of the Jews*.

a) **The Messianic character of Jesus** is indirectly affirmed in the beginning when He insinuates that the prophecies have been realized in His Precursor⁷. At Cæsarea Philippi, Peter proclaims the Messiasship of Christ, and from that moment Jesus taught his disciples what must be the Messias⁸. The cure of the blind man of Jericho merited the salutation The Son of David, and at His entrance into Jerusalem, the people acclaimed Him as the one who was to inaugurate the new Kingdom of David⁹. Lastly, Christ Himself affirms in official terms that He was the Messias before the High Priest¹⁰.

This insistence in bringing out these testimonies seems to indicate that the author had in mind, secondarily at least, the establishment of the Messianic character of Jesus.

b) He places the **divine filiation** in greater relief. This is affirmed in the beginning by the words: «The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God»¹¹.

At the time of the baptism, the Holy Ghost descends upon Jesus and a voice from Heaven says: «Thou art My well-beloved Son»¹².

¹ xv. 6. ² iii. 17; v. 41; vii. 34; x. 46; xiv. 36; xv. 22, 34. ³ xii. 42.

⁴ vi. 37; xv. 39, 44, 45; xii. 14, 42; vii. 4, 8; v. 9, 15; xv. 15, 16; vi. 27.

⁵ xv. 21. ⁶ Rom. xvi. 13. ⁷ i. 2, 3. ⁸ viii. 29; ix. 30, 31.

⁹ x. 47, 48; xi. 10. ¹⁰ xiv. 61, 62. ¹¹ i. 1. ¹² i. 10, 11; cf. no. 500.

The demons declare that He is «the holy one of God», «The Son of God»¹. He Himself remits sin, taking upon Himself a power reserved to God alone². He casts out devils and gives the Apostles the power to cast them out in His name³; He does so because He is superior to spiritual powers. Like God He declares Himself the Master of the Sabbath, and He proves it by curing the man with the withered hand on that day⁴. The many miracles which are recorded in this Gospel in detail and which were wrought in the name of Jesus, evidence his participation in the Divine Power⁵. He identifies Himself with the Father who sent Him⁶. Finally, towards the end of the Gospel there is a statement analagous to that which begins the work: «Truly», says the centurion, «this man was the Son of God»⁷.

c) Again, in all probability, St. Mark had in mind to explain to his readers who were pagan converts, the reason why the **Saviour**, who came unto His own, was **dishonoured, rejected and put to death** by them. For quite a long time, Jesus took great precautions lest He should be known: He imposed silence upon the demons who recognized Him as the Messias; He forbade those whom He cured to tell of the miracles wrought. This attitude is affirmed in the beginning and is sustained until the end. A deliberate plan is found in this intention of the Saviour, and upon this intention St. Mark lays stress continually; the command of the Saviour to say nothing of His miracles appears in all reports of the Gospel⁸.

VI. PLACE AND DATE OF COMPOSITION.

53. Place of Composition. Critics commonly admit that the second Gospel saw the light of day at Rome. Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius and St. Jerome affirm this expressly, and this opinion is made the more probable by the fact that the Gospel was destined for Roman readers and that its author sojourned in Rome (see nos. 44, 45, 51).

According to St. John Chrysostom⁹ and a few Greek MSS., the work was composed at Alexandria in Egypt, but this testimony is too late to counterbalance a tradition more ancient and more exact and which is set forth by an Alexandrian. Quite a few cri-

¹ ii. 24; iii. 11; v. 7.

² ii. 10—12.

³ vi. 7; xvi. 17.

⁴ ii. 28; iii. 1—5.

⁵ i. 23—27, 30—31, 34, 40—44; ii. 1—12; iv. 39; vi. 48. The second Gospel contains all the miracles recorded by the first, except four, and in their place it supplies others which are not in Matthew.

⁶ ix. 36. ⁷ xiv. 39.

⁸ i. 24, 25, 34, 33—44; iii. 11—12; v. 43; vii. 36; viii. 26, 30; ix. 8; cf. no. 227.

⁹ In Matth. Hom. I, 3: P. G. LVII, 17.

tics have attempted to reconcile these two traditions by saying that St. Mark sent out several editions of his work, one for the Romans and the other for the Egyptians. This supposition is possible, but no positive argument can be urged in its favour.

Date of Composition. The time of the composition of the second Gospel cannot be indicated with precision, both because we are ignorant of the date of the death of St. Mark, and because the patristic testimonies on this point are contradictory. Conservative critics place rightly the date of its composition some time between the years 42 and 70 (see no. 25).

They say first of all that there is no reason to suppose that Jerusalem was destroyed; for the prophecy which predicted this catastrophe is not distinct enough (chapt. xiii); yet Jesus knew and could predict the coming event with precision.

According to Clement of Alexandria and St. Jerome, St. Mark wrote while St. Peter was still alive, consequently he wrote before the year 67¹. On the other hand, St. Irenæus says that Matthew wrote while Peter and Paul preached at Rome, and that Mark wrote after their departure (*μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον*; no. 45). This may refer to their departure from Rome or it may refer to their death (67). If there is question of their death, it is impossible to reconcile these testimonies; if there is question of their leaving Rome, then the testimonies are not contradictory, and the second Gospel must have been written before the year 67 or even the year 64, according to the chronology adopted for the death of St. Peter. But in regard to the prince of the Apostles leaving Rome, we have no data. At least, there is no reason to abandon the old tradition according to which St. Matthew wrote his Gospel first, St. Mark and St. Luke following in the order named.

VII. CHARACTERISTIC TRAITS AND PLAN OF THE SECOND GOSPEL.

54. I. *Characteristic Traits.* We have already indicated the principal characteristics of the second Gospel. We add the following observations:

a) **As regards its substance**, this writing is a resume of the history of the Saviour. In certain passages the order is not like that of the two other Synoptics, in others it is completed by new details, for example, in the cure of the woman suffering under the issue of blood², in the deliverance of the possessed Gerasenians³, and in the account of the death of John the Baptist⁴. The Gospel contains more than 27 verses to which there are no parallels in St. Matthew or St. Luke,

¹ *Eus.*, H. E. II, 15; *Jerome*, De vir. ill. VII: P. L. XXIII, 621.

² v. 25, 29, 32.

³ v. 4, 18, 19.

⁴ vi. 20—29.

and it contains two distinct parables¹ and two miraculous cures: that of the deaf and dumb man of the Decapolis², and the blind man at Bethsaida³, and an incident in the arrest of our Lord with which the Evangelist seems to be quite familiar⁴.

b) **As regards style**, St. Mark is clear, precise, vigorous, but at the same time a little negligent and often prolix. He constantly employs direct⁵ language in his reports and replaces the past by the present⁶. He is fond of diminutives: *κοράσιον*, *κονναρία*, *ιχθύδια*, etc.⁷ He often repeats the same ideas and the same terms, either to emphasize the sense⁸ or through negligence⁹, as: *καί, et*, which occurs every moment, *πάλιν*, *rursum*, *iterum*, and *εὐθέως*, *statim*, which is found nine times in the first chapter. Among his favourite expressions, the following are the most employed: «begins», «unclean spirit», «to ask», «to preach», «to be afraid», «to threaten», etc.¹⁰

2. **Plan.** St. Mark passes over in silence the infancy and youth of our Saviour. His work is naturally divided into three parts. After an introduction the object of which is the ministry of John the Baptist, the Baptism and Temptation of Jesus (i. 1—13), the Evangelist records first the public ministry of Jesus in Galilee (i. 14—ix. 49); second, the ministry of Jesus in Judea and in Jerusalem (x—xv); third, the Resurrection, the apparitions of Jesus and the mission given to the Apostles (xvi.).

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At the end of this volume see the decision of the Biblical Commission (June 26th, 1912) regarding the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke.

¹ iv. 26, 29. ³ vii. 32—35. ⁵ viii. 22—26.

⁴ xiv. 51, 52; cf. no. 44.

⁵ iv. 39; v. 8, 9, 12; vi. 2, 3, 31; ix. 25; xii. 6.

⁶ i. 40; ii. 3, 10, 17; vi. 1; xiv. 43, 66. ⁷ v. 41; vii. 27, 28; viii. 7.

⁸ i. 45; ii. 27, 28; iii. 26; iv. 8; xiv. 68. ⁹ i. 45, ii. 18, 22, 25; viii. 15.

¹⁰ Wellhausen's theory that the second Gospel was written in Aramaic, lacks consistence and is not substantiated. Cf. this writer's *Das Evangelium Marci* (1903), and *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (1905).

CHAPTER III.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE.

I. THE PERSON OF ST. LUKE.

56. 1. His Origin. St. Luke was a **native of Antioch**, the ancient capital of Syria. Julius Africanus, Eusebius, St. Jerome, and the prologues of the ancient Latin MSS. of the 3. century are so clear, as to leave no doubt on this point¹. And to add more strength to this tradition, we find it confirmed by the Acts of the Apostles. Indeed, St. Luke, the author of the book, shows that he is quite familiar with Antioch²; and he tells us also that Nicolas, one of the seven first deacons, was also a native of this same town, although he says nothing of the nationality of the other six³.

St. Luke was **born a Gentile**, and belonged to the **uncircumcised** race. In fact, he speaks of the language of the Jews, as if it were a foreign tongue (*lingua eorum*). St. Paul, during his captivity, had several companions with him, and in writing of them he carefully separates Luke from Aristarchus, Mark, Jesus, Justus, because they were Jewish-Christians and circumcised⁴: *qui sunt ex circumcisione*.

He was not acquainted with our Lord and belonged to the second generation of Christians, as is expressly affirmed by the Canon of Muratori and St. Jerome. In the prologue of his Gospel, he distinguishes himself from those «who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word», and he asks that credence be given his narrative, because he had drawn his information from the best sources⁵.

2. His Profession. St. Luke by profession was a physician. St. Paul applies this title to one of his companions, called Luke, whom the early Church⁶ has identified with the author of the third Gospel. As we shall see further on, internal evidence confirms this datum⁷.

¹ *Eus.*, H. E. III, 4: P. G. XX, 220; *Jerome*, De vir. ill. VII: P. L. XXIII, 619.

² Acts xiii. 1; xiv. 25—27; xv, 22, 23, 30, 35; xviii. 22. ³ Acts vi. 5.

⁴ Cf. Acts i. 19; Col. iv. 10—14.

⁵ *Jerome*, De vir. ill. VII: P. L. XXIII, 620; Lk. i. 2.

⁶ Col. iv. 10—14; *Iren.*, Adv. haer. III, 14, 1; *Jerome*, De vir. ill. VII.

⁷ According to many authors, the oldest of whom is Theodore, lector in the Church of Constantinople (6.—7. century), he was a *painter*, and left a painting of the

57. 3. The Apostolate of St. Luke. It is supposed that Luke was converted to Christianity at the time of the foundation of the Church in Antioch, when, about the year 35, just after the death of St. Stephen, a certain number of Jewish Christians left Jerusalem, because of the persecution, and settled in the old capital of Syria, thus bringing to both the Jewish and Gentile inhabitants of that city the benefits of the Christian religion¹.

St. Paul met him on his second missionary journey (51—54), at Troas, under what circumstances we are not told, and made him his companion. He took him with him into Macedonia, to the city of Philippi. From the time of this meeting at Troas, the author of the Acts of the Apostles recounts his narrative in the first person². In all probability St. Luke remained at Philippi. After the mission of St. Paul at Philippi, he resumes the third person in his narrative in the Acts.

We find both St. Paul and St. Luke united once more at Philippi towards the end of the third missionary journey (54—58); for the «we» appears for the second time³. From there, they both went to Jerusalem together. It is probable that St. Luke was at Cæsarea, during the captivity of his master. In any case, they made the journey to Rome together, and were once more united during the two Roman captivities⁴. However, St. Luke does not appear to have been a captive with the Apostle; for he is not a «fellow-prisoner» as Aristarchus, but his «companion in labour»⁵.

The rest of his life is uncertain, and all testimonies outside of those offered by the N. T., are too vague and contradictory, to be of any value.

II. AUTHENTICITY.

58. The Opinion of Critics. All critics of the present day, with possibly a few exceptions like Loisy and men of his school, attribute the composition of the third Gospel — at least in substance — to St. Luke. Whatever disputed points there may be, they bear only on details, especially the narrative of the appearance of the angel and the bloody sweat, during the agony of our Lord (xxii. 43, 44).

I. Tradition relative to the Third Gospel. I. Quotations.

a) *Orthodox Writers.* St. Clement of Rome wrote about the years 93—95: «Estote misericordes ut misericordiam consequamini; dimittite ut dimittatur vobis. . . . Sicut datis dabitur vobis, sicut iudicatis ita iudicabimini.»⁶ It is

Blessed Virgin, behind him. In reality, however, «the style of the painting that is ascribed to his name, does not go beyond the age of the Iconoclasts».

¹ Acts ix. 19, 26.

² Acts xvi. 9 f.

³ Acts xx. 6 f.; xxi. 18.

⁴ Acts xxiv. 23; xxvii. xxviii; Col. iv. 14; Philemon 24.

⁵ Col. iv. 10; Philemon 24.

⁶ Epist. ad Cor. xiii; Mt. vii. 1, 2; Lk. vi. 36, 38.

true that many of the details of this quotation are common to both St. Matthew and St. Luke, yet the words «estote misericordes . . . sicut dabitur vobis» are not found anywhere but in St. Luke. About the same period (80—100), the *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, xvi. 1, cites the contents of Luke xii. 35, almost literally: «Let your lamps not be extinguished and let not your loins be ungirt».

St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, quotes, about the year 120, a passage (Ad Phil. ii. 3) which is found in St. Luke's Gospel alone: «Be merciful so that you may obtain mercy»¹. We have already said that St. Justin, who wrote about the middle of the 2. century, had before his eyes a written work, called the «Memoirs of the Apostles», composed by the Apostles (Matthew, John), or their disciples (Mark, Luke), and bearing the name of «Gospels». This writer gives a number of extracts, which are found only in the third Gospel, as, for example, the Annunciation, «as they taught, who had placed in writing all that pertained to the Saviour», the census of Cyrenus, the sweat of blood². Somewhere between the years 160—170, *Tatian*, his disciple, published his *Diatessaron* (τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων), or Harmony of the four Gospels, in which all our present Gospels are found.

b) *Heretical Writers*. During the course of the 2. century, Basilides, Marcion, Valentinus, Celsus, and the author of the *Clementine Homilies*, used the third Gospel, and not one contested its authenticity.

59. 2. Explicit Testimonies. From the middle of the 2. century, we find many explicit testimonies attributing the composition of the third Gospel to St. Luke. The *Canon of Muratori*, which reproduces the tradition of Rome, in which Luke spent some part of his life, has the following: «Tertium evangelii librum secundum Lucam. Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi conscripsit.» *St. Irenæus* frequently quotes from the third Gospel, and makes this particular statement (c. a. 185): «Luke, the companion of St. Paul, wrote in a book the Gospel preached by St. Paul»³.

Clement of Alexandria quotes the third Gospel very often, and directly alludes to it as the source of his information, in the words: «in the Gospel according to Luke»⁴. *Origen*, his disciple (185—254), expresses himself on this point in the following manner: «As I have learned touching the four Gospels, which are alone received without opposition by the Church of God... that the Gospel of Luke is in the third place.»⁵ About the same period, *Tertullian* (160—250), a witness of the traditions of Africa, quotes almost the whole third Gospel against Marcion, and declares plainly that, «among the Apostles, John and Matthew communicate the faith to us, and among Apostolic men, Mark and Luke renew it»⁶.

In the 4. century, *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* sum up the whole tradition of the first centuries. The former⁷ writes «that Luke, a

¹ Cf. Lk. vi. 38.

² Dial. 103, 100; 1 Apol. 33; Dial. 78, 103; P. G. VI, 717, 712, 381, 657, 717.

³ Adv. Haer. III, 1, 1; P. G. VII, 845.

⁴ Strom. I, 21; P. G. VIII, 885.

⁵ *Eus.*, H. E. VI, 25; P. G. XX, 580—582.

⁶ Adv. Marcionem IV, 2; P. G. II, 363. ⁷ *Eus.*, H. E. III, 4, 6; P. G. XX, 219.

native of Antioch, a doctor as regards science, composed the model of his art, to heal souls in two inspired books: the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles». The latter¹ records that «Luke, a doctor of Antioch, has written a Gospel of which St. Paul has said: *Misimus cum illo fratrem, cuius laus est in evangelio*» (2 Cor. viii. 18).

3. The Demonstrative Value of these Testimonies². These numerous and indisputable testimonies prove that the third Gospel existed and was known to the entire Church at the end of the 1., or at the beginning of the 2. century. From the middle of the 2. century downward, we find a tradition, unanimous in character, given without a trace of hesitation, given exactly and universally, since it exists in Rome, in Gaul, in Africa, in Egypt, and in Palestine, which attributes the work expressly to St. Luke. This tradition cannot be legendary; for there is not only nothing in the third Gospel to suggest the author, but St. Luke «was not such a noted person that his name would be used with a view to give authority to a book», as is the case with the apocryphal writings. «He has no place», writes Renan, «in tradition, in legend, nor in history».

60. II. Intrinsic Evidence. The internal criteria confirm the traditional data, in showing that the author of the third Gospel was a physician, an educated man, of Greek origin, a disciple of St. Paul, and also the author of the Acts of the Apostles.

I. The Author of the Third Gospel was a Physician.

a) *The prologue*, in fact, bears a striking similarity to that of Hippocrates (born about 460 B. C.), and of the physician Dioscorides, who wrote his work «*De materia medica*», at Anazarbes, in Cilicia, in all probability about the time of Nero. However, too much insistence cannot be placed on this; for perhaps the dedicatory formulæ of the period presented analogies, and Luke, instead of imitating Dioscorides or Hippocrates, may have followed a conventional style.

b) That which is more significant than the foregoing, *is the use and the precision of the use of the medical terms* of the period, in the description of diseases. St. Luke is also the only Evangelist who records the healing of Malchus (xxii. 51), and he is alone in giving the saying: «Physician, cure thyself» (iv. 23).

Examples of medical terms, are: *ἀχλὺς*, Acts xiii. 11, cataract of the eyes (Galien, Dioscorides); *χραιπάλη*, xxi. 34, dullness produced by drinking and eating; *παρὰλυμένος*, v. 18, a paralytic, instead of *παράλυτικός*; *παραξυσμός*, Acts xv. 39; *συναχόμενη πυρετῶ μεγάλη*, iv. 38 (Galien); *ὕδρωπικός*, xiv. 5; *δακτύλῳ προσφύων*, xi. 46; *ἔσται ἡ λύσις τοῦ αἵματος*, viii. 44³.

¹ De vir. ill. VII: P. L. XXIII, 619.

² Cf. *Plummer*, The Gospel according to Luke³ (1900) xvi.

³ Cf. *Hobart*, The medical language of St. Luke; *Plummer*, St. Luke lxiii—lxvi; *Harnack*, Luke the Physician; HDB., art. Luke, III, 167—170.

2. The Author of the Third Gospel was a Man of Education. a) He is of all the Evangelists *the most faithful in following the rules of history*. He traces his account from the very beginning of the history of Jesus, namely from the annunciation and the birth of the Forerunner, and the Incarnation, and carries it on till the Ascension, arranging the facts, as a rule, in a chronological order¹. Again he is careful to connect and run it parallel with profane history. He tells us that Herod was the king of the Jews, when the archangel was sent to Zachary; that the birth of Christ took place at the time of the census of Cyrenus (ii. 1 f.), that the mission of John the Baptist began in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (iii. 1, 2), etc. etc. Besides all this, the work begins with a prologue and a dedication, which reminds one, from a literary point of view, of the method of Thucydides and Josephus.

b) The language of the prologue is almost classic in its purity. Apart from the first two chapters, which abound in Hebraisms, *the style* is more pure and more elegant than in any other of the writings of the N. T. Luke's Gospel is «the most literary of the Gospels». «It is the most beautiful book there is.» (Renan.)

c) He possesses a richer *vocabulary* than the other Evangelists. His Gospel contains more words proper to himself than are found in the other three Gospels taken together. According to Plummer, there are in the third Gospel and the Acts, 750 words (851, counting the doubtful cases) which are not found elsewhere in the N. T. Of this number, 312 are found exclusively in the third Gospel². As a rule the education of a man is measured by the extent of his vocabulary.

3. The Author of the Third Gospel was a Greek by Birth. The naturalness, the simplicity, and the elegance of his composition is a clear proof that Greek was the mother-tongue of the author.

The Hebraisms which are found in the book, especially in the first two chapters, are due to the Aramaic sources which the author employed, both oral and written, sometimes correcting them in their literary setting and at others reproducing them bodily without any great modifications. (Cf. nos. 64, 65.)

61. 4. The Author of the Third Gospel was a Disciple of St. Paul. The third Gospel in its substance, in a certain measure also in its form, bears many resemblances to the writings of St. Paul. This the Tübingen school have taken as an indication of the antagonism of the Pauline party to the Petrine, and this view, in later

¹ i. 5, 26, 39, 59; ii. 42; iii. 23; ix. 28, 37, 51; xxii. 1, 7.

² Plummer, *The Gospels* LII, also XL—LXVII.

days, has found support in an English critic who asserts that St. Paul composed the works attributed to St. Luke. Whatever resemblances there are, they are not the result of chance. The author of the third Gospel must have been familiar with St. Paul, and thus the thought and language of the master can be said to have passed over into the thought and language of the disciple.

Resemblances in substance. It is readily seen that the favourite themes of St. Paul were the necessity of faith (Rom. i. 17), the gratuity of justification, and the universal character of Christianity (Rom. iii. 21—31; Gal. iii. 28). Now this doctrine is found in all the Gospels, but the third puts it in bolder relief and places greater emphasis upon it. Salvation and pardon are offered to all, irrespective of the privileges of birth and legal observations. Uprightness of heart is the passport to the kingdom of heaven. It is open to all, to the Samaritans (ix. 51—56; x. 30—37; xvii. 11—19), and to the Gentiles (ii. 32; iii. 6, 38; iv. 25—27; vii. 9; x. 1; xiii. 29; xxi. 24; xxiv. 47) as well as to the Jews (i. 32, 54, 68—79; ii. 10), to publicans and sinners (iii. 12, 13; v. 27—32; vii. 37—50; xv. 1, 2, 11—32; xviii. 9—14; xix. 2—10; xxiii. 43) as well as to important men (vii. 36; xi. 37; xiv. 1); to the poor (i. 53; ii. 7, 8, 24; iv. 18; vi. 20, 21; vii. 22; xiv. 13, 21; xvi. 20, 23) as well as to the rich (xix. 2; xxiii. 50). With a marked insistence the third Gospel portrays the importance and the necessity of faith, thus for example: Zachary is struck dumb in punishment for his incredulity (i. 20). Cf. also i. 45; v. 20; vii. 9; xvii. 19.

Resemblances of form. Between the language of St. Paul and that of St. Luke there is very often an identity of words, of expressions, and turn of phrase. The narrative of the Last Supper, so dissimilar in the Synoptics, is almost identical in St. Luke and St. Paul¹. There are about 175 words found in their writings which are not found in the other N. T. books. The third Gospel frequently employs terms which are characteristic of the Pauline teaching. Thus we have *πίστις* (11 times), *πιστός* (5), *πιστεύειν* (9), *χάρις*, unknown to the other Synoptics (8), *μετάνοια* (5), *ἔλεος* (6), *ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν* (3), *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* (12) etc.²

62. 5. The Author of the Third Gospel composed the Acts. This fact has never been seriously disputed. The third Gospel and the Acts have been written in a style more elegant, and with a richer vocabulary, than any other book of the N. T., with the exception of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Both books begin with a prologue and both of them are dedicated to the same Theophilus. This fact presents a unique case in Sacred Scripture. Both writings take their quotations of the O. T. from the LXX, and call our Lord by the title *Dominus*, rather than *Jesus*. According to Schaff, there are 160 terms common to these two writings which are not found elsewhere in the N. T.³ This use of the same words, and the repeated use of the same turns of expression are accounted for only on the supposition that one and the same hand composed both works.

¹ Cf. Mt. xxvi. 26—29; Mk. xiv. 22—25; Lk. xxii. 17—20; 1 Cor. xi. 23—25.

² *Plummer* l. c.

³ Cf. Lk. i. 39 = Acts i. 15; Lk. i. 1 = Acts xv. 24, 25; Lk. xv. 13 = Acts i. 5; Lk. xxiii. 5 = Acts x. 37; Lk. xxi. 35 = Acts xvii. 26. Cf. also for the substance: Lk. i. 11 = Acts xi. 7; Lk. ii. 9 and xxiv. 4 = Acts i. 10 and x. 30.

Besides it is inconceivable that a forger has imitated the style and thought of the third Gospel or of the Acts, and it is more inconceivable to suppose that his success would have been so pronounced.

III. THE INTEGRITY OF THE THIRD GOSPEL.

63. The substantial integrity of the third Gospel has never been called into question. However there is a small section, xxii. 43, 44, which has presented some difficulties. Different critics look upon these verses as probably authentic (Loisy), as doubtful (Lachmann), or even interpolated (Westcott-Hort). The great majority of critics (Tischendorf, Scrivener) assign them to St. Luke and rightly.

Arguments against the Authenticity. A certain number of MSS. omit these verses entirely. They are ^{sa} ABRT^a, 124, 561. Others, as Γ Ω 123, 344, 440, 112 mark them with an obelisk, whilst ΕΣVΔΠ 24, 36, 161, 166, 174 place an asterisk after them, in order to indicate that they are regarded as doubtful. There are, however, very good reasons for believing that these various notes are from another hand than that of the original transcriber. These verses are also omitted in the MS. of the pre-hieronymic Vulgate, in about ten MSS. of the Bohairic Version and in the Syriac Version of Mrs Lewis (1895). Nearly all the Greek evangelaries, as also the cursives 69, 124, 346, 348, contain these two verses, but following immediately upon Mt. xxvi. 39, and not in their usual place in the third Gospel. A certain number of the Fathers omit them in their commentaries, as for example St. Ambrose and St. Cyril of Alexandria; St. Hilary and St. Jerome observe that they are wanting «in most of the Latin and Greek editions».

Arguments in favour of the Authenticity. Although not found in a number of MSS., these verses occur in the great majority of the uncials ^{sa} DFGHKLMQUXA and nearly in all the cursives. They are also found in a great number of the versions (the Peshito, the Curetonian, the Harklean, the Hierosolymitic with an obelisk, the Coptic, with the exception of the Bohairic, Armenian and Arabian), in all the MSS. of the Vulgate before the time of St. Jerome, with the exception of one, in all those of the actual Vulgate, in the Diatessaron of Tatian, in the writings of a great number of Fathers, namely St. Justin, St. Irenæus, St. Hippolytus, St. Denis of Alexandria, Eusebius, St. Gregory of Nazianz, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, etc. The silence of the witnesses above mentioned can be explained: the verses were probably suppressed, because the bloody sweat and the apparition of the angel appeared to be an argument against the divinity of Christ. But be that as it may, this silence is more than outweighed by the great number of testimonies in favour of the verses, the more so because these testimonies are numerous and authoritative¹.

IV. THE SOURCES OF THE THIRD GOSPEL.

64. St. Luke was not a Jew, nor had he seen the Saviour, and he had not received a special revelation, as we know from the prologue of his Gospel. He was familiar, however, with written documents,

¹ Cf. *Scrivener*, A plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T. II, 353—356.

and was acquainted with contemporary eye-witnesses, who are sufficient guarantee for the historical value of his work.

A. Written Sources. In his prologue (i. 1—3), St. Luke mentions a few evangelical writings that had already been published. It is impossible to determine their authors, their contents, nor how far the Evangelist made use of them. It is very probable that the genealogy of our Lord (iii. 23—38), the story of the childhood (i—ii), the *Magnificat*, the *Benedictus*, the *Nunc dimittis*, and many other parts that are peculiar to the third Gospel were taken from these written sources. In fact, the first two chapters of the Gospel bear a stronger Hebrew colouring than any other part of the work. Quite frequently here we find Hebrew or Aramaic expressions transcribed literally into Greek. Thus we have: *fuit in diebus, de filiabus Aaron*, i. 5; *factum est autem*, בְּיָמָיו, i. 8; *de domo David*, i. 28; *non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum* (thing), כִּלְי־דָבָר, i. 37; *erexit cornu salutis* (a powerful Saviour), i. 69. . . .

Did St. Luke make use of St. Matthew and St. Mark? It is likely that he refers to their works in his prologue, together with other writings that did not enjoy canonical authority. He even appears to find fault with their work, at least implicitly; for he writes: «*conati sunt*». But despite this he places himself in the same category with them (*visum est et mihi*), and proposes merely to drawn up an account more complete and more orderly than theirs¹.

65. B. Oral Sources. **1. The Oral Catechesis.** St. Luke certainly was acquainted with the primitive oral tradition, the existence of which in the early Church has never been disputed (no. 24), and which, because of the constant repetition of the same ideas and especially of the same words, soon came to have a stereotyped form.

2. St. Paul. St. Luke was for a long time a companion of St. Paul. All that concerned the Lord St. Paul had been instructed in by a direct revelation from God². Immediately after his miraculous conversion, he remained a few days with the Christians of Damascus³. Besides, during his missions he came in contact with many great figures of Christianity, especially at Antioch, at Jerusalem, at Cæsarea, at Rome⁴, and at other places.

3. St. Barnabas, St. Philip, St. Mark. St. Barnabas, one of the first convert missionaries, founded the Church of Antioch⁵, and occupied an exalted position in the early Church. Now, St. Luke was also a native of Antioch, in which place he most likely received

¹ We shall treat of the mutual relation of the Synoptics in the next chapter where this question will be discussed at more length.

² Gal. i. 12.

³ Acts ix. 19—23.

⁴ Gal. i. 15 f.; ii. 1 f.

⁵ Acts xi. 20—24.

his education. At least he was in contact with Philip, one of the seven deacons, with whom he lodged at Cæsarea at the end of the third missionary journey¹. At a later date, he met St. Mark in Rome².

4. **St. James the Less.** St. Luke, together with St. Paul, at the end of the third missionary journey went to Jerusalem to see this Apostle. James was the first bishop of Jerusalem, and, according to many, the cousin of our Lord³, and he was perfectly familiar with the history of the Holy Family.

5. **St. Peter and the Other Apostles.** Every one knows that the chief of the Apostles took up his abode at Antioch for a certain time, and presided there over a very flourishing community⁴. Perhaps St. Luke had occasion to see him in this city. As regards the relations with the other Apostles, they are indicated in his prologue. «He has attained», he says, «to all things from the beginning», and like those who preceded him, he has learned from «those who were eye-witnesses from the beginning and have become ministers of the word». From this notice arose the primitive tradition, so well-attested by St. Iræneus, Eusebius and St. Jerome, that he was a disciple of the Apostles⁵.

6. **Mary, the Mother of Jesus.** It cannot be shown that St. Luke came in contact with the mother of Christ, directly. But the Hebrew colouring of the infancy narratives presupposes an Aramaic or Hebrew source. Besides, the account here reflects the innermost feelings of Mary⁶, so clearly and so often, that the majority of Catholic and many Protestant⁷ scholars trace the origin of these accounts to Mary herself.

V. READERS AND PURPOSE OF THE THIRD GOSPEL.

66. **I. Readers.** In his prologue (i. 1—3), St. Luke dedicates his work to the «most excellent Theophilus». Some have looked upon this person as fictitious, just as the Philothea and Theotime of St. Frances de Sales are imaginative, while others, and with more probability, look upon him as a real person, of noble blood and the friend of the author. The idea of a fictitious character seems to fall before the use of the word «excellent» which is always used of a person in life. But despite this special reader, the work was intended for a larger circle of readers: the Gentiles were the first that were considered, and the Jewish Christians secondly.

¹ Acts vi. 3, 5; xxi. 8. ² Col. iv. 10, 14; Philemon 24.

³ Acts xxi. 18; Mt. xiii. 55; Mk. vi. 3.

⁴ *Orig.*, In Luc. hom. 6: P. G. XIII, 1815; *Jerome*, In Gal. 1, 2: P. L. XXVI, 341; *Eus.*, H. E. III, 36: P. G. XX, 288.

⁵ *Iren.*, Adv. haer. III, 10, 1: P. G. XX, 872; *Eus.*, H. E. III, 14: P. G. XX, 219; *Jerome*, De vir. ill. VII: P. L. XXIII, 621.

⁶ i. 28—66; II. 19, Maria conservabat omnia conferens.

⁷ No. 91.

A. The Third Gospel was intended principally for Gentile Readers. 1. As a matter of fact, the author of the third Gospel gives explanations of Jewish localities and Jewish customs, explanations which would be superfluous, had he intended his work for the Jews, but very necessary for Gentile readers.

He says: «the mount called Olivet» (xix. 29); he remarks especially that Nazareth and Capharnaum are found in Galilee (i. 26; iv. 31); that Gadara is opposite to this province (viii. 26), and that Arimathea is a city of the Jews (xxiii. 51). He observes that there are sixty furlongs between Emmaus and Jerusalem (xxiv. 13). He is careful to note that the feast of the Azymes is called the feast of the Pasch, and that the first day of Unleavened Bread was the occasion for the offering of the Paschal Lamb (xxii. 1, 7). He never gives the Hebrew or Aramaic names for localities, but always the Greek form.

2. The author of this Gospel *is careful to omit whatever details might shock the Gentile mind, and emphasizes that which might serve to fill them with hope.*

Instead of placing the Gentiles in opposition to the Jews, as Matthew (v. 47) does, he uses a more general term and contrasts them with sinners, which can refer to both Jew and Gentile (Lk. vi. 33, 34)¹. The reply of our Lord to the Chanaanitish woman, which would appear somewhat harsh to Gentile readers: «I was not sent but to the sheep that are lost of the house of Israel»², was softened by St. Mark (vii. 25—29) and altogether omitted by St. Luke. On the other hand, he records that salvation is granted to Zacheus, the publican (xix. 1—10), and to the good thief despite his sins (xxiii. 39—43); that the prodigal was welcomed kindly, a figure of the Gentiles, who, also, were deviated from God's grace for so long a time (xv. 11—32); that the preferenc is given to the publican before the Pharisee (xviii. 10—14). He avoids, in the history of the Passion, to attribute the death of Jesus to the pagans, and puts the blame on the Jews (xxiii. 25). For him, Jesus is not only the descendent of Abraham, but also of Adam (iii. 23—38; Mt. i). The angels of the Nativity announce peace to all men of good will (ii. 14). Finally, he places the universal character of Christianity in bold relief, and shows that Jesus is the Saviour of all humanity (no. 61).

67. B. The Third Gospel was destined secondarily for the Jewish Christians. The author, in the first two chapters and in the rest of the book, is visibly occupied in bringing out the privileges accorded to the Jews by the Messias.

In the first two chapters, it is written that the Precursor brought back many of the children of Israel to the Lord (i. 16, 17). Mary proclaims that God has helped Israel, and that He was mindful of His mercy, as He was to their fathers (i. 54, 55); Zachary blesses God for having sent redemption to His people (i. 68—79); Simeon, the old man, who waited for «the consolation of Israel», died content; for he had seen the salvation which God had prepared for His people (ii. 25, 30, 31). St. Luke puts

¹ Cf. Mt. vi. 7, 9 = Lk. xi. 2; Mt. x. 5, 6 = Lk. ix. 3, 4; Mt. xxiv. 9 = Lk. xxi. 7.

² Mt. xv. 22: Non sum missus nisi ad oves quae perierunt domus Israel.

emphasis on the fact that the Saviour was born from the family of David (i. 27, 69; ii. 4, 11). These details must have belonged to a Jewish-Christian source and were reproduced here without any modification.

In the rest of the book (iii.—xxiv), the Evangelist connects the beginning of the ministry of the Precursor with the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, and also with the pontificate of Annas and Caiphas (iii. 1—3); he records that, according to the Saviour, not one tittle of the Law shall pass (xvi. 17), that the fact of having descended from Abraham establishes a certain right to the benefits of the Messias (xix. 9). He is alone in detailing the fact that Christ wept over Jerusalem (xix. 41), and that, in giving the Apostles their future mission, He commanded them to preach first of all to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (xxiv. 47; cf. also Mt. xxviii. 19; Mk. xvi. 15).

II. Purpose. The purpose of the third Gospel is given in the prologue. The author wished «to write in order» the life and the acts of our Lord, from the very beginning until the Ascension, so that Theophilus and the Christian Church «might know the verity of those things in which they were instructed». The author then has proposed to himself a double purpose: the one *historical* and the other *apologetical*. From a historical point of view, he wished to compose a biography of Jesus more complete and better ordered than those that had been written before his. From an apologetical point of view, he proposed to furnish his readers who, in all probability, were converts of St. Paul, a means of strengthening their faith and of confirming the catechesis of the first preachers of the Gospel. For this purpose he simply sets forth the facts and lets them speak for themselves.

VI. DATE AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION.

68. I. Date. 1. **Solution.** Nearly all Catholic scholars and a number of Protestants place the date of the composition of the third Gospel before the year 70 A. D. Of all that have been offered, this opinion is undoubtedly the true one.

The first fact in this reference is that the third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles are the work of the same author. A second fact is that the Gospel was composed before the Acts; for the author of the latter refers to the third Gospel in the words: «the former treatise»¹. On the other hand, the Acts were composed in the year 62 or 63; for the narrative stops short at this date, and it is hard to conceive that the writer could have written later and yet have recorded nothing of such important facts, as the second captivity and the death of St. Paul. The third Gospel is then prior to the Acts, and hence prior to the year 62 or 63 A. D.

¹ i. 1: Primum quidem sermonem feci . . .

In regard to the exact date, we possess no reliable and unwavering data. St. Irenæus, who appears to be familiar with the date of St. Matthew and St. Mark, is not very explicit in regard to the time that St. Luke wrote (see no. 39).

Nor does the book itself furnish us with anything that might help to prove the point in question. The author asserts that he derived his information from the mouths of eye-witnesses¹. But that he was not eye-witness himself, does not prove that he was not a contemporary of the Apostles.

2. **The Principal Difficulty against this Date.** A number of critics, especially those of rationalistic tendencies, date the composition of the Gospel after the year 70. They attempt to sustain their position by pointing out the fact that the prophecy of Jesus in regard to the destruction of Jerusalem is so clear that it must have been written after the event occurred. But this is not a valid argument; for Jesus, who is God, foreknew and could predict the event with exact details.

II. **Place of Composition.** Some modern critics claim that it was at Rome that the third Gospel first saw the light of day, while others claim Asia Minor, and others still claim Corinth or Cæsarea. The problem, unimportant in itself, will never be solved. On the one hand, the internal data are insufficient to enable the reaching of a conclusion, and on the other hand, the traditional testimonies are either too late or they contradict one another. According to the preface of the *Vetus Itala*, for instance, the work appeared in the region of Achaia, St. Jerome explicitly stating that it was composed «in Achaiae Boeotiaeque partibus»², or better, according to a number of MSS., «in Achaiae Bithyniaeque partibus». The MSS. of the Peshito designate Alexandria, whilst other MSS. mention Rome as the place.

VII. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES AND PLAN OF THE THIRD GOSPEL.

69. I. **Characteristic Features.** In the course of our study of the preceding topics, we have indicated the principal characteristic features of the Gospel, both as regards its substance and its form. We have noted that the author carefully embodies into his account a great number of details, intended to reach the Gentiles and fill them with hope, namely the promise of salvation to Zacheus, the praise given by the Saviour to several Gentiles, etc.³ In a special sense of the word this Gospel may be called *the Gospel of mercy*⁴,

¹ i. 1—4.

² In Evang. Matth., Prologus: P. L. XXVI, 18 (note).

³ Cf. vii. 2—9.

⁴ xv. 7.

and the words of the prophet Isaias, read in the synagogue of Nazareth, may well serve as its epigraph. The God Man is portrayed there as the heavenly and divine Physician. St. Matthew presents Him to the Jews as the Messiah, St. Mark to the Romans as the Son of God, but St. Luke presents Him to the Greeks, that is to the other civilized nations, as the Saviour of the whole human race.

II. *Plan*. The third Gospel begins, like the Acts, with a prologue and a dedication¹ which embodies the purpose of the work. The narrative proper may be divided into four main parts: 1. the infancy and the childhood of Jesus (i. 5—11); 2. the ministry of Jesus in Galilee (iii.—ix. 50); 3. the last journey of Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem (ix. 51—xix. 28); 4. the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus (xix. 29—xxiv).

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70. Besides the works indicated in nos. 22 and 26, see *Plumptre*, The Synoptic Gospels; *Jones*, Comm. on St. Luke, in the Speaker's Commentary; *Farrar*, Comm. on St. Luke, in the Cambridge Greek Testament; *Sadler*, The Gospel according to Luke; *Schanz*, Das Evangelium des hl. Lukas; *Fouard*, The last years of St. Paul; *Lagrange*, Les sources du troisième Évangile, in the Revue biblique 1895, 1; *Plummer*, Comm. on St. Luke, in the International Critical Commentary; *Knabenbauer*, Comm. in S. Lucae Evangelium.

¹ i. 1—4.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MUTUAL RELATION OF THE SYNOPTICS OR THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

71. The term **Synoptic** (συνόψις, simultaneous view) is applied to our first three Gospels, because they follow the same general plan, and agree in the narration of many details, this agreement very often extending to the phrases and even the words employed. In recent times the Synoptic accounts have been published in parallel columns, in order that the various points of similarity might be taken in a single glance. Such an edition is called a Gospel harmony¹.

A casual glance at the Synoptics and the fourth Gospel will reveal what differences exist between the two sets of writings, in substance and form. The Synoptics concern themselves largely with detailing the ministry of Christ in Galilee and Perea, while the fourth confines itself almost exclusively to the Judean ministry. Even their language is different: in the former it is simple and eminently popular, in the latter it is more elevated in tone, abstract and quite often metaphysical. Lastly, in both the portrait of Jesus is drawn on different lines.

A comparison of the Synoptic accounts, however, reveals at once some surprising resemblances, and at the same time some very remarkable divergences from a point of view of substance, style, and plan. This phenomenon which is unknown in any other kind of literature, cannot be the result of chance. It shall be our task to inquire into the why and wherefore of these resemblances and differences, and this leads us to the study of the *Synoptic Problem*.

72. 1. Substance. Out of that abundance of details connected with the life of Christ, which St. John, in hyperbole, characterizes as being so great that the world itself could not contain the books

¹ Among the best known harmonies the following may be mentioned: *Tischendorf*, *Synopsis evangelica*; *Rushbrooke*, *Synopticon*; *Wright*, *A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, London 1893; *Robinson*, *Greek Harmony of the Gospels*; *Bruneau*, *Harmony of the Gospels*.

necessary to contain it¹, the Synoptics have selected only a portion, namely that which embraced the activity of Christ in the provinces of Perea and Galilee. It happens not unfrequently that they cite the same discourses, the same words, the same miracles, and they coincide but little with St. John even when on common ground, as in the history of the Passion.

Despite the various similarities, each of the Synoptics possesses, to a greater or less degree, narratives which are peculiar to him, which no other Gospel contains, or which are narrated in such a manner as to appear contradictory to the report furnished by another².

St. Matthew, who omits the account of the Ascension, is alone in recording the following details: the solicitude of St. Joseph in regard to the maternity of Mary (i.), the visit of the Magi (ii. 1—12), the flight into Egypt (ii. 13—15), the massacre of the holy Innocents (ii. 16, 17), the return from Egypt and the settling of the Holy Family at Nazareth (ii. 19—23), the reluctance of John the Baptist in granting Christ's request that he baptize Him (iii. 14, 15), the miracle of Peter walking on the waves (xiv. 28—32), the prerogatives of Peter (xvi. 17—19), etc.

St. Mark passes over in silence the narrative of the infancy and fails to record the Sermon on the Mount. Yet he is alone in detailing the cure of the blind man of Bethsaida, and of the deaf and dumb man of the Pentapolis (vii. 31—37; viii. 22—26); also in the parables of the seed which grows without any one perceiving it, and of the master who left his house in the care of his servants (iv. 26—29; xiii. 34—37).

St. Luke alone records the message of the angel Gabriel to Zachary, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the Purification, the journey of Jesus to Jerusalem at the age of twelve, the story of Mary and Martha (x. 38—42), that of Zacheus (xix. 1—10), that of the good thief (xxiii. 40—43), etc.

The following table taken from Reuss, brings out the resemblances and the differences of the Synoptics.

Number of verses: in Matthew, 1070; in Mark, 677; in Luke, 1158.

Verses peculiar to Matthew, 330 1/3; to Mark, 68 1/10; to Luke,

541 1/2.

Verses common to Matthew and Mark alone: 170—180.

Verses common to Luke and Matthew alone: 230—240.

Verses common to Luke and Mark alone: 50.

Verses common to Matthew, Mark and Luke: 330—370.

2. **Plan.** The Synoptics follow the same general plan. They begin to agree at the Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan, the preaching in Galilee, the journey to and the sojourn at Jerusalem, the Passion, the Death and Resurrection. They even follow the same plan in details, as a study of a Gospel harmony will readily show. Take, for instance, the narratives of the Baptism, of the Temptation, of the Cure of the paralytic, of the Call of Matthew, the Discussions with

¹ Jn. xxi. 25.

² Examples of such are: the genealogies of Jesus (Mt. i; Lk. iii); the story of the two thieves (Mt. xxviii. 44; Lk. xxiii. 39—43); and the narrative of the blind men of Jericho (Mt. xx. 29—34; Mk. x. 46—52; Lk. xviii. 35—43).

the young man, the Appeasing of the tempest, the Deliverance of the possessed at Gerasa, etc. The choice and disposition of materials could have been different. That St. Matthew should restrict himself to the ministry in Galilee, is easily understood, since it was in the course of the Galilean ministry that he was called to the Apostolate, and, therefore, was not a companion of Jesus at the beginning of the ministry in Judea. In the case of St. Mark and St. Luke, the matter is not so easily understood. They were not eye-witnesses and hence had to depend upon tradition for their information: how does it happen then that they pass over the ministry in Judea in silence? And it becomes the more inconceivable when it is remembered that this period was of as much interest to the class of readers they addressed as the Galilean ministry.

In the general plan which the three follow, each of the Evangelists inserts portions omitted by the others, arbitrarily transposes events, sometimes coinciding with one account, sometimes agreeing with two. Thus, St. Matthew groups the whole Sermon on the Mount in one section (v—vii), and also a certain number of parables (xiii), which St. Luke separates and assigns to a different place¹. As regards the hidden life of the Saviour, the two Evangelists complete each other, although remaining entirely independent.

These divergences of the substance, however, are not uniform in the Synoptics. Before the XIV. chapter of his Gospel, St. Matthew follows an order proper to himself, and after that agrees generally with the order of St. Mark. St. Luke passes over very little of what St. Mark narrates concerning the ministry in Galilee, and agrees with both St. Mark and St. Matthew in narrating the Judean ministry, inserting nevertheless a long section, ix. 51—xviii.

When St. Matthew follows a plan all his own, it is in those parts which are either exclusively proper to him, or which are not found in St. Mark, as in the Sermon on the Mount. The same may be noticed when St. Luke departs from the order of St. Matthew or St. Mark; for it is generally in those parts which are exclusively proper to him, or which are not found in St. Mark.

73. 3. Details and Style. The verbal resemblances of the Synoptics are best seen in the Greek text. They are especially striking in the case of the discourses.

¹ For example, the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. v—vii) is found in Luke in the following places: vi. 20 f.; xi. 33; viii. 16; xiv. 34; xvi. 17; xii. 58, 59; xvi. 18; vi. 29, 30, 32—36; x. 2—4; xii. 33, 34; xi. 34—36; xii. 22—31; xvi. 13; vi. 37, 41 f.; xi. 9—13; vi. 31; xiii. 24; xiii. 25—27; vi. 47—49. The same is the case with the section ix. 51—xviii of St. Luke, most of which is peculiar to Luke, though several elements are embodied in St. Mark, and still more are given in St. Matthew, but in another setting.

Mt. ix. 5, 6.

Τί γάρ ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον εἰπεῖν· ἀφίενται σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, ἢ εἰπεῖν· ἔγειρε καὶ περιπάτει; ὥτα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας, τότε λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ· ἔγειρθεὶς ἄρτον σου τὴν κλίνην καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου.

Mk. ii. 9, 10.

Τί ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν τῷ παραλυτικῷ· ἀφίενται σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, ἢ εἰπεῖν· ἔγειρε καὶ ἄρτον τὸν σου καὶ ὑπαγε; ὥτα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας, λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ· σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε ἄρτον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου.

Lk. v. 23, 24.

Τί ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν· ἀφέωνται σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου, ἢ εἰπεῖν· ἔγειρε καὶ περιπάτει; ὥτα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας, εἶπεν τῷ παραλυτικῷ· σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε καὶ ἄρτον τὸ κλινιδίόν σου πορεύου εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου.

The same resemblances may be noticed in the episode of the cure of the leper (Mt. viii. 1—4; Mk. i. 40—45; Luke v. 12—16), in the insidious question of the Pharisees (Mt. xxi. 23 f.; Mk. xi. 28 f.; Lk. xx. 2 f.).

In a word, the verbal resemblances extend to 1/8 of Matthew, to 1/6 of Mark, and to 1/10 of Luke. These resemblances are made the more striking from the fact that our Gospels were written in Greek, while our Lord spoke in Aramaic.

On the other hand, in the passages which resemble each other most closely, there are additions and insertions, as the above example shows. But the similarity does not extend to those passages where we would expect to find it most of all, as in the words of consecration, the Lord's prayer, the beatitudes, the title on the cross, etc.

Mt. xxvi. 26—28.

26. Ἐσθίωντων δὲ αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ δοὺς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν· λάβετε φάγετε.

27. Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου, καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων·

28. Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Mk. xiv. 22—24.

22. Καὶ ἐσθίωντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν· λάβετε· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.

23. Καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

24. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.

Lk. xxii. 19, 20.

19. Καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

20. Καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον.

II. DIFFERENT SOLUTIONS ADVANCED IN EXPLANATION OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

74. This problem which was practically unnoticed by the ecclesiastical writers of antiquity, has agitated the minds of critics for more than a century. It has been studied from many standpoints and has received many varied solutions. If we consider these solutions ac-

cording to their most striking features, we may reduce them to three grand classes which have been differently grouped, namely: the theory of Oral Tradition, the theory of Mutual Dependence, and the Document theory.

A. THE THEORY OF AN ORAL GOSPEL.

It is pretty generally admitted among critics that the first Gospel was an oral one (see no. 24) that is to say that the Gospel was preached before it was written, and that there was a common element in the preaching of the early missionaries. As this teaching was most important, and as the future welfare of the Church depended upon it, it is very probable that its scope was determined by the Apostles themselves. According to the custom of ancient times, it was transmitted from mouth to mouth, before it was consigned to writing.

Originating in Palestine, where the Apostolic preaching began, this primitive catechesis changed in contents and language, according to the country and people, Jewish or pagan, among whom it was spread, remaining, however, wholly identical in substance and even in many details. By dint of repetition, it assumed a unique form, gradually becoming stereotyped and crystallized, which was rendered comparatively easy by the striking character and the originality of the Lord's words. Besides, the simplicity and lack of culture in the Apostles conduced to produce the same effect, for they troubled themselves little to make changes in its form. Later, the Evangelists, consigned this oral catechesis to writing, not bodily, but transposing, working up the material, adapting it to the particular object they had in view, and impressing upon it a personal form both from a literary and linguistic point of view. It is in this wise that the many resemblances and divergences of the Synoptics are explained. It must also be granted that the Evangelists borrowed from other sources and even employed each other's works for the composition of their own.

75. Criticism. This hypothesis, which is supported by a great number of Catholic (Schegg, Meignan, Cornely, Fillion, Fouard, Le Camus, Knabenbauer) and Protestant scholars (Gieseler, de Pressensé, Godet, Westcott, Veit, Thomson), is open to many grave difficulties.

a) First of all the theory supposes that very little was written in Palestine in the 1. century. This is not altogether true; for we find St. Luke in the preface to his Gospel declaring that many have taken upon themselves to set in order the evangelical narratives and facts, and this is sufficient proof that at a very early date biographies of the Saviour were written.

b) This hypothesis can explain the resemblances in the general theme of the Synoptics, but it cannot explain the similarity in regard to the details. «A Gospel purely oral, spoken at first in Aramaic

by Galilean lips, then in Greek by the lips of both Jews and Greeks, could only preserve with the greatest difficulty that fixity to which the identity and turns of words (sometimes rare) bear witness.»¹ Since the text of the Lord's prayer, the title on the cross, the form of the Eucharistic consecration, have not remained identical, in view of their importance it can be scarcely conceived how and why this identity should be preserved in regard to details and events which are of far less importance².

B. THE THEORY OF MUTUAL DEPENDENCE.

76. According to this hypothesis, the oldest canonical Gospel served as the source of the later. The resemblances are the reproduction of former writings, and the divergences are explained by the fact that the authors recorded personal recollections or appealed to oral tradition in these sections. The theory has been presented in six forms, according to all the possible combinations of the names of Matthew, Mark and Luke. Three alone deserve consideration.

1. Matthew wrote first, reproducing his personal recollections; Mark, *pedissequus* and *breviator Matthaei*, as St. Augustine³ calls him, abridged this work; and Luke employed both of them. Danko, Patrizi, Schanz, Keil, Belser hold this view.

2. Others admit the following order of dependence: Matthew, Luke, Mark.

3. The solution, around which many critics rally, with many modifications, is called the *theory of Mark*, and has many points in common with the *theory of two sources*. This will come under consideration later.

77. Criticism. The theory of mutual dependence alone is not sufficient to account for the Synoptic phenomena; for, although it explains the resemblances of the first three Gospels, it does not, and cannot explain the differences. Whatever may be the combination adopted, there are always narratives in which one Evangelist, sometimes St. Mark himself, is more complete than his source, and consequently quite independent of it. He must then have had recourse to oral tradition or to uncanonical writings. Furthermore, it cannot be explained why an author at one time copies his predecessor almost verbatim, at others omits facts and discourses, or abridges, develops, transposes, without apparent reason, and modifies so extensively as to seem to contradict the document which is supposedly his source.

¹ *Batiffol*, Six leçons 65.

² Mk. i. 16; Mt. iv. 18; Mk. i. 21; Lk. iv. 31; Mk. i. 32; Mt. viii. 16; Lk. iv. 40; Mk. xiv. 43; Mt. xxvi. 47; Lk. xii. 47.

³ De cons. Evang. I, 2, n. 4: P. L. XXXIV, 1044.

1. **The Theory of Matthew-Mark-Luke.** a) It is wrong to appeal to tradition for confirmation of this theory; for St. Augustine is the only authority that can be produced, and his statement is not the echo of a universal opinion, but his own private view. In all probability, when he refers to Mark as the «abbreviator of Matthew», he merely wishes to say that the second Gospel contained an abridgement of the first. Besides, his testimony is too late to be of much value. Whatever weight his assertion may carry, it is contradicted by older and more authoritative writers who in their writings suppose the mutual independence of the first three Gospels. Mark, they say, has reproduced the preaching of St. Peter, and Luke that of St. Paul¹. St. Luke, according to the prologue of his Gospel, does not seem to have any knowledge of the work of St. Matthew, since he says explicitly that those works that were written before him were based on information from eye-witnesses.

b) *This theory does not explain the divergences of the Synoptics.* St. Mark wrote his Gospel for the Romans, and his main idea was, by portraying the miracles of Christ, to prove His divinity (no. 52). If he had the text of St. Matthew before his eyes, why does he omit the narrative of the infancy, and many of the miracles that are embodied in our first Gospel? Why does he not record the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. v.—vii), in view of the fact that he records so many other discourses (viii. 34; ix. 34)? Why are the resemblances so spasmodic and so intermittent, not only in the same narratives, but in the same paragraphs and in the same phrases?² Why does he reproduce subsidiary ideas literally, and yet show marked differences in more important passages, such as the words of the Eucharistic consecration?

If *St. Luke* who like St. Paul insists on the necessity of faith and the universal character of Christianity, utilized St. Matthew and St. Mark, why does he fail to record the incident of the Syrophenician woman, whose faith our Lord extols?³ Why does he omit the saying of our Lord that the kingdom of God shall be taken away (from the Jews) and shall be given to a nation (the Gentiles) yielding the fruits thereof⁴, in a context identical with St. Matthew? Why does he, in a context common to all three, pass over the prediction that «the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached to the whole world, for a testimony to all nations»?⁵

The theory of Matthew-Mark-Luke can give no satisfactory explanation of the displacement and even mutilation of the Sermon

¹ Cf. nos. 45, 59. *Chrys.*, In Matth. I, 2; In Ioa. hom. 4, 1; P. G. LVII, 16; LIX, 47; *Cornely*, Introd. IV, 181—183.

² Mt. iii. 1—6 = Mk. i. 1—6; Mt. iii. 11, 12 = Mk. i. 7, 8.

³ Mk. vii. 24—30; Mt. xv. 21—28. ⁴ Mt. xxi. 43; Lk. xx. 17.

⁵ Mt. xxiv. 14; Mk. xiii. 10; Lk. xxi. 12—16.

on the Mount in St. Luke's Gospel, nor can it account for the motive that actuated the writer of the third Gospel in abandoning his sources and detailing facts with less exactness than his sources. Thus in the narrative of the Transfiguration, St. Matthew and St. Mark place it six days after the confession of St. Peter, while St. Luke records that it took place *about* eight days after this event¹. Although there is no grave contradiction here, still the statement of St. Luke lacks precision. Again, it is impossible to conceive why, if St. Luke made use of both our first and second Gospels, he did not smooth over the apparent contradictions of predecessors, especially in regard to the genealogies of Jesus, the narrative of the blind men of Jericho, and the order of the temptations². From the manner in which the third Gospel was composed we can conclude that its author utilized neither St. Matthew nor St. Mark.

78. 2. The Theory of Matthew-Luke-Mark. This view falls under the same criticism as the preceding, that is to say, it does not account for the omissions of Luke or Mark, nor does it give a satisfactory reason for the insertions and the transformations to which these authors subjected their common source.

C. THE THEORY OF DOCUMENTS.

79. This hypothesis, proposed for the first time at the end of the 18. century, has undergone many modifications. Its general principle is that the resemblances and differences are explained by the use of written documents, which were either common to all three, or which were only used by an individual author. One document more or less retouched, multiple sources, and two documents as the basis of our Synoptics have been admitted in turn by the advocates of this view.

1. The One Document Theory. Following in the steps of Lessing (1778), Eichhorn (1794 and 1804) maintained that an Aramaic proto-gospel, edited repeatedly with numerous modifications, formed the basis of the Synoptics. As our Greek Gospels do not possess the marks of being translations, Marsh, an Anglican bishop, supposed that the primitive Aramaic Gospel was translated into Greek before it was touched up, that it received numerous additions, and that our Evangelists used this touched-up translation.

This view made little impression and for a time was abandoned. In later times it was revived by Resch, Dalman, Marshall, and Abbot. Resch³ claimed that the primitive Gospel was written in Hebrew;

¹ Mt. xvii. 1; Mk. ix. 1; Lk. ix. 28.

² Mt. i = Lk. iii. 23-28; Mt. xx. 29-34 = Mk. x. 46-52 = Lk. xviii. 35 to 43; Mt. v. 1-11 = Lk. iv. 1-13.

³ Die Logia Jesu, nach dem griechischen und hebräischen Texte wieder hergestellt, 186 f.

while Dalman¹ and Marshall maintained an original in Aramaic, and Abbot makes it Greek².

Criticism. The existence of Gospels or Gospel-fragments prior to the composition of the third Gospel cannot be denied, since St. Luke (i. 1) makes allusion to writings that antedated his work. But if they are understood as having the value and containing the elements at least of the Synoptics, then we cannot see why the early Christians did not preserve the memory of them, the more so in view of the fact that they faithfully kept the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and the Gospel of the Egyptians, none of which could lay claim to such a value and importance.

2. **The Theory of Multiple Sources.** Schleiermacher, the real originator of this hypothesis (1817), admitted the existence of a great number of Aramaic and Greek fragments as the basis of the Gospels, which fragments the various Gospel writers appropriated to themselves more or less, retouching them and adapting them to the purpose they had in view. This is the opinion of Renan, Wrede, Schmiedel, J. Weiss, Loisy³.

Criticism. The admission of the fact that the Evangelists had in hand and used the reports of the sayings and facts connected with the life of Christ, by the early Christians, who wished to preserve a resume of the Apostolic preaching, is in no way contrary to the notion of inspiration. Moses used documents for the composition of the Pentateuch, or at least for the Book of Genesis. There is hardly any doubt that St. Matthew borrowed the narrative of the infancy and those facts of which he was not an eye-witness, from special sources. In like manner St. Luke made use of Aramaic sources for the hidden life. Many critics also admit that the Synoptic Apocalypse (Mt. xxiv, xxv; Mk. xiii; Lk. xxi) forms an independent fragment. But no one can tell whether these documents were written or oral, and their contents and scope are as equally unknown. As regards the additions and insertions which they claim abound in the first three Gospels, they are, as we have already said (no. 50), due to the faulty redaction of authors who cannot be accused of high literary ability.

80. 3. **The Two Document Theory; «Die Zwei-Quellentheorie».** This hypothesis has found and still finds able supporters in scholars like Reuss, J. Holtzmann, Jülicher, B. Weiss, Wendt,

¹ The Words of Jesus (transl.) 66.

² Art. Gospels, in *Encycl. Britannica*.

³ *Renan*, The Life of Jesus 43; *Wrede*, Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien; *Schmiedel*, *Encycl. Biblica* II, col. 1862; *J. Weiss*, Das älteste Evangelium; *Loisy*, Autour d'un petit livre 80-83; Les Évangiles synoptiques 81 f.

Stapfer, A. Réville, Wernle, Harnack, Moffat. Laying an exaggerated stress on the testimony of Papias, it claims that two main documents were at the basis of our present Gospels. The first of these documents has been called the *proto-Mark* which was written in Greek and detailed the main doings and discourses of the Saviour; the second was a collection of the discourses of Jesus (*λόγια* or *proto-Matthew*) written in Hebrew (Aramaic) by the Apostle Matthew. The canonical Gospel of Mark is a compilation from these two sources. The author of our present first Gospel has combined the *proto-Mark* with the *proto-Matthew*, and this combination has been rounded off by other smaller writings. Luke took for his basis the historical narrative of Mark and combined it with a Greek translation of the *Logia* and with special sources.

An increasing number of Catholic scholars admit this theory with some modifications. Batiffol, one of these, explains it in this wise: Mark who is the shortest must be the oldest of our three Gospels, Luke must be the latest, and Matthew of a date between the two. «The agreement of Mark, Matthew and Luke is explained by the fact that Matthew and Luke made use of Mark as their principal source. One can easily notice that, when a parable, a discourse or an episode is recorded by Matthew, Luke and Mark, the redaction of each of the three is the redaction of authors who copy each other. They have the same arrangement of narratives, the same movements in dialogue, and the same occurrences of the same words.» Although independent of each other, Matthew and Luke are secondary in relation to Mark, whom from a literary standpoint they correct, rendering him more pure, more precise, and less Hebraising. This Gospel on which they depend is not our present St. Mark. In all likelihood it was known to him and far antedated his Gospel. Its contents were made up chiefly of parables and discourses, and it began with the preaching of John the Baptist¹.

Camerlynck and Coppieters do not believe in the existence of a *proto-Mark*. They and some scholars with them maintain that Mark drew his material directly from the Apostolic catecheses. Luke made use of our present Mark, of the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew (or rather of a Greek translation of this Gospel), and of a Judeo-Christian or Palestinian source or sources rather, to which are due those parts peculiar to him. The author of the first Gospel utilized our present Mark, the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew and other sources the precise nature of which we have no means of determining. As regards the relation of Luke and the canonical first Gospel, nothing can be established with certainty. Not much can be said of the contents

¹ *Batiffol*, Six leçons sur les Évangiles 65—70; L'enseignement de Jésus ix—xii; Orpheus et l'Évangile 158 f.

of the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew, but we can say that, in its substance, it was identical with our first Greek Gospel, and, even, that St. Matthew, towards the end of his life, produced a Greek edition of his Aramaic Gospel¹.

The use of St. Mark by our first canonical Gospel is established by two main arguments. The second Gospel contains many of the details, not found in the first Gospel, and the details which the first omits are the least important. We comprehend that the first Gospel utilizing the second has omitted these details, but we do not comprehend that they are inserted by St. Mark from the first². In order to understand the Gospel of Matthew in many passages, it must be supposed that he made use of the second Gospel. Luke and Mark, for example, place the cure of the ten lepers at the beginning of the public ministry, whilst Matthew places it after the Sermon on the Mount. Hence results the great difficulty that Jesus, surrounded by the crowd, commands the paralytic not to say to any one that he was cured³.

Criticism. a) The existence of a proto-Mark is entirely unknown to tradition and should be regarded as purely hypothetical. As much may be said of the proto-Matthew in spite of the famous text of Papias (no. 29).

b) The theory of two sources, as it is expressed by a certain number of critics, cannot be admitted since it denies the authenticity of the first Greek Gospel (nos. 33 f.). But we must recognize that other critics have succeeded in reconciling the theory of two sources with the doctrine of the tradition concerning the origin and date of our first Gospel.

c) If Matthew and Luke used Mark, it is hard to understand why both have omitted so many passages in their accounts and so often differ in regard to details. No doubt, Mark has only thirty verses proper to himself, but «in 240 passages St. Matthew agrees with St. Luke against St. Mark as regards the manner of presenting the facts and especially in regard to the use of the same terms»⁴.

d) Matthew and Luke did not use the same collection of Logia; for the discourses are generally grouped in Matthew, and in Luke they are unconnected and spread out over the whole work (no. 72).

¹ *Camerlynck and Coppeters*, Synopsis xv f. The theory of two sources is also admitted by *Lagrange*, *Jésus et la critique des Évangiles*, in the *Bulletin de litt. eccl.* 1904, 19; by *Barnes*, *Origin of the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, in the *Journal of Theol. Studies* 1905, VI, 188; by *Gigot*, *Studies on the Synoptics*, in the *New York Review* vols. I, II, III.

² Cf. Mt. ix. 1—8 and Mk. ii. 1—12; Mt. viii. 28—34 and Mk. v. 1—20; Mt. ix. 18—26 and Mk. v. 21—43; Mt. xiv. 3—12 and Mk. vi. 17—29.

³ viii. 1, 4. Cf. Mk. i. 21—34 with Mt. viii. 14—17.

⁴ *Jacquier*, *History of the Books of the N. T.* II, 331.

Why Luke should thus have arranged the discourses is inconceivable, for he seems to have no apparent reason for it. On the other hand, even in the words spoken by our Lord, he has forms of expression which are not found in Matthew: Matthew has eight beatitudes, Luke has retained only four, and has transformed the others into maledictions (Mt. v. 3—12; Lk. vi. 20—25).

e) If Matthew used Mark, it is difficult to conceive why he suppressed the picturesque and clean-cut details in which the charm of the second Gospel consists, and which, moreover, are not entirely useless or without importance. It is true that often a comparison of the first and second Gospels sheds light on the obscurities of Mark's account. This fact is not at all favourable to the Two-Document Theory, for why should the author of the first Gospel abandon the general trend of Mark in order to adopt a less happy context? And how is it that he himself did not see how faulty his method was?

D. CONCLUSION AND AN ATTEMPT AT A SOLUTION.

Conclusion. It is certain that, prior to the redaction of our canonical Gospels, there were written and oral sources, and their use explains the divergences and resemblances of the Synoptics. But it is impossible to indicate their number, their character or their extent. None of the theories proposed, neither the oral tradition, nor mutual dependence, nor the theory of documents, taken separately to the exclusion of the others can solve the Synoptic Problem. Recourse must be had to an eclectic method, that is to say, one must adopt none of the views bodily, but take from each whatever truth it may contain. The question is purely a scientific one and may be freely discussed, provided we admit the following conclusions, namely, that the Synoptic Gospels are authentic, historical, and inspired works; that the Aramaic Gospel of St. Matthew was the first of all the written Gospels and was followed by the works of St. Mark and St. Luke; that St. Matthew really is the author of the Aramaic Gospel; and finally, that to him must be ascribed the substance of the Greek Gospel which has come down to us under his name.

Attempt at a Solution. Our view is this: It is certain that tradition in the beginning preserved the Gospel memoirs. Even though the Apostles did not fix the contents of the primitive catecheses, oral tradition was bound in a very short time to produce a certain classing of facts and discourses of Christ, and this received a concise form and it may be said became stereotyped. All did not receive this form, and what was not thus fixed was soon forgotten after the death of the eye-witnesses. The ecclesiastical writings of the 2. century and the *Agrapha* do not add to the information contained in the Gospels. But the use of this oral tradition cannot alone explain the frequent and close resemblances of the Synoptics.

Besides, it must be granted that the Synoptics are not the product of one source, but embody several elements in their make-up.

In good time the Gospel memoirs were consigned to writing. The redactions were numerous (Lk. i. 1—3), diverse in contents, extent and language, and, in a certain number of sections, they approached our present Gospels. One of these, which embodied the preaching of St. Peter (no. 45), was inserted into the second Gospel and completed by oral sources. The principal source of St. Mark cannot be called the proto-Mark, since it is not the work of that author.

St. Matthew has made use of personal recollections. It is quite probable, too, that for the composition of his Aramaic Gospel he had Aramaic sources which closely resembled the sources of St. Mark, but were not identical with them. For the narrative of the infancy he made use of oral or written sources whose precise nature is unknown. Although an eye-witness for the greater part of the life of Jesus, he was forced to make use of both written and oral sources because they were consecrated by ecclesiastical usage. It is our opinion that the Greek translator of St. Matthew made use of Greek sources which corresponded to the Aramaic employed in the original.

St. Luke made use of a document similar to that employed by St. Mark, also of a collection of discourses. We have already indicated how the elements which are not common to St. Matthew or St. Mark (no. 64) came into his possession.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the preceding propositions have not all the same degree of probability. Some are merely hypothetical and can make no pretension of solving a problem well nigh insoluble. It can be admitted of course that in those parts in which the Synoptics closely follow each other, they employed a common source which they completed and modified in accordance with information which they themselves personally possessed. However, this view is open to the same difficulties as the hypothesis that each Gospel made direct (nos. 76—78) use of the other. As a final remark we wish to state that the explanation we have proposed takes no account of the order in which the Gospels appeared.

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See the decision of the Biblical Commission (June 26th, 1912) on the Synoptic Problem, at the end of this volume.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE SYNOPTICS.

I. GENERAL DEMONSTRATION OF THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE SYNOPTICS.

82. *The State of the Question.* As a first remark, let it be said that we do not intend to speak of the *inspiration* of our first three Gospels. Inspiration is a supernatural fact the existence of which, although transcending reason, must be proven by authority and by an authority illumined by special lights sent by God, that is to say in a word by the Catholic Church. The Church has defined on several occasions, especially in the Councils of Trent and the Vatican, as everybody knows, that the Sacred Books are inspired and that this inspiration extends to all their parts.

The question at stake here is: *Must the Synoptic Gospels be taken as historical works in their substance and not merely in certain details?* We do not claim that the Gospels are historical in the sense that they are biographies of the Saviour, complete in detail, chronological throughout; but we do say that they embody, although in a fragmentary form and influenced by a special object (nos. 38, 52, 67), real history, and words and discourses of which the ideas were truly expressed by our Lord. Moreover, historical criticism alone cannot prove biblical *inerrancy*; for every man, unaided by divine inspiration, is subject to exaggeration and to error; but errors in detail which in themselves are excluded by inspiration, have no importance from an apologetic point of view.

All Catholic scholars admit the historical value of the Gospels in the sense which we have defined. It is the same with conservative Protestants like De Pressensé, Godet, Sanday, Plummer, Zahn, but with more or less modifications. All Rationalistic critics recognize that the Synoptic Gospels, in their *ensemble*, are «weighty documents», that they are «of a priceless value as authorities for the history of Jesus», and that they contain an «original tradition». Yet despite all this, these critics maintain that the Gospels in a great part are legendary. The most radical have even claimed that in the Gospels may be found infiltrations of Buddhism¹.

¹ A. Edmonds, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* (1904).

83. *Proof.* 1. **The Fallacy of the Rationalistic Principle.**

Several Rationalists pretend that the Gospels are partly legendary since they abound in the miraculous and the supernatural. But we know that miracles are possible, that they can be proved and that they exist (cf. no. 14).

2. **Sources of Information and the Sincerity of the Evangelists.** The historical value of the work supposes that the author was fully informed and in his narrative set down what was true. And this is what may be said of the Synoptics.

A. SOURCES OF INFORMATION. According to what has already been said, the first Gospel is the work of the Apostle *Matthew* who was frequently an eye-witness to the events which he narrates, and as regards the others which he did not witness, he was in a position to gain information from the disciples. Unanimous testimony of the most ancient tradition and internal criteria make it certain that *St. Mark* has reproduced the preaching of St. Peter, an eye-witness, «with exactness, trying not to be mistaken». In the very first verse of his work, *St. Luke* affirms that he was careful to consult all the primitive sources available and to faithfully reproduce the most authoritative memoirs and documents at his disposal with a view to show Theophilus the certainty of the teachings which he had received; now he was a disciple of St. Paul, he had relations with St. Barnabas, with Philip the Deacon, with Mark, with James the Less, and several other of the Apostles, and in all probability either mediately or immediately with the Mother of the Saviour (see nos. 28, 45, 50, 64, 71). These three authors wrote their works 30 or 40 years after the death of Christ; but this gap is sensibly diminished by the fact that they used written and oral sources the origin of which can be traced to the very earliest of Christian days. There is certainly at the basis of the Synoptics an oral catechesis the contents of which were probably determined by the Apostles (no. 74).

The Evangelists and the authors of the sources which they used, were not scholars expert in the principles of modern criticism, but they did possess good sense, and this was sufficient to show them the difference between natural and miraculous facts. Again, «the incisive phrases, the maxims of a proverbial turn, sometimes paradoxical in design, the parables ingenious and yet easy to comprehend», all these were an aid to the memory.

These observations could be as striking and would still be true even though the Synoptic Gospels were not authentic. According to every theory, they must, because of their sources, be dated from the first Christian generation. They are a public testimony of the primitive Church which was in a position, and had every reason to

be acquainted with these facts so public, so weighty, so notorious, which formed the foundation of her belief and her moral life.

B. SINCERITY. Scarcely anyone questions the sincerity of the Evangelists nowadays, and it would be a waste of time to defend it. They bear on their face the impression of absolute honesty; they record their stories with simplicity, depicting the faults of the Apostles, their ambition, their disputes, their unbeliefs, and the reproaches that Jesus addressed to them¹. And all this is done without making any comment or giving any personal reflection. They scarcely note the impression which our Lord produced, nor do they make much capital out of the fulfilment of prophecies. It is true that they are imbued with a doctrinal and apologetical view, but this does not form an argument against their historical fidelity. History can be written «ad narrandum» or «ad probandum», and this latter is the method adopted by the Evangelists.

Moreover, there is no apparent motive which would impel them to alter the truth: in this life, the preaching of the Gospel entailed persecution; if they expected happiness in the next, it must then be clear that they had no thought of deceiving. And how could they succeed in this deception since they wrote in the midst of a generation closely connected with the events they narrated?

84. 3. The Agreement with Profane History, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles. The great proof that the Synoptics reproduced the truth is that they reflect the Palestinian world of the time of our Lord such as it is known by profane history. Moreover, they agree with the history afforded us by the Acts and the Epistles.

a) *Profane History.* According to the Synoptic Gospels. Herod the Great reigned in Palestine at the time of our Lord's birth². A short time after this event, he had as his successor his son, Archelaus, who was as cruel as he had been³. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, Pontius Pilate was Procurator of Judea, Herod Antipas was Tetrarch of Galilee, Philip his brother of Iturea and Trachonitis, and Lysanias of Abilene⁴. Caiaphas was high priest at the time of the Passion⁵. Herod Antipas married Herodias, wife of his brother Philip⁶, while he was living; John the Baptist having reproached him for this incestuous union was put to death⁷.

The Jews and Samaritans were separated by the deepest animosity⁸. The Jews themselves were divided into two principal sects: the Pharisees and

¹ Mt. xv. 16, 17; xvi. 8, 11. 23; xvii. 18—20; xx. 21—24; xxv. 56, 69—75; Mk. viii. 17, 18, 21; ix. 32, 33; Lk. xviii. 34.

² Mt. ii. 1; Lk. i. 5.

³ Mt. ii. 19—22.

⁴ Lk. iii. 1.

⁵ Mt. xxvi. 57.

⁶ This Philip must not be confounded with the tetrarch of that name; he was a son of Herod the Great and Mariamne. Mt. xiv. 13; Mk. vi. 17; Lk. iii. 19.

⁷ Mk. vi. 17—29; *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, 5, 2.

⁸ Jn. iv. 9; Lk. ix. 53; x. 30 f.

the Sadducees¹. They expected a Messias who would re-establish their lost nationality². Under the Roman rule, the Jews, according to the Synoptics, preserved their ancient customs both in their religious and civil administration: the Scribes explained the Law in the synagogue³, the priests exercised their sacred functions in the Temple⁴, and the Sanhedrin composed of Scribes, the high priests and the ancients of the people⁵, judged civil, religious and criminal affairs, without having, however, the right to pass sentence of, much less to inflict capital punishment. This is why during the Passion the Jews led Jesus before the Roman Procurator in order that He might receive the death sentence⁶.

In capital executions, the condemned person was according to Roman custom first scourged⁷. If he was to be crucified, he carried his own cross⁸, just as Jesus did⁹. The title on the cross of the Saviour was in Hebrew, in Latin, and in Greek¹⁰, just as the Temple inscriptions prohibiting the pagans to pass from the Court of the Gentiles into that of the Women and the Israelites, were in Greek and Hebrew¹¹.

In regard to all these points, the Synoptic story agrees with profane history. Tacitus, Suetonius, the old medals and coins, especially Josephus, confirm all its indications (no. 131 f.). Now there was nothing more easy than to deceive in regard to the names of princes both political and religious, in a period in which changes in the Palestinian government were so frequent. If the Gospels are exact on these points, they should also be considered such in regard to the history of Jesus, though the absence of profane authorities renders external testing of that history impossible.

b) *The Acts*. St. Luke, whose Gospel to a great extent is similar to that of the other two Synoptics, has also written the Acts. But what a difference there is between the discourses attributed to Jesus in the Gospel, and those which he ascribes to the Apostles in the Acts. «In the former, there is an original and primitive form, a teaching by parable and maxim; in the latter, there is a derived form, and a sort of commentary. Whence comes the difference, unless from the fidelity of the historian in reproducing his sources and in conforming himself scrupulously to the truth?»¹² Again, the Acts record many Gospel facts, and confirm their correctness, for instance the preaching of the Saviour and His miracles (x. 37, 38); the false accusations of His enemies, and the judgment of the Sanhedrin (xiii. 27, 28); the conduct of Pilate (iii. 13); the Crucifixion of the Saviour (ii. 36); His burial, His Resurrection on the third day (xiii. 29, 30); His appearance after death (x. 41; xiii. 30); the mission which He gave to His Apostles (x. 42). The Ascension of Jesus recorded in the beginning of Acts, supposes His Resurrection, His Crucifixion and His preaching. The election of Matthias, the purchase of the Potter's Field and the name Hacedama (field of blood) which was given it, imply the treachery and death of Judas, which are affirmed explicitly at the end of the story of Christ's execution.

¹ Mt. iii. 7; v. 20; vii. 29; ix. 11, 14, 34; xvi. 1, 6, 11, 12; Mk. ii. 16, 18, 24; Lk. v. 17.

² Lk. iii. 15; ii. 25—32, 38; no. 142.

³ Mt. ii. 4; v. 20; xxiii. 2 f.; Mk. i. 22; xii. 35, 38; Lk. xx. 46.

⁴ Lk. i. 5, 8—10.

⁵ Mt. ii. 4; xxi. 23; xxvi. 3, 47, 57; xxvii. 1; Mk. xiv. 43, 53; xv. 1.

⁶ Mt. xxvii. 1 and parall. passages.

⁷ Cic., De orat. 36; Verr. 4, 40.

⁸ Lk. xxiii. 26.

¹⁰ Lk. xxiii. 38.

⁹ Plut., De sera num. vind. 9.

¹¹ Jos., J. W. VI, 2, 4.

¹² Lepin, Christ and the Gospel 43.

c) *The Epistles of St. Paul.* In the Epistles of St. Paul we find mention of the principal facts of the Gospel, and this in a manner so assured, that he cannot be suspected of error nor of imposture nor even of having used the Synoptic Gospels. In his great Epistles, which were written between the years 55 and 65, twenty or thirty years after the death of the Saviour, he openly and unhesitatingly taught: the Incarnation of the Son of God (Rom. i. 2, 3; ix. 5; Gal. iv. 4); His descent from Abraham and David (Rom. i. 3; ix. 5; Gal. iii. 16; 2 Tim. ii. 8); His poor and humble life (2 Cor. viii. 9; Phil. ii. 7); the Last Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23); the treachery which delivered Him to His enemies (Rom. iv. 25; 1 Cor. xi. 23); His Passion (Rom. v. 6, 9, 10; viii. 32, 34; Gal. ii. 20); the time and place of His condemnation (1 Cor. v. 7; 1 Tim. vi. 13); His Crucifixion (Rom. vi. 5, 6; Gal. iii. 13; Phil. iii. 18; Col. ii. 14; 1 Cor. i. 17, 23; ii. 2, 8; 2 Cor. xiii. 4); His death for the salvation of men (Rom. vi. 6; xiv. 9); His Burial (Rom. vi. 4; 1 Cor. xv. 4); His Resurrection on the third day (Rom. iv. 24; xiv. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 4), attested by St. Peter, St. James, the eleven Apostles, and by more than 500 witnesses (1 Cor. xv. 5—7); His exaltation on the right hand of His Father (Rom. viii. 17, 34; Eph. i. 20; 1 Tim. iii. 16); the call of the Apostles (1 Cor. iv. 1); the divine foundation of the Church (Rom. xii. 4; 1 Cor. i. 9, 10); the name Cephas given to Peter (1 Cor. ix. 5); his primacy implicitly affirmed (Gal. i. 18); the institution of the Holy Eucharist (1 Cor. xi. 23—29); and many points of His doctrine particularly in regard to chastity (1 Cor. vii. 10, 12, 25)¹.

85. 4. The Superhuman Grandeur of Jesus. A reflection of the Divine Majesty which illumines the person of Christ is found in the Gospels. His incomparable doctrine, His perfect sanctity, His supernatural character find no parallel in the history of humanity. «It is more inconceivable that several persons should agree to write such a history, than that one only should furnish the subject of it. The Jewish authors were incapable of the diction, and strangers to the morality contained in the Gospel, and the marks of truth are so striking and inimitable that the inventor would be a more astonishing character than the hero.»² And we can even add this, that Christianity would find no explanation if our Lord was not really what the Gospels portray Him to be.

5. Comparison with Apocryphal Gospels. A mere reading will convince anyone that the Synoptics differ widely from the apocryphal gospels. «They are insipid and puerile amplifications, having the canonical Gospels for their basis and adding nothing thereto of any value.»³ The doctrinal element in them is entirely at fault, and their errors are gross. The vulgar and trivial character ascribed to Jesus is out of all proportion with His dignity and His mission as Man-God. «There is, in the apocryphal, the fatiguing gossip of an old woman, the basely familiar tone of a literature of nurses» (nos. 92, 250). The difference results in this that the Synoptics

¹ Cf. *Revue du clergé français*, 1. of June 1907.

² *Rousseau*, *Emilius*, book 4, profession of faith of the Savoyard vicar.

³ *Renan*, *Life of Christ*, Engl. transl. 57.

reproduce a real history, whilst the apocryphals are the outcome of popular and imaginary conceptions.

It is inconceivable that the canonical Gospels could be regarded as the outcome of a popular elaboration such as gave birth to the apocryphal Gospels.

II. THE THEORY OF PROGRESSIVE IDEALIZATION.

86. Exposition. According to many Rationalistic critics (Renan, J. Holtzmann, Jülicher, Wrede, Loisy), the Synoptics, although composed before the end of the 1. century, are altered history, transformed under the influence of early belief.

Oral tradition is in fact by its very nature subject to continuous alteration: *fama crescit eundo*. For the Synoptics, «the edifying character is the rule of credibility». Loisy thinks that the Gospels «are not to be used without discrimination»; «that criticism must separate that which is a primitive memoir from that which is an appreciation by faith and a development of Christian belief»; «that the Gospels are, above all, books of edification; that their authors did not fear to treat traditional matter with a certain freedom»; «that neither the Christian preachers nor the Evangelists were concerned with historical exactness; that they aimed at introducing the faith and interpreted the Gospel in recording it»¹; that «the actual impression of faith (in regard to natural facts, miracles and doctrine) was the truth of the Gospel»; that the second Gospel itself, «as regards its object and its character, is a work of faith more than it is a work of history»².

They say there are contradictions, divergences and superpositions in the Synoptics in which one can see the beginnings of legendary formations. According to St. Mark (xi. 12—19), for example, the barren fig tree cursed by our Lord at the beginning of Holy Week, was not found withered until the next day; in St. Matthew (xxi. 12) the fig tree withered in an hour. Again, St. Mark says (viii. 1—9) that 4000 men were fed with seven loaves and a few fishes and that which remained filled seven baskets, whilst according to the idealized tradition produced by St. Matthew (xiv. 15—21) Jesus fed 5000 men without counting the women and children, with two fishes and five loaves, the remainder of which filled twelve baskets.

87. Refutation³. To that which has been said in a preceding paragraph, the following reflections may be added: It is certain that

¹ Loisy, *Autour d'un petit livre* 83, 44, 45, 84, 85.

² Loisy, *Rev. d'hist. et litt. rel.* 1903, 514; *Wrede*, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* (1901).

³ The Holy Office on the 3. of July 1907 condemned the following propositions: XIV. In pluribus narrationibus non tam quae vera sunt Evangelistae retulerunt quam

the spectacle of the facts accomplished has contributed to a better understanding and to a better showing forth of the Messianic prophecies and the predictions of the Saviour, «that the familiarity with Christian theology, so magnificently developed by St. Paul has inspired the evangelical historians in their selection and in the working up of their materials». It is even probable that details furnished by the revelations after the death of our Lord were inserted in the Gospels. It would be quite lawful to separate these elements. But the task appears to us impossible. Just as it is very often impossible to discern secondary elements coming from tradition or from the Evangelist. At least, the work presents great difficulty, as the divergence of critics proves.

Examples of discourse and of parables (Mk. iv. 1—34). This chapter contains the parable of the sower, preceded by a short introduction (1. 2, 3—9), a short explanation of parabolic teaching (10—12), the explanation of the parable of the sower (13—20), a few detached sentences (21—25), the parable of the seed growing (26—29), the parable of the mustard seed (30—32) and a general conclusion in regard to teaching by parables (33, 34). Now the grouping of these parables in one discourse may be regarded as artificial. Our Lord will have said, the same day, only the parable of the sower; but St. Mark like St. Matthew, whose grouping is equally artificial, wished to give a specimen of the preaching of the Saviour. The parable of the seed growing secretly is peculiar to himself, and that of the mustard seed is placed by St. Luke in another place (xiii. 19). By reason of this grouping, Mark will have added the verses 2, 33, 34 and perhaps also verse 30, in order to connect the parables.

It is probably because of this method of grouping his facts that St. Luke will say (viii. 9 ff.): The twelve asked Jesus in regard to the parables. «To whom He said: To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God; but to the rest in parables...» St. Luke, however, understands the question of the twelve as referring to but one parable, namely the parable of the sower. The explanation of Jesus in regard to the method of teaching in the form of parables most likely was given under different circumstances¹.

A comparison of the Synoptic Gospels proves this much, at least, that the parables have not been transmitted to us in a fixed and stereotyped form. Whatever differences there are, be they due to tradition or to the sacred author himself, they in no way affect the substance of the teaching of Jesus.

Everything in the Bible is inspired, but inspiration is not a species of mechanical dictation which entails the suppression of all literary activity, personal and individual, on the part of the author. Everything that is affirmed is infallibly true, in the very meaning that the author has attached to each of his statements. The determination of this meaning is properly the task of the exegete who must interpret the writer's mind according to the ordinary rules of sacred hermeneutics².

quae lectoribus, etsi falsa, censuerunt magis proficua. XV. Evangelia usque ad definitum constitutumque canonem continuis additionibus et correctionibus aucta fuerunt: in ipsis proinde doctrinae Christi non remansit nisi tenue et incertum vestigium.

¹ Cf. no. 402, notes.

² Cf. *Revue du clergé français*, April 15., 1909.

Other Examples. Those among the Fathers and Catholic commentators, whose orthodoxy is beyond question, who identify on the one hand the parable of the great supper with that of the wedding garment, and on the other identify the parable of the talents with that of the pounds (nos. 414, 421), readily concede that the Evangelists in their handling of their material have modified the frame-work of the parables. We are met with the same redactional difficulty in the cases where one Evangelist presents a fact or discourse found in another Gospel writer, in a different setting.

To assert that, under the influence of their faith, the early believers created the *substance* of our Gospel history, is entirely gratuitous and has not one single solid argument in its favour.

a) No one, or at least comparatively very few, rejects the *sincerity* of our Synoptic writers or of the authors of the sources that they employed in the composition of their several accounts. If this be the case, and it is, whatever idealization may have been set on foot, necessarily must have been slow yet progressive in formation, unconsciously growing under the influence of Christian faith and in the very center of Christian consciousness, before the redaction of the early traditions to writing between the years 30 and 60 A. D. Yet we would expect that faith would produce just the contrary effect; for at this early period Christians would naturally seek to establish their faith on what was historically true, and «the endeavour of the apologist, or the interest of the theologian, far from darkening the insight of the critic and the conscientious care of the chronicler, must have served rather as their encouragement and support»¹.

b) The *contradictions*² which they allege, relate to the details of the narratives, and in no way affect the general accuracy of the substance. If there be differences, superpositions and additions, and there are, it only argues that these various authors were in possession of data more complete than those of their fellow writers. In no sense can they be made to prove the existence of legendary stratifications. What they do attest is the independence of the inspired writers one from the other, and at the same time, as a necessary consequence, the accuracy, at least in its substance, of their information. And this is all that the apologist demands for his work.

c) A careful *examination of the main Gospel facts* (see nos. 330f.), such as the Messianic ideal, the portrait of the Apostles, the divinity of Jesus, and the aspect of His humanity — makes it clear that the Synoptic writers were not influenced by the fluctuating ideas of the time on these points, a fact which bears out and strengthens the whole contents of our Synoptic accounts. The *Messianic ideal* as it was pictured in popular fancy, with its thoroughly temporal and materialistic elements, necessarily would have to be changed in form after the events of Pentecost; for then we would naturally expect that it would

¹ *Lépin*, Christ and the Gospel 45.

² See no. 88.

be corrected and idealized in the light of a more exalted conception of the Messiah and His work; for at this particular time the Apostles knew for certain that all their dreams of a temporal kingdom were vain, and they realized at last that Christ's kingdom was spiritual and universal, and that its triumph lay in the sufferings and cross of Christ. «But it is the national Messianism, fully described in its ancient colouring, which the Synoptics portray as filling the hearts of both the Apostles and the people.» «The eagerness of the multitudes and of the disciples themselves for temporal power, their hope for a Messiah, son of David, an earthly and conquering king, their haste to seek after the first places in the kingdom, which they imagined like that of this world, — all is what the non-inspired documents of that period mention about the Messianic hopes of the ancient Jews.»¹

Nor is the portrait of the Apostles painted in ideal colouring. In reality, the Synoptics in the most matter of fact tones tell us of their low extraction, their coarseness, their lack of education, their unbelief, and their cowardice, especially during the time of the Passion. In fact their picture could hardly be more un-ideal.

As regards the dogmas of the *eternal preexistence and the divinity of Jesus Christ*, the Synoptics have been so little under the influence of the dogmatic beliefs current at the time they wrote, that some critics — wrongly of course — have maintained that in their writings we find no trace of these dogmas at all. And yet in the very period when the Gospels made their appearance (60—70), St. Paul had strongly insisted upon these two truths and placed them in emphatic relief as part of the Christian faith². If the Synoptics, two of whom were disciples of St. Paul (nos. 44, 57), namely Mark and Luke, failed to deal at length with that Apostle's doctrine, it was because they wished to adhere to the strict historical truth of their accounts.

On the other hand, the *human side of Christ*, which under a process of idealization would naturally be softened, is presented rather forcibly. Jesus is described as being born with all the helplessness of a babe, He speaks and acts like a man, He is baptized just like sinners, He fasts, He is tempted by the devil, He sits at table with both Pharisee and publican, He allows Himself to be touched by the sinner-woman, He appears to be ignorant of the day of judgment (Mk. xiii. 32; Mt. xxiv. 36), He refuses the title «good» claiming that it belongs to God alone (Mk. x. 17, 18), He is hungry, He eats, He sleeps, He is sorrowful in the garden of Gethsemane, and a sweat of blood proceeds from His body, He is tormented, beaten with rods, buffeted, crucified, His Father abandons Him upon the cross, etc. etc.

¹ *Lepin* l. c. 48.

² *Phil.* ii. 5—6; *Col.* i. 15—20.

III. ANTILOGUES OR THE CONTRADICTIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT ¹.

88. I. *Difficulties.* As we have remarked above, inspiration extends to the whole of Scripture and all its parts, and involves as a necessary consequence the absolute inerrancy of these parts. There can be no error in the affirmation or negation of a sacred writer; for, as God is the principal author of the Bible, the error would be imputable to Him, and this is untenable. «Nefas omnino fuerit», writes Leo XIII., «aut inspirationem ad aliquas tantum S. Scripturae partes coangustare, aut concedere sacrum ipsum errasse auctorem» ².

Now at first sight the Synoptics seem to be in contradiction with the O. T., at variance with the fourth Gospel and even with themselves. According to Matthew³, to cite an example, the divine Child was called back from Egypt, so that the prophecy «Ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum» ⁴, might be fulfilled, a prophecy which refers to the Jewish people solely and has no connection with the Messiah. It appears also that the genealogies of our Lord as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke⁵ are contradictory, and that the account of the denials of Peter as recorded by the four Gospels are irreconcilable. According to St. Matthew and St. Luke⁶, Jesus said to this Apostle: «Prius quam gallus cantet, ter me negabis»; but St. Mark⁷ puts it this way: «Prius quam gallus cantet bis, ter me negabis». We meet with the same difficulty in the narratives of the cure of the blind men of Jericho. According to St. Luke⁸, Jesus gave sight to one blind man before He entered the city of Jericho; St. Matthew⁹ records that two blind men were cured after He had departed from the city, whilst according to St. Mark's¹⁰ account there was but one blind man cured and that after Christ had left the city.

89. II. *Principles of Solution.* These contradictions and others like them are after all only apparent. Each of them shall be explained in its proper place in the course of this work. For the time being it will suffice to lay down the principles according to which this explanation shall be made.

1. The first thing to be done in cases like these is to get at the *true reading* and the *exact meaning* of the text which is under discussion, because very often, and this is produced by a number of causes, both the original text and its versions have been altered or poorly interpreted by commentators.

¹ St. Aug., De cons. evang.: P. L. XXXIV, 1042—1230; Cornely, Introductio specialis 189 ff.; Pesch, De inspiratione S. Scripturae nos. 489 ff.; Zapletal, Hermeneutica biblica 118—127. ² Encyclical «Providentissimus Deus». ³ Mt. ii. 15.

⁴ Os. xi. 1.

⁵ Mt. i; Lk. iii. 23—38.

⁶ Mt. xxvi. 75; Lk. xxii. 34.

⁷ Mk. xvi. 72.

⁸ Lk. xviii. 35—43.

⁹ Mt. xx. 29—34.

¹⁰ Mk. x. 46 f.

2. The Bible possessing both a divine and a human element, its authors express the thought of God in *human language*. As a consequence they can attribute to several that which in reality should only be ascribed to an individual, and they can, in order to be the better understood, accommodate themselves to the language and popular beliefs of their times. Thus, for example, when St. Matthew and St. Mark¹ say that both the thieves crucified with Jesus insulted Him, their language is vague, and they class all those who offered affronts to the Lord in categories (passers-by, chief priests, robbers), whilst St. Luke with more precision distinguishes the good thief from the bad². According to this same principle it is quite lawful for our Lord, as well as the sacred authors, to refer to the rising of the sun³, and to the Psalms of David, although as we know David did not compose the whole Psalter, and the sun does not rise at all, but only appears to do so.

3. The quotations of the O. T. in the New are not always quoted for their literal meaning; for it happens quite often that a spiritual meaning is given them⁴. Sometimes too, they are used in an accommodated sense, and at others they serve simply as «argumenta ad hominem»⁵. When the inspired writers quote the Greek version of the LXX, they do not guarantee the exactness of each quotation in all its details. Yet even here it cannot be admitted that they rest their proofs on a wrong interpretation of the LXX; for in this case their deductions would be false, and we should be forced to attribute to the Holy Spirit Himself illogical methods, which *in se* is impossible. Still there are some good theologians who maintain that in parts, where the N. T. writers are not attempting to prove anything, they do quote passages from the LXX which really are not in accord with the Hebrew original. In this case their quotation really amounts to this, that what they cite is really the Bible according to the most used version, and their quotations should then be understood with this limitation. This view of the case would explain the presence of the name Caïnan in St. Luke's genealogical list, a name which is not found in Hebrew Genesis. This difficulty can be solved otherwise according to other principles⁶.

4. As a rule the sacred writers in composing their works had in view a particular purpose, and hence they had no intention of being complete, and this is why they give the one, one detail, the other, another, just as it fitted in with their purpose. As a natural consequence we have those differences which usually result when several writers, working along independent lines, narrate the same

¹ Mt. xvii. 39—44; Mk. xv. 29—32.

² Lk. xxiii. 34—43.

³ Mt. v. 45.

⁴ Ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum, Mt. ii. 15.

⁵ *Pesch*, De inspir. S. Script. 457—459, 543—547.

⁶ *Pesch* l. c. 546.

fact and record the same discourse. Wherever any difficulty is experienced in reconciling one text with another, this disagreement should be attributed to the fragmentary character of our Gospels and the meagreness of our information. This is especially true for the narratives of the denials of Peter.

The Gospel writers — we might take St. Matthew as an example — by no means limit themselves to a chronological order; for this would mean very little for their purpose which was primarily religious in character.

5. A *contradiction* in the real sense of the word demands that there be an affirmation and a negation concerning the same person, of the same fact, of the same time and of the same circumstances. Thus in the narratives of Christ casting the sellers from the Temple, which are told in a different manner in the Synoptics and in St. John¹, are not contradictory; for it is probable that Jesus performed this act on two distinct occasions: once at the beginning of His public life, and the other time at the beginning of Holy Week. Several circumstances which bear a similarity are not enough to make two facts identical; for during His public ministry Christ is often found surrounded by like circumstances which have led Him to repeat the same words, and even perform the same acts.

If the contradiction is such that it seems to be real, we argue that in this case there can be no valid objection urged against the accuracy of the historian, because of the scantiness and meagreness of the information at our disposal. To put it even better, we know that history demands that a writer reproduce the *substance* of his materials exactly, and does not require that, in the colouring he may give to facts or in minute details, he be accurate, and all this we know is compatible with the idea of inspiration. The differences do not amount to error from the point of view of inspiration. In order to have error in the Gospels we would be forced to admit that their authors really wished to affirm the truth of petty details, and this can hardly be true; for they have little or no value for their purpose, which in the case of each was necessarily religious.

90. 6. The Relative Truth of the Bible in Matters Historical?

a) There are some Catholic critics who are of the opinion that sometimes the sacred writer records the facts of history in the same manner that he writes of natural phenomena, that is, «according to the *popular version* which has arisen from an oral or written tradition, or in other words, he records facts subjectively true, if not always objectively so»². In support of their view they appeal

¹ Mt. xx. 1, 12, 13; Mk. xi. 15—17; Lk. xix. 45, 46; Jn. ii. 13—17. Cf. no. 254.

² Sanders, Études sur St. Jérôme 191.

to the authority of St. Jerome and the Encyclical «Providentissimus Deus» of Leo XIII.

St. Jerome, after showing that St. Stephen, in the Acts of the Apostles, was deceived in making the number of persons who went into Egypt with Jacob 75 after the LXX, instead of 70, absolves St. Luke from his ignorance and the Bible from error, because St. Luke intentionally and for his own designs quotes the LXX not wishing to offend his Gentile readers accustomed as they were to reading the LXX¹. Then he adds: «Hoc autem generaliter observandum est, quod, ubicumque sancti Apostoli aut Apostolici viri loquuntur ad populos, his plerumque testimoniis abutuntur, quae iam fuerant in gentibus divulgata.»² Leo XIII. teaches that the sacred writers, in questions purely scientific, «speak the language of the people and according to appearances», and further he says that «one can apply these principles to kindred sciences, especially to history»³.

b) CRITICISM. In principle, inspiration which is compatible with all kinds of literature, history, poetry, the apologue, the parable and even fiction, is not in opposition to this rather wide understanding of the history in the Bible. It can be even conceded that the sacred writer, in order to be better understood or to save the feelings of his readers, could accommodate himself to the language and the popular beliefs of his time, if his text is, according to the circumstances, so clear that there is no danger of error. But the passage of St. Jerome quoted above and others like it do not prove anything. As a matter of fact the holy doctor admits the correctness of the number 75 given by the LXX translators; for he says that they have named the sons and the grandsons of Joseph, by anticipation, as forming part of those who went into Egypt with Jacob. Lastly, the phrase «his plerumque testimoniis abutuntur (sc. utuntur)» is used, according to his context, to point out the fact that the Christian preachers quoted from the LXX which was generally used outside the confines of Palestine.

As regards the argument drawn from the Encyclical «Providentissimus Deus» of Pope Leo XIII., it proves no more than the quotations from St. Jerome for the theory of the relative truth of the Bible in historical matters. The remarks of the Holy Father that are appealed to, in regard to the exegesis of historical questions, are not closely connected with the paragraph which treats of scientific questions, and signify in the context that the so-called results achieved

¹ Gen. xlv. 26, 27; Acts vii. 14.

² Liber Hebraec. Quaest. 4: P. L. XXIII, 1901. There are other passages much stronger than this which are urged by the defenders of this view. For some of them see The Catholic University Bulletin, April 1906, art. History and Inspiration by H. A. Pæls (Translator).

³ Encycl. «Providentissimus Deus».

by a study of history must not be condemned too quickly nor accepted too readily, when this study has reference to Holy Scripture¹.

In connection with this question we have the decree of the Biblical Commission, as follows²:

Proposito sequenti dubio Consilium Pontificium pro studiis de Re Biblica provehendis respondendum censuit prout sequitur:

Dubium

«Utrum admitti possit tamquam principium rectae exegeseos sententia quae tenet S. Scripturae libros, qui pro historicis habentur, sive totaliter sive ex parte, non historiam proprie dictam et obiective veram quandoque narrare, sed speciem tantum historiae prae se ferre ad aliquid significandum a proprie literali seu historica verborum significatione alienum?»

«Resp.: Negative, excepto tamen casu, non facile nec temere admittendo, in quo, Ecclesiae sensu non refragante, eiusque salvo iudicio, solidis argumentis probetur Hagiographum voluisse non veram et proprie dictam historiam tradere, sed sub forma et specie historiae parabolam, allegoriam vel sensum aliquem a proprie literali seu historica verborum significatione remotum proponere.»

Die autem 23^a Iunii a. c. in Audientia Ambobus R^{mis} Consultoribus ab Actis benigne concessa Sanctissimus praedictum «Responsum» ratum habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

FR. DAVID FLEMING O. M., Consultor ab Actis.

According to this decree, this theory can only be used in cases where it can be proved that the author wished to reproduce a popular tradition, the truth of which he would not guarantee; for otherwise the whole authority of the Bible would be compromised.

IV. THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY.

(Mt. i. ii; Lk. i. ii.)

91. I. *The Opinion of Critics.* Catholic and conservative Protestants look upon the accounts of the childhood of Jesus as strict history. Rationalists on the contrary and liberal Protestants regard them as fables, very beautiful in their make-up, with which Christian imagination has enshrined the cradle of Jesus, like those stories which spring up around the incidents of the early childhood of all great

¹ For this whole question see *Delattre*, *Autour de la Question Biblique* 13—181; *Pesch* l. c. 347, 375, 519, 538; *Fonck*, *Der Kampf um die Wahrheit seit 25 Jahren* 94, 125 154, 174; *Pals* l. c. (1905, 1906).

² Our Holy Father Pius X. under date of Nov. 18. 1907, by a *Motu proprio* gave particular value to this and the other decrees of this commission: «Praecipimus universos omnes conscientiae obstringi officio sententiis Pontificalis Consilii de Re Biblica, ad doctrinam pertinentibus, sive quae adhuc sunt emissae sive quae posthac edentur, perinde ac Decretis Sacrarum Congregationum a Pontifice probatis, se subiciendi; nec posse notam tum detrectatae obedientiae tum temeritatis devitare aut culpa propterea vacare gravi quotquot verbis scriptivae sententias has tales impugnent; idque praeter scandalum, quo offendant, ceteraque quibus in causa esse coram Deo possint, aliis, ut plurimum, temere in his errateque pronuntiatis.» See also Catholic Univ. Bulletin for 1906, 218.

men. According to Loisy, one cannot see in the narrative of the infancy «a strong expression of historic memories»; they «represent a normal development in Christology»; «they are for the historian but an expression and an assertion of the Messianic faith», of that faith which gradually developed in the primitive Church¹.

«The belief in the supernatural conception of Jesus», to cite an example, «was the third fact in the course of the uninterrupted exaltation of Jesus, which dominates all the history of the Church, from the time of its origin until the moment it decreed the absolute divinity of its Founder». The adoration of the Magi is simply a symbol of the conversion of the Gentiles and the incredulity of the Jews. Some one perhaps has dramatized and embellished «a certain meeting of influential and well-read foreigners, who in all probability merely gave expression to their admiration upon hearing the religious soarings, in which the mystic soul of the young villager (Jesus) had, even as a young eagle in the sky, already taken its flight»².

2. Proof of the Historical Value of the Narratives of the Infancy. Once more we remark that here, as in the foregoing paragraphs, we are dealing with the substance of the Gospels, by which, however, we do not mean that the details as contained here are not exact. Furthermore, there are authors whose opinion counts for something³, who admit, and that rightly, that the canticles as embodied in the third Gospel, must be attributed to Mary, Zachary and Simeon respectively, yet at the same time they maintain that the Evangelist has left his own personal impress upon their redaction. It is very difficult to imagine how they could be preserved intact without suffering some alteration in the long years that elapsed before they were finally reduced to writing. Then again, the three canticles, although emanating from three distinct persons, show the same literary and poetic construction.

To the general reasons which we have already indicated in regard to this question, we may notice the following:

I. The Sources of Information and the Sincerity of the Evangelists. a) In the prologue of his Gospel, St. Luke makes the assertion that he is fully competent to write a history of Christ because he is well-informed, having carefully examined everything that took place from the beginning, and that he writes to convince Theophilus of the solidity of the doctrine which he had received. Is it credible, then, after these solemn declarations, that a serious minded author like Luke has, without any question whatever, accepted legends, and that in order to confirm the faith of a distin-

¹ The Gospel and the Church 23—27.

² A. Réville, Jésus de Nazareth I, 386, 394—397.

³ Durand, S. J., The Childhood of Jesus ch. VI.

guished neophyte? As a serious historian St. Luke must have been well-informed, and as we know he was in possession of authoritative sources of information.

When St. Luke sojourned in Palestine, about the year 58 A. D., most of the witnesses of the Infancy and its attendant incidents (Zachary, Anna, Simeon) were dead. However there were some possessed of accurate information who were still living. At this particular time, the Mother of Jesus would be about 75 years old. And again, the facts which make up the Gospel of the Infancy were in their very nature important, and from the very beginning would have acquired a certain publicity outside the circle of the families that were most concerned. For a time they were one by one lost sight of, but, when our Lord had acquired a certain notoriety, they could not fail in being recalled.

The first two chapters of the Gospel of St. Luke are clothed in a highly accentuated Hebrew or Aramaic colouring (no. 64). Such a remark as «*Maria conservabat omnia verba haec in corde suo*»¹ is repeated several times. The important part that Mary plays in all these narratives, has led many Catholic scholars and even a number of Protestants to trace these narratives either mediately or immediately to the Mother of the Saviour. If St. Luke consulted the Mother of Jesus, it follows that the interval between the occurrence of the events and the sources is greatly diminished.

The same remark holds true for the Gospel of St. Matthew. In fact, St. Matthew shows himself so well-informed in regard to Palestine, in particular in regard to the cruelty of Herod the Great and Archelaus who succeeded him in Judea, and in regard to the two localities called Bethlehem, that he must have employed a Palestinian source for his account. Furthermore, since the narratives appear to be written from the point of view of St. Joseph — for he is warned not to fear to take Mary as his wife, it is he who gives the name to the Child, an angel appears to him before the flight into Egypt, and later orders him to return to Palestine — it can be asserted that the traditions recorded by the first Gospel emanated from the circle in which St. Joseph moved.

b) Both St. Luke and St. Matthew were then in possession of reliable sources of information. That they reproduced these sources faithfully is sufficiently proved by their accounts. Nothing more than this is required to assure us of the historical value of their works. It is the Jewish-Christian Matthew (nos. 27, 31) who presents to us the Infant Jesus adored by the Gentiles in the persons of the Magi, he shows Him persecuted by the king of the Jews, saved by pagan Egypt. It is St. Luke, thoroughly Paulinian in doctrine and a strong

¹ Lk. ii. 19, 51.

universalist (nos. 67, 61), who sings of the Messianic hope in the canticles of the Magnificat and the Benedictus, who records the Circumcision, the Purification in the Temple, the visit by which Jesus at the age of twelve honoured this building, and so many ceremonies and rites which appeared in contradiction to the divine origin and the supernatural conception of the Saviour. A disciple of St. Paul who fought all the legal observances, or a Palestinian Jew, could never have presented the events in this colouring unless he were desirous to reproduce faithfully his sources and «to express vividly the sentiments of those who took part in or who witnessed the events narrated in the Gospels»¹.

St. Luke and St. Matthew may appear contradictory, but it only seems so, because they are independent one from the other. They do agree in the main facts, such as the virginal conception of Jesus and His birth at Bethlehem in the reign of Herod the Great, and they justify the historical character of these events.

92. 2. The Primitive Character of the Narrative. The Messianic expectation is depicted in the Gospel of the Infancy along the lines of the Jewish beliefs prevalent in the first half of the 1. century. Gabriel announces that Jesus will possess the throne of David, that He will reign eternally in the house of Jacob, and that His reign shall be without end. Mary proclaims that God has had mercy upon His people being mindful of that same mercy which He manifested towards Abraham and his seed for ever. Zachary blesses God who has visited and brought salvation to His people and delivered them from their enemies. Now a Christian writing after the disaster of the year 70, when the Jewish nation was in the depths of despair, could not and would not invent this joyous announcement and this Messianic hope, which would have been in such cruel contrast to the facts. «The Galilean idyll reflected in these canticles took place but once, and then in the historical circumstances and at the time pointed out by St. Luke»², and if these narratives are prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, no one can then call their value into question. If, however, it be supposed — and the fact cannot be proved — that they are 20 or 30 years later than the death of the eye-witnesses, we must recall to mind that «the power of the memory is in inverse ratio to the habit of writing. . . . The memory of men was then like a book; it could recall conversations in which they had taken no part»³.

3. Comparison of the Canonical Gospels with the Apocryphal Gospels. What has been already said in connection with

¹ See *Revue biblique* (1895) 162, 163, 171.

² *Rose*, *Évangile selon St. Luc* 18, 19.

³ *Renan*, *The Gospels* 54.

the apocryphal Gospels in the preceding pages generally, applies with greater force to the apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy. The Gospel of James records, for example, that, at the time of the Nativity, the poles of heaven were stopped in their course, that the birds of the air stopped in the midst of their flight, that upon the earth there was a table spread, «and working people sitting around it, but their hands were upon the table, and they did not move to eat. They who had meat in their mouths did not eat. They who lifted their hands up to their heads did not draw them back, and they who lifted them up to their mouths did not put anything in. But all their faces were lifted upwards»¹.

It is true that the narratives of the Infancy are for the most part poetical, but it is unfair to make that chimerical which in character rises above the common-place; for often in the divine plan the ideal and the real encounter each other.

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¹ The Apocryphes of the N. T. 12.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN.

I. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

93. 1. *His Family.* St. John (יהוהנן, *God has shown mercy*) was the son of Salome and Zebedee¹ a fisherman of the Lake of Galilee². He had a brother named James (the Greater) who appears to be his elder; for in the lists of the Apostles he is always mentioned before St. John, except in one instance, namely in Acts i. 13. His family were wealthy and enjoyed a certain position. Zebedee, his father, was engaged in business, and his mother Salome belonged to the group of women that accompanied our Lord and ministered to His needs out of their own funds³. In all probability the whole family resided at Bethsaida, the native place of both Andrew and Peter, with whom Zebedee and his sons appear to be acquainted and even associated in trade⁴.

2. *John, the Disciple of Jesus.* The future Evangelist was, at first, like his fellow townsman Andrew, a disciple of St. John the Baptist. They attached themselves to Jesus at the time when the Baptist designated Christ as the Lamb of God⁵. John, James, Peter, and Andrew accompanied their new Master to the wedding festivities at Cana, they went with Him up to Jerusalem on the occasion of the celebration of the first Pasch of the public life, and came back with Him into Galilee⁶. Jesus having gone down to Nazareth, His disciples once more returned to their occupation as fishermen. Their definite call to the Apostolate did not take place until after our Lord had established His headquarters at Capharnaum⁷. As a reward for their generosity, John, Peter, and James became the close confidants of our Lord. These three were the witnesses of the resurrection of the

¹ Cf. Mt. xxii. 56; Mk. xv. 40.

² Mk. i. 19, 20. ³ Mk. i. 20; Mt. xxvi. 55, 56.

⁴ Jn. i. 44; Lk. v. 10.

⁵ Jn. i. 35—40. The precision of the narrative leads to the belief that the unnamed disciple of v. 40 was John.

⁶ Jn. i—iv. For the facts in the case see nos. 204—208.

⁷ Mt. iv. 21; Mk. i. 19; Lk. v. 10.

daughter of Jairus¹, of the Transfiguration² and of the Agony in the Garden³.—John and Peter were the ones that were entrusted with the secret mission of making the preparation for the celebration of the Last Supper⁴.—And every one knows that it was to St. John that the dying Saviour confided His Mother⁵.

3. *John and the Jewish-Christian Church.* After the events of the Passion, St. John took the Mother of Jesus to his own home. It is most likely that he remained in the city of Jerusalem for some time, with the other Apostles, in order to accomplish the evangelization of this city and the neighbouring territory. A short time after Pentecost, we find him going up to the Temple with Peter, on the day when the cure of the lame man was effected. The discourse of St. Peter on this occasion incensed the members of the Sanhedrin to such an extent that they had the two Apostles cast into prison. The next day, they appeared before the Jewish tribunal, and were released being warned of preaching⁶.

Somewhat later John went with Peter into Samaria in order to confirm the work that had been begun by the deacon Philip, and to confer the Holy Ghost upon those that believed⁷. When on his first journey about the year 38, to the Holy City, St. Paul tells us that he saw only Peter and James the Less⁸. In all probability our Evangelist was absent on a temporary mission, quite similar to the one that he had made into Samaria. He must have returned for the deliberations of the Council at Jerusalem⁹, and we know that St. Paul at the end of his second missionary journey conferred with him in the Holy City (about 54 A. D.)¹⁰. From this time on there is no further mention of John in the Acts of the Apostles, a fact which does not prove that he had departed from Palestine. At a much later date we find him at Ephesus.

94. 4. *John in Asia.* a) *The Reality of this Sojourn.* The date and duration of St. John's stay at Ephesus cannot be determined with any certainty. As St. Paul in his Epistles to the Ephesians and to Timothy the bishop of Ephesus, which he wrote somewhere between the years 61 and 67, does not mention St. John's name nor allude to the fact that he had settled in this city, it is quite likely that he was not there at this particular time, but came about the year 70, during the Judeo-Roman war. But the reality of his stay in this city, which helps to establish the authenticity of his writings, rests upon a unanimous tradition, dating back at least to the year 155,

¹ Mt. v. 37; Lk. viii. 51. ² Mt. xvii. 1; Mk. ix. 1; Lk. ix. 28.

³ Mt. xxvi. 37.

⁴ Lk. xxii. 8.

⁵ Jn. xix. 26.

⁶ Acts iii. iv.

⁷ Acts viii. 14—17.

⁸ Gal. i. 18.

⁹ Acts xv. The council of Jerusalem took place somewhere between 50 and 51 A. D.

¹⁰ Gal. ii. 9.

and emanating from St. Irenæus, who was closely related to Polycarp, the disciple of St. John¹.

St. Irenæus, «to whom Polycarp had related his connections with John and with the others who had seen the Lord»² wrote about the year 185: «John the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia.»³ A few years later (200—210), *Apollonius*, a writer who was extremely anti-Montanistic, records «that John the author of the Apocalypse raised a dead man to life at Ephesus.»⁴ He must have meant John the Apostle, for the Churches of Asia never called into question the Apostolic origin of the Apocalypse. Towards the end of the 2. century, *Polycrates*, bishop of Ephesus, who according to his own word had served «the Lord for 65 years», wrote to Pope Victor: «Among the great lights that have shone in Asia... (must be placed) John, who leaned on the Lord's breast, who was priest, carrying the sacerdotal sword, martyr and doctor, and whose body lies buried in Ephesus.»⁵ The testimony of Polycrates has been attacked chiefly because he has confounded Philip the deacon with the Apostle of that name and because he made John the Jewish high priest by assigning to him the sacerdotal sword. But his testimony in regard to Philip has never been proven false, and it can be easily claimed that the sacerdotal sword refers to the Christian priesthood. But even granting that these details are legendary, it does not necessarily follow that Polycrates made a mistake in witnessing to the fact that John lived at Ephesus, that he exercised great influence there, and that he died after reaching a ripe old age. Towards the end of the 2. century, we have *Clement of Alexandria*, whose so-called dependence upon the elders of Asia has by no means been proven, who tells us distinctly that, after the death of the tyrant Domitian, John returned from the Isle of Patmos and took up his abode at Ephesus⁶. *St. Justin*, about the year 155, who wrote or at least is supposed to have written from Ephesus, says: «John, one of the Apostles of Christ, wrote his Apocalypse in our midst.»⁷ It is quite unlikely that, at this particular time, a time so near the life time of the «beloved disciple», St. Justin could have been deceived in regard to the personality of the Apostle since he was in the same place where he lived, and it is equally unlikely that he could have confounded him with another person of the same name, granting for the moment that there was a person John the *Elder* by name, living at Ephesus at this particular period. — Lastly, the Apocalypse which is attributed to John by a solidly founded tradition, was written by or revealed to an author at Patmos, an island in the immediate neighbourhood of Ephesus, and that author was very familiar with Christianity and Christians in Asia. Even granting, although it can never be proved, that the work is written under an assumed name, the forger would not have ventured, if he wanted his book to receive any favour at all, to invent the sojourn of John at Ephesus and his relations with the Christians of Asia.

¹ In favour of the traditional theory we have *Cornely*, *Introductio specialis* 210 ff.; *Knabenbauer*, *Evangelium secundum Ioannem* 2 ff.; *Sanday*, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*; *Strong*, art. John Apostle, in HDB. II; *Renan*, *The Antichrist*, appendix. Against it, we have *Harnack*, *Die Chronologie*; *J. Réville*, *Le Quatrième Évangile*; *Loisy*, *Le Quatrième Évangile*. ² *Eus.*, H. E. V, 20: P. G. XX. 485, 486.

³ Adv. haer. III, 1: P. G. VII, 845.

⁴ *Eus.*, H. E. V, 18: ib. XX, 481.

⁵ Ib. 24: ib. 493—495.

⁶ *Quis dives salvetur?* 42: ib. IX, 648.

⁷ Dialogue 81: ib. VI, 670.

It is true that *St. Ignatius*, who wrote an Epistle to the Ephesians, somewhere between the years 110 and 117, speaks to them of St. Paul, but does not make even the least mention of St. John, who had died at Ephesus just a few years before. Astonishing as it may seem, this silence cannot be urged as an argument in denial of St. John's stay at Ephesus; for St. Ignatius had a special reason for mentioning St. Paul, for this Apostle was led to Rome like him, and really was his model in his martyr's death, and his work gave him no occasion to mention the name of John. Yet he does say in this Epistle: «Your city is the city through which those pass that are cut off for the sake of Christ.»¹ — We must admit that neither St. Polycarp nor St. Clement of Rome make mention of St. John's sojourn at Ephesus.

95. b) John the Apostle and John the Elder². There is a great division among critics in regard to the existence of two persons by the name of John in primitive Christianity, namely John the Apostle and John the Elder. The whole controversy took its origin from the obscure notice of Papias as preserved by Eusebius: «If I met any one who had followed the *Elders* (*πρεσβυτέρους*) I endeavoured to ascertain from them what Andrew or Peter said, Philip or Thomas, James or John, or Matthew or any of the disciples of the Lord, and what Aristion and *John the Elder* (*ὁ πρεσβύτερος*) say.»³ In our present state of knowledge a solution certain in all details seems impossible, although the reasons that are urged against distinguishing these two Johns appear to us the more cogent. But be that as it may, this question, whatever solution be given it, is not absolutely bound up with the Apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel.

Reason in favour of the distinction. a) «First of all the repetition of the same name in such a short interval would have no meaning if it referred to the same person.» — b) «The author clearly divides his authorities into two groups. In the first we have no other names but those of the Apostles, and in the second we find side by side with that of John the name of Aristion. Now Aristion, who has been wrongly identified with Ariston of Pella, is a man of the second Christian generation. . . . Moreover, in placing the name of John after the name of Aristion, Papias qualifies it by the term *ὁ πρεσβύτερος*. Thus we have two Johns here: one the Apostle, the other a simple presbyter.» — c) «The context furnishes us with a detail which is a confirmation of this conclusion. When the author speaks of the Apostles, he uses the verb in its past form, *τί Ἀνδρέας, ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν*; but when he speaks of the presbyters Aristion and John, he employs the present tense, *λέγουσιν*. It is very likely that these two persons were living when Papias wrote, whilst the Apostles had long since died, and it was necessary to inquire about what each one *had said*.» — d) «The remarks which we have just made are almost those which Eusebius puts down after the quotation. There is scarcely any need to add that the historian of Cæsarea was in a better position than we are, in regard to this question; for he possessed the entire work of Papias.»⁴

¹ Eph. xii. 2.

² *Chapman*, O. S. B., John the presbyter and the fourth Gospel, 1911.

³ *Eus.*, H. E. III, 39: P. G. XX, 297.

⁴ *Calmes*, L'Évangile selon St. Jean 21 ff.

Reasons against the distinction of John the Apostle and John the Elder.

The great majority of critics are of the opinion that the text of Papias is too vague to deduce from it any distinction between John the Apostle and John the Elder. — a) The repetition of the name of John does not necessarily signify that there were two persons meant; for there was a special reason here for repeating the same name. Papias, who cites his authorities, divides them into two groups, namely the disciples of eye-witnesses (i. e. of Andrew, John, etc.), and the eye-witnesses themselves, among whom St. John was reckoned, of whom Papias was a hearer, as is affirmed by St. Irenæus and Eusebius¹. — b) The division into two groups does not mean, then, that John the Presbyter was not a member of the Apostolic college. The bishop of Hierapolis employs the qualifying term «the elder» in order to bring out in clearer terms that he was among those Apostles whose names were mentioned at the beginning of the phrase. — c) The use of the words εἶπεν and λέγουσιν does not offer any difficulty. Papias employs εἶπεν when he alludes to the testimonies gathered in the past by the disciples from the lips of the Apostles themselves, and λέγουσιν when it is question of the testimony tendered by such eye-witnesses as Aristion, John and others *who are still surviving*. — d) It is possible that Eusebius drew his distinction of the two Johns, not from the work of Papias itself, but rather from the text which is under discussion. Again, it is not at all unlikely that in making this distinction he was influenced by the desire to prove that some one else besides John the Apostle was the author of the Apocalypse; for at all times he showed that he was loth to admit its Apostolic origin. In fact, once the distinction between John the Apostle and John the Elder was drawn, he could argue that «it was probably the second (the Elder) who contemplated the revelation made to John»². Finally, there was no one before the time of Eusebius, in the primitive Church, who gave indication of the existence of two Johns, with the exception of Denis of Alexandria, and his testimony cannot count for much, for he based his opinion upon purely exegetical reasons, entirely subjective, and also upon mere hearsay which had it that, at Ephesus, there were two monuments erected to the memory of two persons both of whom bore the name of John³.

96. c) The Principal Facts connected with the Stay of St. John in Asia. According to the testimony of Tertullian, St. John was, at Rome, «first plunged unhurt (*purior et vegetior*) into boiling oil, and thence remitted to his island-exile.»⁴

Not long after his exile to the Isle of Patmos he composed the Book of the Apocalypse. After the death of Domitian he returned to Ephesus and took up the task of consecrating bishops and placing them in authority, and of organising the Church in the neighbouring territories⁵.

¹ Adv. haer. V, 38: P. G. VII, 1214. St. Irenæus was not familiar with a John the Presbyter distinct from St. John the Apostle.

² Camerlynck, De Quarti Evang. auctore 88—96.

³ Eus., H. E. VII, 25: P. G. XX, 697, 701.

⁴ De praescr. 36: P. L. II, 49. St. Jerome makes mention of the same fact, but shows his dependence upon Tertullian. See Contra Iovin. I, 26: P. L. XXIII, 625; also In Matth. XX, 23: ib. XXVI, 143.

⁵ Eus., H. E. III, 13, 14: P. G. XX, 256—258.

The great majority of other details that historians have furnished us are mostly legendary, and of very little importance. More reliable traditions, which date back to fifty years after the death of the Apostle, assert that John always remained a virgin¹.

5. *The Death of St. John.* The Apostle lived to a great old age, living «up to the times of Trajan», whose reign began in the year 98². He died and was buried at Ephesus, according to the testimony of Polycrates, the bishop of that city³.

II. THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

97. *The Opinion of Critics.* Faithful to the tradition which has remained unchanged for almost twenty centuries, all Catholic critics and a large number of Protestant and even Rationalistic scholars (de Pressensé, Zahn, Godet, B. Weiss, Sanday, Drummond, Reynolds) unhesitatingly ascribe the composition of the fourth Gospel to St. John. There are, however, a large number of Protestants and Rationalists who refuse to admit that this conclusion is justified. For some, the work is pure fiction written anonymously with a strong philosophical tendency, reproducing the religious beliefs of the third Christian generation. For others, it is the work «of John (the presbyter) according to John (the Apostle)» (Harnack). According to Loisy, it was composed by an author whose name is unknown, who allegorizes «the historic tradition of the Synoptics» for his well-instructed hearers, and «by a kind of theological fiction» speaks in the name of the beloved disciple, in order to lend authority to his work⁴.

By the authority that has been confided to it, the Church teaches the Apostolic and Johannean origin of the fourth Gospel. What we want to show is that this position is historically certain, and this we shall do by appealing to tradition and to the internal evidence that the work itself affords us. One after the other in their proper order we shall detail the various testimonies, then we shall determine their demonstrative value. Each one in itself possesses its own authority, although it is much better to consider them together, thus making them form a sort of cumulative argument. As regards the proofs from internal evidence, we come face to face with a multitude of details more or less insignificant, which, if taken singly are capable of proving very little, but which taken as a whole form a weighty confirmatory argument.

¹ *Tertull.*, Monogamia XVII: P. L. II, 952; *Ambrosiaster*, In 2 Cor. X, 2: ib. XVII, 320; *Jerome*, Contra Iovin. I, 26: ib. XXIII, 246.

² *Iren.*, Adv. haer. II, 22, 5: P. G. VII, 785.

³ *Eus.*, H. E. III, 31: ib. XX, 280. See St. John, and the Close of the Apostolic Age, by Abbé Fouard, ch. XI, 201, for the strange legends that arose after his death, and which lasted for a long time.

⁴ Le Quatrième Évangile 130—132; Autour d'un petit livre.

Not so very long ago, the *Papal Commission in regard to Biblical Studies*, with the approbation of the Holy Father, declared¹ that the Apostolic and Johannean origin of the fourth Gospel is certainly proved from the historical argument of tradition, and the internal arguments confirm this tradition, despite the existence of divergences between the fourth Gospel and the Synoptics.

I. THE TRADITION IN REGARD TO THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

98. A. The Testimony of the Orthodox Writers. a) **Implicit Quotations and Testimony.** Among the precious works which make up the oldest Christian literature, especially in the writings of St. Ignatius, Papias, St. Justin and Tatian, there are many allusions and implicit testimonies which evidence the existence, the diffusion

¹ **De auctoritate et veritate historica quarti Evangelii.** Propositis sequentibus dubiis Commissio Pontificia de Re Biblica sequenti modo respondit:

DUBIUM I. Utrum ex constanti, universali ac solemnī Ecclesiae traditione iam a saeculo II decurrente, prout maxime eruitur: a) ex SS. Patrum, scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, immo etiam haeticorum, testimoniis et allusionibus quae, cum ab Apostolorum discipulis vel primis successoribus derivasse oportuerit, necessario nexu cum ipsa libri origine cohaerent; b) ex recepto semper et ubique nomine auctoris quarti Evangelii in canone et catalogis sacrorum Librorum: c) ex eorundem Librorum vetustissimis manuscriptis codicibus et in varia idiōmata versionibus; d) ex publico usu liturgico inde ab Ecclesiae primordiis toto orbe obtinente; praescindendo ab argumento theologico, tam solido argumento historico demonstratur Ioannem Apostolum et non alium quarti Evangelii auctorem esse agnoscendum, ut rationes a criticis in oppositum adductae hanc traditionem nullatenus infirmant?

Resp.: Affirmative.

DUBIUM II. Utrum etiam rationes internae quae eruuntur ex textu quarti Evangelii seiunctim considerato, ex scribentis testimonio et Evangelii ipsius cum I^a Epistula Ioannis Apostoli manifesta cognatione, censendae sint confirmare traditionem quae eidem Apostolo quantum Evangelium indubitanter attribuit? Et utrum difficultates quae ex collatione ipsius Evangelii cum aliis tribus desumuntur, habita prae oculis diversitate temporis, scopi et auditorum pro quibus vel contra quos auctor scripsit, solvi rationaliter possint prout SS. Patres et exegetae catholici passim praestiterunt?

Resp.: Affirmative ad utramque partem.

DUBIUM III. Utrum, non obstante praxi quae a primis temporibus in Universa Ecclesia constantissime viguit, arguendi ex quarto Evangelio tamquam ex documento proprie historico, considerata nihilominus indole peculiari eiusdem Evangelii, et intentione auctoris manifesta illustrandi et vindicandi Christi divinitatem ex ipsis factis et sermonibus Domini, dici possit facta narrata in quarto Evangelio esse totaliter vel ex parte conficta ad hoc ut sint allegoriae vel symbola doctrinalia, sermones vero Domini non proprie et vere esse ipsius Domini sermones, sed compositiones theologicas scriptoris, licet in ore Domini positas?

Resp.: Negative.

Die autem 29 maii anni 1907 in Audientia ambobus R^{mis} Consultoribus ab Actis benigne concessa, Sanctissimus praedicta Responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX P. S. S.,
LAURENTIUS JANSSENS O. S. B.,
Consultores ab Actis.

and liturgical use of the fourth Gospel in the period that marked the beginning of the 2. century.

The quotations from and allusions to the fourth Gospel which are found in the *Apocalypse of Esdras* (4 Esdras) and the *Epistle of Clement* († 98), are not so striking. But the letters of *St. Ignatius* contain a number of precise and undoubted quotations¹. *St. Polycarp*, bishop of Smyrna and a disciple of St. John, records, as does St. John vi. 44, the promise of Christ that «He would raise us again from the dead»². It may be, however, that he derived this from oral tradition and not from a written document.

The small fragments of *Papias*, the bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, that have come down to us, although they embody no quotations of the fourth Gospel, seem in their language (ἐντολαὶ commandments, ἀλήθεια truth) to approach the manner of speaking which is found everywhere in this Gospel³. In the Apostolic list which this author gives in the beginning of his quotation (Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas), the Phrygian bishop agrees with that given by the fourth Gospel (i. 35—45) and differs greatly from the catalogues afforded by the Synoptics (Mk. iii; Mt. x). If Eusebius did not mention the fact that Papias made use of the fourth Gospel, it was because it was not his intention to give all the quotations that the Fathers made from writings of the N. T.

About the same time, *St. Justin* wrote that «on the day called Sunday all who live in cities or the country gather together in one place, and the *memoirs of the Apostles*... are read as long as time permits»⁴; he also makes mention of the precepts of the Christians which are contained in the writings called the Gospel⁵. These indications, general as they are, ought to include the fourth Gospel as well as the Synoptics for the Christology of St. Justin is thoroughly impregnated with St. John's doctrine, and his writing's contain numerous quotations manifestly drawn from the fourth Gospel⁶.

99. b) Explicit Testimonies. From the last quarter of the 2. century we have a number of explicit testimonies which attribute the fourth Gospel to St. John, coming from all quarters of Christianity. *St. Theophilus*, the seventh bishop of Antioch, quotes, about the year 180, the beginning of the prologue of St. John and says that it is a part of the Scriptures inspired by the Holy Ghost, and without making any explanation attributes its composition to St. John. This latter fact argues that he had in mind the Apostle by that name and not another individual of the same name⁷. In Italy, the author of the *Muratorian Canon* (160—170) expresses himself thus: «Quarti

¹ Philad. vii. 1 = Jn. iii. 8; Rom. viii = Jn. vi. 35, 51; Rom. vii; Eph. xviii. 1 = Jn. xvi. 11; Mag. viii = Jn. i. 1; viii. 29; Phil. ix = Jn. x. 7.

² Polycarp v. 2.

³ Papias wrote about the year 150. Irenæus refers to him as «the hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp» Adv. haer. V, 33, 4; P. G. VII, 1214. See the fragments of Papias' writings in *Eus.*, H. E. III, 39; ib. XX, 297, 300.

⁴ Apol. 1, 67; P. G. VI, 429.

⁵ Dialogue 10; P. G. VI, 496.

⁶ Apol. 2, 6 = Jn. i. 1, 3; Dial. 105 = Jn. i. 18; Apol. 1, 61 = Jn. iii. 4, 5.

⁷ Ad Autolycum 2, 22; P. G. VI, 1088.

Evangelii Iohannes ex discipulis»¹, and we know that he means the Apostle of that name; for further on he makes mention of the same John and remarks that he was an eye-witness.

The principal testimony, however, is that of *St. Irenæus*, bishop of Lyons, who, born in Asia Minor, was the disciple of St. Polycarp, who in turn was a disciple of St. John. About the year 185 this saint wrote: «John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia»². St. Irenæus does not give the sources from whence he drew his information, but the exactness of his testimony and his agreement with contemporary witnesses forbid its rejection without positive evidence to the contrary. Again, the bishop of Lyons in his writings often appeals to the authority of the «Elders» who had seen St. John. In regard to Polycarp of whom in his early youth he was a constant attendant, he writes: «I am able to describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and discussed, and his goings out and his comings in, and the manner of his life, and his physical appearance, and his discourses to the people, and the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord. And as he remembered their words, and what he heard from them concerning the Lord, and concerning His miracles and His teaching, having received them from eye-witnesses of the Word of life, Polycarp related all these things in harmony with the Scriptures. These things I listened to attentively, noting them down, not on paper, but in my heart, and continually through God's grace I recall them faithfully.»³ Now Polycarp who died in the year 155, aged 86 years, as we know from the Acts of his martyrdom⁴, was a contemporary of St. John who died in the year 98 (no. 96).

It has been objected that, as St. Irenæus was deceived in fixing the duration of the life of our Lord to a period of fifty years, following the tradition of the «Elders», the disciples of St. John, for this conclusion, consequently we cannot depend upon that same tradition in regard to the question we are discussing. Nevertheless this mistake, be it as serious as some pretend, cannot be urged as an argument that the Elders were mistaken in regard to the authorship of the fourth Gospel, especially when their testimony is in full accord with the universal voice of tradition.

It has been further objected that St. Irenæus has wrongly made Papias a disciple of St. John⁵, thereby mistaking John the Apostle

¹ For the entire text see *Salmon*, A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the N. T.

² Adv. haer. III, 3, 1: P. G. VII, 845.

³ *Eus.*, H. E. V, 20: P. G. XX, 485.

⁴ Martyrium Polycarpi IX, 3.

⁵ Contra haer. V, 33, 4: P. G. VII, 1214.

for John the Elder and attributing to the first that which was the work of the second. However, it has not been proven that Papias was not a disciple of St. John the Apostle. Eusebius who contradicts St. Irenæus on this point in one passage, agrees with him in another¹. Furthermore, the distinction between John the Apostle and John the Elder is not so certain (no. 95), and even granting that it could be demonstrated, it would not prove that the bishop of Lyons mistook one for the other.

At Alexandria, *Clement* wrote, a few years after St. Irenæus, that, according to the tradition of the Ancients, «John, the last of the Evangelists, has written a spiritual Gospel under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost and at the request of those who knew him»². It is true that in the same passage, this author witnesses to the fact that St. Matthew and St. Luke wrote their Gospels first, then St. Mark whilst St. Peter was still living, without either being praised or censured for his work. But the order in which the Synoptics appeared is by no means certain, and this error, if it is real, does not make the principal assertion false. — Towards the beginning of the 3. century, another Alexandrian doctor, *Origen*, places the Gospel of St. John among «the four Gospels which are the only indisputable ones under heaven»³.

From this time on we have an abundance of testimonies, formal, unwavering, indisputable in regard to the Johannean origin of the fourth Gospel. In Africa, we have *Tertullian*, who was as remarkable for his keen penetration as he was for his learning; in Palestine we have *Eusebius* who was familiar with the traditions of the ancients and does not record one dissenting voice in regard to the composition of the fourth Gospel. Then we have *St. Jerome* who was as noted as Eusebius for his knowledge of antiquity⁴. Then we have the ecclesiastical authors of the 4. century as well as those of succeeding ages which it would be quite needless to quote. To these various authorities must be joined the traditional data which have been cited already in proof of the sojourn of St. John at Ephesus and his burial there (no. 94).

100. B. The Testimony of Heretics. From the beginning of the 2. century, the witness of heterodox tradition, namely the testimony of Celsus, of the Judaizers and of the Gnostics, is as precise and exact in its agreement to the effect that the fourth Gospel is of Apostolic origin and that it is the work of St. John, as it possibly could be. — The Alogi alone form an exception.

¹ *Eus.*, H. E. III, 39: P. G. XX, 295; Chronic. lib. 2, an. 99: P. G. XIX, 551.

² *Eus.*, H. E. VI, 14: ib. XX, 552. ³ Ib. VI, 25; ib. XX, 582, 583.

⁴ *Contra Marc.* IV, 2, 5: P. G. II, 363, 367; *Eus.*, H. E. III, 24: ib. XX, 263, 264; *Jerome*, De vir. ill. IX: P. L. XXIII, 623.

a) **Celsus**, whose work, «the True Discourse» (about 125 or 178 A. D.), is known to us by the able refutation that Origen made of this scoffer, reproaches the Christians «for resorting to captious arguments in order to affirm that the Son of God is the Word» (Jn. i); he also makes light «of the blood which flowed from the body of our Lord on the cross» (Jn. xix. 34). Both these remarks have reference to details which are peculiar to the fourth Gospel and which were evidently borrowed from it. Origen did not all deal with the question of the authenticity of the fourth Gospel, a fact which argues that his opponent had not called it into doubt¹.

b) According to the testimony of St. Irenæus, the **Gnostics**, especially the Valentinians, «extensively used the Gospel of John in order to substantiate their errors»². *Valentinus* who taught at Rome from 138 to 161, borrowed this remark of Jesus from St. John: «All who have been before Me, are thieves and robbers» (Jn. x. 8). Just as St. John does, he calls the devil «the prince of this world»; and the eons which made up his ogdoade, are called: Ἀβρόχτων, Σιγῇ, Πατήρ, Ἀλήθεια, Λόγος, Ζωή³. *Theodotus*, a disciple of Valentinus, quotes the N. T. 78 times and appeals to the fourth Gospel 26 times⁴. *Ptolemy* (150—175), another disciple of Valentinus, founded his system of eons upon the ideas of the prologue of St. John's Gospel, and cites the words «The creation of the world was the work of the Saviour, since all things were made by Him, and without Him, nothing was made» as those of the Apostles⁵. *Heracleon* (175—200), also a disciple of Valentinus, wrote a commentary upon the fourth Gospel, which Origen knew of and cites very often. Speaking of the fourth Gospel, he refers to John as the disciple, in contradistinction to John the Baptist⁶.

c) **The Judaizers**. The *Clementine Homilies*, a kind of Judaizing novel composed at the end of the 2. century or in the first half of the 3., alludes to the fourth Gospel about fifteen times, and in some places quotes complete fragments of it. Thus: «This is why the true prophet has said: I am the gate of life; he who enters through Me, enters into life...; My sheep hear My voice.»⁷ The concluding portion of the work discovered in a manuscript of the Vatican, in 1853, contains a clear quotation from the narrative of the cure of the man born blind (Jn. ix.): «This is why also our Lord replied to those who asked: Was it he that sinned or his parents in that he was born blind? — It was neither he nor his parents who sinned; but (he was born blind) so that through him might be manifested the power of God curing the crimes committed through ignorance.»

d) **The Alogi**. St. Irenæus mentions the heretics that denied or rejected the fourth Gospel, as doing so because «they set aside the gift of the Spirit..., and set aside at once both the Gospel and the prophetic spirit»⁸. These heretics have been identified with the Alogi, ἀλόγοι, i. e. «those who deny the Logos» or literally «without reason». According to St. Epiphanius who bestowed this name upon these heretics, they rejected the fourth Gospel on internal grounds, especially because they found

¹ Contra Celsum II, 31, 36, 59: P. G. XI, 785, 852, 857, 889.

² Contra haer. III, 2: ib. VII, 884.

³ Philos. VI, 33, 35: ib. XVI, 3244, 3248.

⁴ Excerpta ex script. Theod.: P. G. IX 650 f.

⁵ See Jn. i. 3; cf. *Epiph.*, Haer. XXXIII, 3: ib. XLI, 558.

⁶ *Orig.*, In Ioan. II, 8, 15; VI, 8, 12, 23: ib. XIV, 138, 150, 229.

⁷ Jn. x. 7, 9, 27; Hom. III, 52.

⁸ Contra haer. III, 11, 9: P. G. VII, 890, 891.

great difficulty in reconciling its account with that of the Synoptics, and they attributed its composition to Cerinthus¹.

Their testimony amounts to very little from a positive point of view, since there is not one shred of tradition that can be urged in support of their position, and from a negative point of view they do date the Gospel from the time of the Apostles, since they ascribe it to Cerinthus, who was both the opponent and the contemporary of St. John at Ephesus. Towards the beginning of the 3. century, St. Hippolytus wrote a defence of the fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, against the Roman priest Caius who had called its authority into question².

101. C. The Demonstrative Value of these Various Testimonies. To sum up, the fourth Gospel existed at the beginning of the 2. century, and in the middle of the same century it was widely diffused in the whole Christian world. From this time on we have numerous and trustworthy testimonies, both orthodox and heretical, wholly unanimous in their position (with the sole exception of the Alogi, who dissented on internal grounds), representative of the tradition of Italy, Alexandria, Africa, Antioch, agreeing, despite differences and errors in details, upon assigning the composition of the fourth Gospel to the Apostle John and not to one of his disciples. It is impossible that these witnesses could have been so far deceived in regard to the true author of a work so important, as to confound John the Apostle with John the Elder, if such a person ever existed. As a matter of fact they are separated from St. John's times by the short space of sixty or eighty years at the most, and by their immediate ancestors they are directly connected with St. John himself. Again, as they lived in different countries, they could not have all derived their information from the same source. If we must reject this tradition, it must be because the Gospel in itself embodies difficulties which are irreconcilable. But as we shall see, the evidence from an internal point of view corroborates that of tradition.

II. INTERNAL EVIDENCES FAVOURABLE TO THE TRADITIONAL VIEW.

102. From internal evidence we can show, as tradition witnesses, that the author of the fourth Gospel was a Jew, a Palestinian, an Apostle, and finally John, the son of Zebedee.

1. *The Author was a Jew.* This is clearly shown by his language, his general point of view, and his close knowledge of Jewish customs.

a) *Language.* Hebraic forms of expression are found again and again in the fourth Gospel, v. g. *gaudio gaudere*, iii. 29; *filius perditionis*, xvii. 12; *a saeculo*, ix. 32; *amen, amen*, a Hebrew word transcribed in Greek characters. — His whole phraseology is thoroughly Hebraic. Instead of the

¹ Haer. LI, 3; P. G. VII, 892.

² See *Batiffol*, *Anc. litt. chrét.*, La litt. grecque, 141 f.

phrases being joined harmoniously and developed at some length, as we find in classic Greek, the style here is disjointed and never in periodic form. The propositions abrupt and brief as they are, are as a rule connected by the conjunctions *now, then, especially and*, which often has the meaning of *but, for, this is why*, just as we find frequently in the Hebrew (*vav* copulative), thus: the light shone in darkness, and (but) the darkness did not comprehend it, i. 5.

b) **The point of view** of the author is that of an Israelite. He tells us that our Lord is the Lamb of God, i. 36 (a probable allusion to the Paschal lamb), that He is the true Temple, ii. 19, and the brazen serpent, ii. 14; he draws the relation between the manna and the Eucharist, vi. 49, 50. Just like St. Matthew he parallels the Gospel facts with the O. T. prophecies and very often quotes the formula *ut adimpleretur*, ii. 22; xiii. 18; xvii. 12; xix. 24, 28, 36, 37; xx. 9. Now only a Jew filled with Jewish ideas would write in this manner.

c) **Familiarity with Jewish Customs.** The author of the fourth Gospel shows a perfect knowledge of all the Jewish feasts, namely the Pasch, the feast of the Tabernacles, vii. 2, the feast of the Dedication, which he describes as being celebrated in winter, x. 22. He knows that all medical attention is forbidden on the Sabbath, ix. 14 ff.; that there was a great animosity existing between the Jews and the Samaritans, iv. 9; that it was necessary to undergo certain ablutions before entering a house, ii. 6; that the Jews sometimes pronounced the sentence of synagogal excommunication, ix. 22; that graves were ordinarily closed by stones of great weight, xi. 38; xx. 1; that the selling of animals and the custom of changing money had found its way into the Temple precincts, ii. 14; that the Jews did not enter the houses of the Gentiles for fear of becoming legally defiled, xviii. 28; that it was customary not to leave the body of a crucified criminal upon his gibbet longer than one day, xix. 31; that the Pharisees despised the ignorant multitude, vii. 49. From all these indications it is clear that the author was a Jew.

2. **The Author was a Native of Palestine.** As a matter of fact he possesses a knowledge of the topography of Palestine and Jerusalem, which, to say the least, is remarkable for its precision. Now these details were not invented; for they served little for the proof of his main proposition, and if they were false, they could be urged as an argument against the trustworthiness of the writer. Then, besides, a number of them receive direct confirmatives of the Synoptics.

The author knows that there are in Palestine a number of places which bear the name of Cana and of Bethsaida, and when he speaks of any of these, he is careful to distinguish them, by adding «in Galilee» or some other term as the case may be, ii. 1; xii. 21. He also knows that Aenon is near Salim and that there is much water there, iii. 23; that there were two places known as Bethany, the one beyond the Jordan, i. 28, the other about 15 furlongs from Jerusalem, xi. 18; that Ephrem is on the confines of the desert, xi. 54; that grass is plentiful in the spring-time upon the plain which lies to the northwest of the Lake of Tiberias, vi. 10; that, in order to go from Cana to Capharnaum, one must *go down*, ii. 12; that Sichar is a town of Samaria, lying at the foot of Mt. Garizim, and that it possessed a very deep well, iv. 5, 6, 10.

The topography of Jerusalem is just as exact. We are told that the Garden of Olives is over beyond the Cedron, xviii. 1; that the pool of Siloe is near Jerusalem, ix. 7; that the pool of Bethesda lies near the Gate of Probatica, and that there are five porches surrounding it, v. 2; that in the Temple there is a passage called the gazophylacium, viii. 20, and another called the Porch of Solomon, x. 23. . . . An author who shows such intimate knowledge of Palestine and the surrounding country must have been a Palestinian by birth.

103. 3. *The Author was an Apostle.* The details of the fourth Gospel are given in a manner at once vivid, exact, intimate, and often with a «wonderful freshness». They cannot be explained on any other supposition than that the author, being an Apostle and an eye-witness, relates the things that he himself saw. Now they could not have been invented; for they scarcely furthered his purpose one way or the other. If it be supposed that they are the results of «a literary process, designed to lend life to, and render the development of the Johannean theses more easy . . . and to give to the narratives the appearance of events that were really seen», then we must suppose, what has not been proved (nos. 117 f.), that the whole work is a fiction.

a) **The Circumstances of Time, Place, Person, and Number.** It was about the tenth hour, i. 39; about the sixth hour, iv. 6; Jesus abode two days at Sichar, iv. 40; the son of the officer of the king was cured about the seventh hour, iv. 52; at the wedding feast in Cana there were six water-pots, ii. 6; the soldiers who divided the garments of Jesus were four in number, xix. 23; Nicodemus brought a hundred weight of perfume, xix. 39; Jesus was in the gazophylacium, viii. 29; He walked under the Porch of Solomon, x. 23; Jesus was not yet come into the town, xi. 30; the servant whose ear was cut off by Peter was called Malchus, xviii. 10; the coat of Jesus was without seam, woven from the top throughout, xx. 23; one becomes more convinced of the lifelike character and the exactness of the narrative, by reading the interview that Jesus held with the Samaritan woman, iv, the cure of the man born blind, ix, the scene of Christ's arrest, xviii, the history of the Passion, where «the features are uneven and abrupt»; and the visits made to the Sepulchre, xx. 4, 7.

b) **The Intimate Life with the Saviour and with the Apostolic Circle.** The fourth Gospel gives us the very thoughts that went through the Saviour's mind, and the motives which led Him to such and such an action, ii. 24, 25; iv. 1—3; v. 6; vi. 6, 15; vii. 1; xiii. 1, 3, 11; xvi. 19; xviii. 4; xix. 28. It reports His words to Andrew, i. 38, 40; to Nathanael, i. 48; His secret conversations with Nicodemus, iii, and the Samaritan woman, iv; the prayers which He addressed to His Father, especially those after the Last Supper, xvii. As regards the disciples, it gives their innermost thoughts and feelings, ii. 11, 17, 22; iv. 27; vi. 19, 61; xii. 16; xiii. 22, 28; xx. 29; xxi. 12. Instead of referring to them by the name which was generally given them in the early Church, the author made use of those which were current among the disciples. Thus instead of writing Bartholomew, he wrote Nathanael, i. 46, 50; xx. 2; and to the name of Thomas he added the surname *Didymus*, that is, *twin*, xi. 16; xx. 24; xxi. 2.

104. 4. *The Author was John, the Son of Zebedee*¹. a) According to the last chapter of the Gospel, the authenticity of which we shall prove later on (no. 109), the work was written by the «disciple whom Jesus loved», xxi. 20, 24. It is quite true that the phrase «hic est discipulus ille ... qui scripsit haec», can and should in all probability refer to the preceding passage. This passage has reference to the eventual immortality of the beloved disciple, and hence the words do not refer to the whole book. Yet, by arguing from internal evidence merely, it becomes clear at once that the hand that composed the concluding chapter was the hand that wrote the whole book. It has been said, it is true, that the disciple mentioned here is merely an allegorical individual, representing «spiritual Christianity and the perfect Christian»; but this supposition rests on the so-called symbolism in which the fourth Gospel is made to abound, and which we cannot admit². It has also been asserted that an unknown author assumed the name of the beloved disciple and foisted the book upon the public under his authority. But this is inadmissible. For as the beloved disciple is a real person, and none other than John himself, it is impossible to imagine how any one would dream, a short time after his death, of attributing to him a work which he did not write, and that in the very places in which he had lived.

The author was necessarily one who enjoyed a place in the Apostolic circle and among Christ's most intimate friends. Three Apostles especially deserve this distinction, namely Peter, James, and John. These three were the witnesses of the raising of the daughter of Jairus to life, of the Transfiguration and of the Agony in the Garden³. Our fourth Gospel cannot be attributed to either Peter or James, because both were put to death long before it was composed. James died a martyr's death 25 years after the Ascension⁴, and Peter died somewhere around the year 67 (no. 114). Again Peter is clearly distinguished from the beloved disciple in a number of passages, especially in the passage in which at least the concluding portion of the Gospel is attributed to the latter⁵.

b) The fourth Gospel never refers explicitly to the Apostle John, nor does it give us any information in regard to his family, whilst the other Apostles are mentioned frequently. Yet we know from the Synoptics that the sons of Zebedee were the most intimate friends of the Saviour, and we know too, that Salome, their mother, was present at the foot of the cross when Christ was in His last anguish⁶. The silence of the fourth Gospel is easily explained by the modesty of St. John, who really wished to escape all notice and remain unknown. If the work were that of a forger, there would be no reason for it; for all forgers would «necessarily endeavour to accentuate that which would in any way serve to give credence to their efforts».

¹ This is denied by *J. Réville*, *Le Quatr. Évangile* 397, 323; *Loisy*, *Le Quatr. Évangile* 124 ff. In favour of this argument see *Sanday*, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*; *Batiffol*, *Six leçons* 113; *Zahn*, *Introduction to the N. T.* II, 468 ff.

² No. 117 ff. ³ Mk. v. 37; ix. 2; xiv. 33.

⁴ Acts xii. 2.

⁵ Jn. xiii. 23, 24; xviii. 15 f.; xx. 2; xxi. 7, 20. ⁶ Mt. xxvii. 56; Mk. xvi. 1.

c) The fourth Gospel which betrays marked features of precision in regard to the individuals of the Gospel history (Thomas is called Didymus, Cephas is surnamed Peter, Judas the Iscariotes)¹, alludes, unlike the Synoptics, to the Forerunner under the simple title of John, without the qualifying term «the Baptist». If John did not write our fourth Gospel, this fact is hard to explain. If he did write it, the omission is perfectly natural, because in St. John's mind it was impossible to confound him with his namesake who was more and better known in the Church².

III. CHIEF DIFFICULTIES AGAINST THE TRADITIONAL VIEW.

105. A first objection is «that, from a historical point of view, the evidence obtainable is not sufficient to settle the question of authenticity unhesitatingly and finally»³, and that «a critical examination of the book serves only to increase the doubts which the critical examination of tradition gives rise to»⁴. Between St. John and the Synoptics there are differences of such magnitude that they cannot be reconciled⁵. The first objection has already been answered in an indirect way. The second will be treated more at length and replied to in the chapter that follows, where we shall show how far the presence of allegory may be admitted in the fourth Gospel, and where we shall also show that St. John has given us a peculiar historical aspect of the life, the doctrine and the physiognomy of Jesus Christ.

III. THE INTEGRITY OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

106. The integrity of the fourth Gospel considered as a whole has never been seriously questioned. There are, however, three passages which have given rise to special difficulty. These three passages are: the narrative of the appearance of *the angel at the Pool of Bethesda* or Bethesda, v. 3, 4; the episode of *the woman taken in adultery*, viii. 1—11; and lastly, the *appendix* of the book, xxi. That John composed the first is by no means a proven fact; the second cannot easily be shown to have formed part of the original Gospel of St. John, for the authorities pro and con are equal in number and value; the authenticity of the third section which is denied solely on internal grounds, is indisputable.

The decree of the Council of Trent, which defined the *inspiration of all the parts* (*partes*, and not *particulæ*) of Sacred Scripture, as read in the ancient Vulgate, does not seem to have any bearing on the appearance of the angel at the pool; for this is a relatively short

¹ Jn. xi. 16; i. 42; xiv. 22.

² In its session of July 3., 4., 1907, the Holy Office condemned the following proposition: XVIII. Ioannes sibi vindicat quidem rationem testis de Christo; re tamen vera non est nisi eximius testis vitæ Christianæ seu vitæ Christi in Ecclesia, exeunte primo sæculo.

³ Loisy, *Le Quatrième Évangile* 35.

⁴ Ib. 130.

⁵ Loisy, *Autour d'un petit livre* 88, 93.

fragment of very little importance. Nevertheless it has some bearing upon the other sections mentioned, both because these sections are of some length, and also because the will of the Fathers of the Council was to define the inspiration of all those deuterocanonical passages which the criticism of the time had called into question.

Yet on the other hand the Council did not define that these fragments must be accepted as the work of St. John. As a matter of fact the decree was directly concerned with the canonical character of the books of the Scripture and the parts of these books. Every one knows that in this case the decision of the Council must be accepted in its strictest meaning, and also that inspiration and authenticity are two entirely different questions, since the Holy Ghost possesses the power to influence an unknown author to insert in our Gospels a fragment which has an Apostolic origin.

107. I. *The Angel of the Pool of Bethesda*, v. 3, 4. This short fragment is looked upon as an interpolation in the Gospel text, by the great majority of textual critics, such as Trégelles, Griesbach, Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort, Nestle, Schëgg, Schanz, Calmes, Loisy.

The MSS. and Versions. The last part of the 3. verse is wanting in α ABC Λ 18, and verse 4 is wanting in α BCD Λ 33; the cursive 157 omits both verses. In SIIA and in many of the cursives they are marked with an asterisk. On the other hand they are found in the other uncial MSS. which, it must be confessed, are later and therefore of less value. Verse 3 is found in DIF Δ , and verse 4 in AETGHIKMUVA Δ . All the other cursives and the evangelaries contain them also. They are also embodied in most MSS. of the Vulgate prior to St. Jerome, and also in the MSS. of his own time. All the Syriac versions, with the exception of the Curetonian and the Sinaitic the two which enjoy the greatest antiquity, likewise contain them, as do the philoxeno-harklean with an obel, and the Syriac lectionaries and evangelaries. They are lacking in the oldest texts of the Coptic Version, and verse 3 only is found in the Armenian version.⁶²

The oldest of the **Greek Fathers** make no mention of this passage, perhaps because they had no occasion to quote it, or because their works have not come down to us in their entirety. Yet it is found in the writings of Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Euthymius, Tertullian, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory the Great, St. Ephrem, James of Sarug, etc. In short, the witnesses favourable to the authenticity of the passage are rather numerous, but unfortunately too late to be of very much critical value.

Internal Criticism. It is really hard to understand why this short notice should have disappeared from the original, if ever it formed a part of it; for there is nothing in it that is in any way the least objectionable to Christian feeling.

It has been claimed that, if these two verses be suppressed, or at least the last half of the third verse, then the reply of the paralytic in verse 7 is obscure and has no meaning. Yet it must be remembered that the greater number of John's narratives are at best but outlines in which even important details are passed over in silence.

108. II. The Episode of the Woman taken in Adultery, viii. 1—11. For this question we shall examine the MSS., the versions, the early Church writers and internal criticism.

MSS. This portion of the Gospel is wanting in κ ABCNTX, in the MS. of Freer and in a hundred of the cursives. L Δ leave a space, and EMSAII and about sixty of the cursives mark the whole passage with an asterisk, either because the copyists looked upon it as doubtful, or because it was to be omitted in public reading. In other cursives a part of this section is found in its present position, but it was added very late, or it is accompanied by notes which show the diversity of the older copies. Some have even placed it in the third Gospel after xxi. 38, and others again have placed it at the end of the fourth Gospel. We must also mention the uncials MSS., which evidence the diversity of the oldest copies. — On the other hand, this section is found in the great majority of the cursives and in the uncials DFGHKKU Γ , among which MSS. D alone, although full of inaccuracies, is really of any value.

Versions. The section referring to the woman taken in adultery is wanting in the Syriac (the Peshito, the Curetonian, the Sinaitic, and the Philoxenian), the Armenian, the Gothic and the Sahidic Versions. It is found, however, in the copies of the Vulgate before the time of St. Jerome, with the exception of the oldest, *aflq*, in the Vulgate of the time of St. Jerome, and in the Syriac Version of Jerusalem, as well as in the Bohairic and the Ethiopian Versions. It is also embodied in the Diatessaron of Tatian as translated into Latin by Victor of Capua. Finally it was employed in the Mozarabic, Ambrosian, Roman and Greek liturgies, on the feast of the Holy Penitents.

Church Writers. Not one Greek writer before the time of the Middle Ages ever made any comment on this passage. Nevertheless allusions to it are found (probably) in Papias «who speaks of a woman accused of many sins in the presence of the Lord, and whose history exists in the Gospel according to the Hebrews»; most certainly in the Didascalia (second half of the 3. century), II, 24, 3, in the Synopsis commonly attributed to St. Athanasius, and perhaps in the Canons of Eusebius of Cæsarea¹. The Syrian and Coptic writers before the 6. century seem scarcely acquainted with it. Among the Latin Fathers, Tertullian and St. Cyprian, although they wrote on the subject of penance, do not speak of it at all; yet it is contained in the writings of St. Ambrose, of St. Jerome, who attests its existence «*in multis graecis ac latinis codicibus*»², of St. Augustine, of St. Leo the Great, of St. Prosper, of Pacian, of St. Fulgentius, of Sedulius, of Cassiodorus, in a word in the writings of all the Latin ecclesiastical authors from the time of the 4. century. In the Middle Ages, the «Catena» which reproduced the patristic tradition, omitted this passage entirely, or marked it with an asterisk, or placed it at the end of the Gospel.

Internal Criticism. a) It seems that the style of this passage is not the style of St. John, but rather that of the Synoptics. Here we find ὁμοῦ for πρὸς, πᾶς ὁ λαός for ὄχλος; οὖν is replaced by δέ. Yet these terms may be ἀπαξ λεγόμενα which are so frequently found in other parts of the fourth Gospel. Again, the original text has by no means received its final reconstruction, and the true readings of the passage are far from being

¹ *Funk*, Pat. ap. I, 360—361 (note); *Funk*, Didascalia et Const. apost. I, 90, 92; *Eus.*, H. E. III. 39; P. G. XX, 300.

² *Contra Pelag.* II, 17; P. L. XXIII, 553.

definitely fixed. Finally, if we connect the «end of the story *μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε*, viii. 11, with the words of Jesus to the paralytic of Bethesda, v. 14, we shall once more encounter the terminology of the fourth Gospel. The expressions ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσῆς κατακρίνειν (κρίνειν), γύναι (cf. ii. 4; xix. 26) lead to the same conclusion»¹. b) «It is quite easy to see that the discourse which follows (the episode) is really connected, both by subject matter and by the form, with the disputes embodied in chapt. vii. The pericope of the adulterous woman is a kind of isolated fragment which does not influence the thought of chapt. viii»². It breaks the trend of ideas. This serious difficulty proves that the story is not in its proper place; yet it loses a good bit of its force, when it is remembered that it is an incident of the struggle against the Pharisees recorded in chapt. vii, viii, ix, and that the words *iterum ergo*, Jn. viii. 12, fit in well with Jn. viii. 11, and hence with Jn. vii. 52. c) «The story cannot be from the pen of John, because it has no meaning in the fourth Gospel; it has no other signification than that which results naturally from its purport and from the fact itself.»³ This objection rests on the hypothesis that the fourth Gospel is wholly symbolical, a hypothesis which is by no means proven.

Conclusion. To sum up, in the present state of our knowledge, the problem is difficult of solution. Nevertheless, the suppression of the text is more easily explained than insertion in private and official texts; for here the divine mercy appears exaggerated. Besides, the critics who refuse to admit that this section formed an original part of John's Gospel, are a unit in looking upon it as «an authentic part among the most authentic sections of the Gospel»⁴. The story took its rise in the Synoptic tradition, or better St. John wrote the whole account upon a detached sheet which was given its present place in the Gospel only after a long time and with much hesitation.

109. III. The Appendix, XXI. Objections. All of them are based on internal grounds. a) «The writer who is governed by an artistic taste delicate to a fault, who strikes a nice balance in his account of the Resurrection... and takes farewell of the reader... would not destroy all this harmony by making the grand mistake of adding an appendix which fits in so ill with his work, and which is animated by a different spirit from all the rest of the book. b) Besides, the notice given in regard to the beloved disciple makes it clear that he was already dead at the time when this notice was put in writing. c) And it is evident (we know that *his* testimony is true, v. 24) that it is not he that wrote the conclusion of the chapter. Since the notice belongs, at least in outward appearance, to that which is said of Peter, it follows that the entire chapter was compiled by the author of the concluding portion, who distinguishes himself from the disciple, by attributing to him the composition of the Gospel.» d) The style is not the style of John. e) Symbolism is almost wanting entirely in this portion.»⁵

Solution. a) This chapter is a *post-script*, and as such is not supposed to follow closely on the rest of the work, although it has numerous

¹ Calmes, L'Évangile selon St. Jean 281.

² Loisy, Le Quatrième Évangile 537.

³ Ib. 534—535.

⁴ Loisy, Le Quatrième Évangile 541—542; Westcott and Hort, The N. T. in Greek II, 87.

⁵ Loisy, Le Quatrième Évangile 924, 925; J. Réville, Le Quatrième Évangile 307—317; Harnack, Die Chronologie I, 676, 677.

points of contact with it, as for example, «the new apparition with which Jesus gratifies His disciples is called the third (14) because of the two others which are related in the preceding chapter; Peter thrice protests his love for the Saviour which is in accord with the triple denial (xviii. 15—17, 25—27)»¹. b) Verse 24 does not necessarily show that the Apostle was dead, when the explanation of the Saviour was put in writing.» St. John himself hides his identity behind the veil of the anonymous, and corrects the error which arose from the fact that he was still living.» c) The beginning of verse 24 is in a style which is common to St. John (i. 14; 1 Jn. i. 1 ff; 3 Jn. 12). If he speaks in the plural, it is because «in his mind there were two persons, namely his own and that of the Holy Ghost. An Apostle who was filled with the Spirit of God could write: I am speaking the truth; I have not lied; my consciousness gives testimony in the Holy Spirit. This strong expression is not that of John, it is rather that of Paul (Rom. ix. 1), who did not write the Epistle to the Romans through the agency of his disciples². d) The style betrays a number of expressions which are common to the fourth Gospel, thus: φανεροῦν ἑαυτὸν (1), φανεροῦσθαι (14), ἡ θάλασσα τῆς Τιβερίδος (1), ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο (2), ὁψάριον (9, 10, 13)...³. To reply to this that the author of the fragment imitated the style of St. John is to suppose the problem at stake already solved. e) It is not all proved that the whole Gospel is symbolical, and this we shall show further on.

There are, however, several Catholic scholars (Reithmayr, de Valroger, Corluy) who are not so positive of the authenticity of the two last verses. Calmes, basing his opinion on internal grounds only, thinks that the two sections 2—13, 15—23 are from the hand of St. John, who wrote them on a loose sheet. After his death they were joined to the rest of the book, together with verses 1, 14, 24 and 25. The object of this was to show that the death of the Apostle was not contrary to the prediction made concerning him, since the Saviour did not make him an inviolable promise of immortality⁴.

IV. THE READERS, THE OCCASION, AND THE PURPOSE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

110. I. The Readers. Internal evidence shows that *the fourth Gospel was written neither for the natives of Palestine, nor for the Jews, but for the Greeks.*

a) The author is always careful to translate all the Hebrew or Aramaic words and expressions that he employs into Greek, thus: *Rabbi* signifies *Master*, *Messias* means *Christ*, etc.⁵. His readers then did not live in Palestine where Aramaic, which was closely allied to Hebrew, was the usual language (no. 30).

b) Again, the author furnishes his readers with a number of details which bear upon the geography and customs of Palestine, and which would be needless were he writing for the natives of Palestine or even the Jews; for he looks upon Jewish institutions as

¹ Calmes, Évangile selon St. Jean 467, 468.

² Batiffol, Six leçons 115, 116; Camerlynck, De Quarti Evang. auctore 325—329.

³ Calmes l. c. 468; Zahn, Introd. II², 496, 497.

⁴ Calmes l. c. 468. ⁵ i. 38, 41, 42; v. 2; xix. 13, 17.

those of a foreign nation. He calls the Paschal feast, «the Pasch of the Jews», and observes that the Sea of Galilee is «that of Tiberias»¹.

c) Lastly, the fourth Gospel brings out in strong colours both in the discourses and in the life of the Saviour all that refers to the Gentiles and all that tends to fill them with hope and confidence (*Venit hora quando neque in monte hoc — Mt. Garizim — neque in Ierosolymis adorabitis Patrem*, v. 21), whilst on the other hand he appears to be opposed to the Jews. «This is the most anti-Judaic book of the N. T.... The Jews are represented from beginning to end as the enemies of Jesus.»²

II. **Occasion.** The old Church writers are very much divided on this point. In the Canon of Muratori we have the following notice: «John heeding the exhortations of his fellow disciples and bishops, commanded a fast of three days, after which he would make known that which would be revealed. The same night, it was revealed to Andrew, one of the Apostles (or better: and to the Apostles) that they were to recognize and approve that which John should write in their name.» The work was composed at the instigation of the great men of the Church, ὑπὸ τῶν γλωβρίμων, according to the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, at the instigation of the bishops and the Christians of the province of Asia, according to the tradition of Victorinus, St. Jerome and Theodore of Mopsuestia³. It is very likely that under the form of diverse and partly legendary features, such as the intervention of the Apostles in the composition of a book which dates from the end of the 1. century (no. 114), we have an echo of a true tradition and a reflection of historic verity. It is possible that this strange suggestion was called forth by the gaps in the Synoptic history, or the progress of heresies, or even the hostility of the Jews against Christianity.

111. III. **Purpose.** The main object of the fourth Gospel is quite evident in the work. The secondary object is doubtful and has been variously determined by the Fathers and present day commentators.

A. **The Main Object.** St. John's main object is eminently dogmatic, namely, *to show that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God*, so that, by faith in him, one can reach eternal life. — a) He himself states his intention explicitly in the words which conclude his book and which bid farewell to the reader, xx. 31: «Haec scripta

¹ ii. 6, 13; iii. 23; iv. 5, 6, 9; v. 2—4; vi. 1; vii. 2, 22, 37; xi. 18, 55; xix. 14, 17, 20, 31, 40, 42.

² Calmes l. c. 60. Cf. iv. 21, 23; x. 16; xi. 52; xii. 20; xvii. 2; xviii. 37.

³ Clement of Alexandria in *Eus.*, H. E. VI, 14: P. G. XX, 551; *Victor.*, Scholia in Apoc. XI, 1: P. L. V, 333; *Jerome*, De vir. ill. IX; ib. XXIII, 623; *Theod.*, Comm. in Ioan.: P. G. LXVI, 728.

sunt ut credatis quia Iesus est Christus, Filius Dei, et ut credentes vitam habeatis in nomine eius.»

b) The body of the work is in line with this intention; for the author shows his preference for those deeds and words which tend to prove the Messianic character and the divinity of the Saviour. From the very beginning of the prologue of the Gospel Jesus is represented as the Word, the Son of God. The discourses which St. John records during the course of his book are those in which our divine Master declares the dignity of the Son of God¹; the episodes which he relates are those which picture the divine perfections in brighter colours². The divinity of the Saviour, universal redemption by the saving power of His blood, the adoption of the faithful as the children of God, interior justification by grace, on the sole condition of a sincere and practical faith, all these are the dogmas which he sets out to establish, so as to strengthen the faith of his readers. Belief in Jesus Christ as the Messiah and as the Son of God, in His divine nature, in His power, in His love, in His Resurrection, this is the all-absorbing intention of the writer and the inevitable conclusion of all his chapters³.

B. Secondary Objects. 1. THE HISTORICAL PURPOSE. There are several of the Fathers and also many modern critics, even among those who admit the historical character of the fourth Gospel, who believe that John had also a secondary object, which was to complete the account as afforded by the Synoptics, either because he wished to give the life of Christ before the time of the imprisonment of John the Baptist⁴, or because he wanted to write a «spiritual Gospel», that is, to bring out the *intimate life* of Christ and the deeper aspect of His doctrine, since the Synoptics had composed «a corporal Gospel», in dealing mainly with the *outward life* of our Lord⁵. It may be that in assigning a secondary object to St. John's Gospel, the Fathers are giving vent to their own private opinion and are not witnessing a tradition of their time. Yet from internal evidence it is clear that St. John presupposes the Synoptics and completes their account in passing, but without, however, turning away from his dominant purpose.

112. a) Although he knew full well the duration of the public ministry of the Saviour, and even distinguishes the years by indicating the number of Paschal celebrations that took place in this time, yet the facts which he relates and which bear upon this period, would not, for their occurrence,

¹ v. 17—47; vi. 35—52; x. 38; xvii. 1—2, 21 f.

² i. 33, 34, 48, 49; ii. 11, 23; iii. 2; iv. 19, 42, 53; vi. 14, 15, 69, 70; vii. 40, 41, 46; ix. 32, 33, 38; xi. 27, 32, 42; xii. 11.

³ i. 50; ii. 1, 11, 23; iv. 39—42, 53; vi. 14—70; viii. 30, 46; ix. 38; xi. 15, 27, 45; xx. 29—31 etc.

⁴ *Ferome*, De vir. ill. IX: P. L. XXIII, 623; *Eus.*, H. E. III, 14: P. G. XX, 256; *Theod.* of Mops., Comm. in Ioan.: P. G. LXVI, 727.

⁵ Clem. Alex. in *Eus.*, H. E. VI, 14: P. G. XX, 552; *Ephr.*, Evang. concordantis expositio 286; *St. Epiph.*, Haer. LI, 12: P. G. XLI, 909; *Chrysost.*, In Ioan. hom. 4: P. G. LIX, 47.

exceed the space of thirty days. He is extremely brief in regard to the ministry of our Lord in Galilee, and passes over in silence whole periods in His public life¹, whilst he details at length His journeys to Jerusalem for the celebration of the principal feasts. Hence, although his main idea was to prove the divinity of Christ and that by appealing to His miracles² which he supposes to have been very numerous³, yet he records but seven, most of which were passed over by those that preceded him. He omits the cure of those possessed by the devil who openly proclaimed the divinity of Christ, as also the declaration of the eternal Father at Christ's Baptism and at the time of the Transfiguration: «Filius meus es tu», and the adjuration of the high priest: «Adiuro te ut dicas nobis si tu es Christus, Filius Dei.»

b) Again, St. John makes several allusions to the Synoptic Gospels which show that he was familiar with them. For example, in chapt. i, he places these words on the lips of John the Baptist: «I saw the Holy Ghost descend upon the head of the Saviour.» Now this fact is given by both St. Matthew and St. Luke. In chapt. iii., after having said that John the Baptist was baptizing at the same time as our Saviour, he makes the observation that the Precursor had not yet been cast into prison, and we know that this imprisonment is only recorded by the Synoptics. In chapt. xi, he says that Lazarus was at Bethany, the home-city of Mary and Martha; yet he makes no further mention of the two sisters, and no other information concerning them could be gotten except from other writings⁴. In many other passages he speaks of the twelve as of a society that was well-known, without, however, giving one word in regard to their call to the Apostolate.

c) Finally, throughout his whole work the author gives particular attention to two things: not to record that which the others had written; for there is scarcely anything common between this Gospel and the Synoptics except the narrative of the multiplication of loaves and the story of the Passion; and secondly, to confirm their account and complete it with new details. This is why he does not repeat the account of the institution of the Holy Eucharist, although he does report the promise which our Lord made after the multiplication of loaves, vi. He passes over in silence the birth of the Saviour at Bethlehem, the confession of Peter at Cæsarea, the words of the eternal Father on the banks of the Jordan and on Mt. Tabor, the raising to life of the daughter of Jairus and of the son of the widow of Naim, and the application which our Lord makes to Himself of the figure of Jonas. But he does record the belief as to the place where the Messiah was to be born⁵, the name Cephas which was bestowed upon Peter⁶, the mission of feeding the lambs and sheep that the Master entrusted to him⁷, and also the promise our Lord made to «build up again» the temple of His body⁸, and the words of the eternal Father which contained the promise of glorifying Jesus⁹.

113. 2. THE POLEMICAL OBJECT. There are a certain number of Fathers and also some modern commentators who are of the opinion that St. John also had a polemical object in writing the fourth Gospel.

¹ iii. 22; iv. 1—3; vii. 1; x. 40—42; xi. 54.

² Jn. v. 20, 36; ix. 3, 4; x. 25—38; xiv. 10—13; xv. 24.

³ ii. 23; iii. 2; iv. 45; v. 20; vi. 2; vii. 3, 31; ix. 16; x. 41; xii. 37; xx. 30, 31; xxi. 25.

⁴ Mt. xxvi. 6, 13; Lk. x. 38—42. ⁵ vii. 52. ⁶ i. 42.

⁷ xxi. 15—18. ⁸ ii. 19. ⁹ xii. 28.

It is true that this view has not gained much ground and has been disregarded by critics from all schools. It is claimed that he wished to counteract *the heresies of Cerinthus and the Ebionites which were then prevalent* according to which Jesus was the Son of Joseph and Mary, and became possessed by a celestial spirit, the Christ, from the time of His Baptism till the time of the Passion exclusively. John's object was to fight also the false views of the *Nicolaites*, the *Docetæ*, the *Joannites*, and even the *unbelieving Jews*¹.

These heresies, with perhaps the exception of the Joannites, certainly were in existence in the last half of the 1. century, and they are in contradiction to the doctrine of the fourth Gospel. However, we do not find any trace in John's work of a polemical purpose. «The author in no wise descends to the level of those whom he is opposing; he remains upon his own level, starts from his own idea of the Christ, develops it, and thus solves the difficulties that confront him in the course of his work.»

V. DATE AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

114. 1. Date. Those critics who admit the authenticity of the fourth Gospel generally fix the time of its composition towards the end of the 1. century (85—95), whilst the majority of other scholars date it as late as 110, 150 and even 170.

a) *The Fourth Gospel was composed after the Synoptics and after the Destruction of Jerusalem.* As a matter of fact according to the testimony of the Fathers and all internal evidence (nos. 111, 112), the fourth Gospel supposes the existence of the first three and even completes them. Now the Synoptics whose exact date cannot be determined with anything like certainty, are not later than the year 70 (cf. nos. 39, 53, 68). Moreover, John supposes that everything in Jerusalem and in Judea had undergone a change. When he speaks of the enemies of the Saviour, he does not say the *people* or the *multitude*, but he uses the term *the Jews*², as if bringing back to mind a people who have lost their nationality and to which he himself no longer belongs. He recalls the prophecies whose fulfilment was especially striking at least for those who lived in the latter part of the 1. century, namely: the martyrdom of Peter³, the rejection of the Jews⁴, and the call of the Gentiles⁵.

¹ The Nicolaites taught impurity and a false gnosis; the Docetæ did not admit the reality of the body and the mysteries of the Saviour; the Joannites looked upon John the Baptist as the Messiah. For all these heresies see *Duchesne*, *Christian Worship* 58 ff.; *Tixeront*, *History of Dogmas I*, 156 ff.

² xi. 19; xiii. 33; xviii. 20, 36.

³ xxi. 23.

⁴ i. 11; iii. 19; viii. 24; x. 25, 26.

⁵ vi. 37, 45; x. 16; xii. 32.

b) *The Fourth Gospel is not later than the End of the First Century or the First Years of the Second Century*; for it is quoted if not in the Apocalypse of Esdras and the Epistle of Clement, at least in the Epistles of St. Ignatius and perhaps in those of St. Polycarp (no. 98). Moreover, St. John did not live much later than the first years of the reign of the emperor Trajan, whose reign began in the year 98, unless we want to suppose that he lived to a very improbable old age.

2. **Place of Composition.** St. Irenæus, our oldest testimony, fixes Ephesus as the place of composition of the fourth Gospel, and in this the saint agrees with the old tradition in regard to the sojourn of the Apostle in this city and also with the internal data according to which the readers of the Gospel were the Greeks (nos. 110, 94).

VI. PLAN AND DIVISION OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

115. The twenty-one chapters of this Gospel are made up of a rather short Prologue, i. 1—18, the Body of the work, i. 19—xx, and an Appendix, or Epilogue, xxi. These various divisions are in line with the author's intention, which, as has been said, was to demonstrate the divinity of Jesus Christ.

A. The object of the *Prologue* is the Word of God. «It can neither be considered as a philosophical resume of the history of the world, nor as a program which shall be developed in the whole Gospel. It however serves as the dogmatic foundation of the whole narrative, and it indicates the point of view from which John viewed the life of Jesus.»¹

B. *The Body of the work* divides itself naturally into two parts: Jesus manifests His divinity and His mission during His public life, i. 19—xii; Jesus manifests His divinity and His mission during His suffering and glorious life, xiii.—xx. Each part is again subdivided into three sections.

I. **First Part.** FIRST SECTION: JESUS IS RECOGNIZED AS GOD BY MEN OF GOOD WILL, i. 19—iv. Jesus is designated the Messiah and the Son of God by John the Baptist, i. 19—34; His first disciples accord Him these titles, i. 35—51. The Saviour manifests His glory at Cana in Galilee, ii. 1—12; also at Jerusalem and in Judea, on the occasion of the first Pasch of the public ministry, ii. 13—iii; likewise in Samaria, iv. 1—42, and again in Galilee, iv. 43—54. Many believed in Him, but their faith was shortlived.

SECOND SECTION: THE CONFLICT WITH THE AUTHORITIES, v—xi. On the occasion of a certain feast which in all probability should be identified with the second Pasch of the public ministry (no. 147) (dies festus Iudæorum, v. 1), Jesus again manifested His glory in Jerusalem; the Jews remained incredulous, because He effected the cure of a paralytic on the Sabbath, v. This incredulity was also met with in Galilee, because He posed as the bread of life which must be eaten by faith and which later was to be given as their food, vi. The opposition increased in Judea, at the feast of the Tabernacles, vii.—x. 21, and at the feast of the Dedication, x. 22—42. Some time after this Jesus raised Lazarus from the dead. The Jews who witnessed the miracle believed in Him, and then the chief priests decided upon His death, xi.

¹ *Mangenot*, art. Jean, in *Vigouroux*, Dict. Bibl. col. 1186.

THIRD SECTION: JESUS MANIFESTS HIS GLORY IN HIS TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, xii. Before the decision of the chief priests could be carried out, Jesus was glorified. At Bethany, Mary, the sister of Lazarus, honoured Him by anointing Him with precious perfume. The next day He made His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The Gentiles desired to see Him. A voice from heaven was heard saying: «I have glorified Him, and I will glorify Him again.» Still the enemies of Jesus refused to believe in Him.

2. **Second Part.** Jesus manifests His glory: 1) before His disciples at the Last Supper and in the farewell address which followed it, xiii—xvii; 2) during His Passion despite the hatred of His enemies, xviii. xix; 3) especially in His Resurrection; for Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus openly declare themselves His disciples and give Him an honourable burial, and He appears to Mary Magdalene and to the disciples, xx.

C. The *Epilogue*, xxi., records how Jesus appeared to seven of the disciples on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias, and how He made Peter the supreme head of the Church. The author concludes his work by saying that, although his work is incomplete, it is nevertheless true, xxi. 24, 25.

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116. Besides the general works indicated under nos. 22 and 26, see *Schanz*, Komm. über das Evang. des hl. Johannes (1885); *Knabenbauer*, Comm. in Evang. Sancti Ioannis² (1906); *Sanday*, The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel; *Drummond*, The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel; *Stanton*, The Gospels as Historical Documents, part I.; *Dods*, On St. John, in the Expositor's Bible and in the Expositor's Greek Testament; *Batiffol*, Six leçons sur les Évangiles; *Calmes*, L'Évangile selon St. Jean; *Camerlynck*, De Quarti Evangelii Auctore; *Fouard*, St. John; *Lépin*, L'Origine du Quatrième Évangile.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELATION OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

ART. I.

EXPOSITION OF THE SO-CALLED JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

117. When we pass from the Synoptic Gospels to the fourth Gospel we seem to pass into quite a new world of thought. The *theatre of action* is no longer the land of Galilee and the territory which bounded this province on the east and north, but the land of Judea almost exclusively. Again, the ministry of the Lord appears not to be of the same *duration* here, and the *events and the actors in each scene* are entirely different. The *discourses* no longer have the same object nor are they clothed in the same clear and popular form. Finally the *Christ* of the fourth Gospel although approaching the picture drawn in the Synoptics in many aspects is nevertheless not so human, but more transcendent and more divine. Yet, despite these differences which after all may be traced to a difference in point of view, there are some striking resemblances.

Our task here shall be to explain the reason for this commingling of resemblances and differences, and at the same to determine the historical character of the fourth Gospel, and to seek to reconcile its data with those afforded by the Synoptics.

In order to have a clear understanding of what we are about to say in regard to this so-called Johannean question, we must bear in mind that history, as we understand it here, does not mean the reproduction of events in their entirety, nor in their chronological order, nor in their relative importance, nor with a view to reconstructing the past. What it does mean, is the reproduction of facts which have been accomplished, and of discourses, whose ideas, if not the very words, are expressed at least in substance. This then does not exclude allegory. An allegory may be defined as a work or a discourse in which one object is portrayed in its own proper meaning in order to convey the idea of something else which is not directly expressed. Thus the apologue and the parable are species of allegories.

From our point of view, an allegory can be understood under two aspects. Under the first aspect, which is the ordinary and usual meaning given, the allegorist reproduces a real history which he makes, sometimes at least, serve to express other ideas which the facts he narrates, the discourses he gives, and the people he mentions, symbolize. In this sense, as an example, the bark of the Apostles tossed about by the waves, is a figure of the Church sailing in the midst of the storm of persecution. There are then two distinct meanings in a word or in a phrase: the one literal and historical, the other mystical, called also figurative, spiritual, and, although improperly, allegorical or symbolical. Under the second aspect, which is admitted solely by the opponents of the historical character of the fourth Gospel, the allegorist sometimes narrates real facts in order to symbolize an idea, but often transforms the facts, and sometimes constructs for himself both facts and individuals thus sacrificing true history for the sake of the idea which he wishes to set forth¹.

118. A. The Scene of Action. *St. John* narrates by preference the deeds and words of the Saviour in His ministry round about Judea and in Jerusalem. He supposes that our Lord made five journeys to this latter city: ii. 13; v. 1; vii. 10; x. 22; xii. 12. He reports the discourses of the Saviour in the Temple, His discussions with the doctors in regard to His dignity and His mission, as also the miracles wrought at the Pool of Bethesda, and at the Brook of Siloe, etc. But despite this he does make some mention of Christ's sojourn in Galilee: ii. 1—12; iv. 3, 43—54; vi. 1, 2; vii. 1, 3; x. 40, 41; xxi.).

On the other hand, *the Synoptics* depict for us the ministry of Jesus in Galilee, in the Decapolis, at Cæsarea Philippi, in Perea, and they do not mention any journey to Jerusalem prior to that which Christ made just before His Passion. Yet they insinuate — if they do not say so in so many words — that the Saviour had previously to this made several trips to the Holy City, and that He even remained there some time, or at least was in its neighbourhood. According to a number of the best readings of *St. Luke's Gospel* (Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, κ B C L Q R) Jesus towards the beginning of His public ministry preached in «the synagogues of Judea» (iv. 44), a statement which is in full accord with either the first or the second journey reported by *St. John*². Furthermore *St. Luke* tells us that Jesus did make trips into the country of Judea (Lk. x. 38—42; Jn. xii. 1—3). We know also that, at the time of the Passion, Christ numbered among the inhabitants of that city friends (Mt. xxvi. 18; xxvii. 57; Mk. xiv. 12 f.; Lk. xix. 32—34) and disciples (Mt. xxi. 1—3; Lk. xxii. 11—12), that He was known to the people (Mt. xxi. 8—11; Lk. xxix. 38) and to the authorities (Mt. xxvi. 3, 4; xxvii. 62, 63). All these facts imply that our Lord must have gone up to Jerusalem long before the time of His Passion. Likely it was these visits that caused the awful apostrophe which Christ addressed to this unfortunate city, on the eve of His death: *Jerusalem, Jerusalem, quoties volui...* (Mt. xxiii. 37; Lk. xiii. 34).

¹ *Loisy*, *Le Quatrième Évangile* 71 f.

² However, see *Plummer*, *St. Luke* 141.

B. Chronology. As we find the public life of our Lord portrayed in the Synoptics, it seems that it lasted, as far as Galilee was concerned, but a few months, and as far as Judea and Jerusalem were concerned, it lasted but a few days. Apparently too, according to the Synoptics the Pasch was celebrated on the 13. Nisan¹. According to *St. John* the Galilean ministry is limited to a few episodes, whilst the ministry in and about Jerusalem extends over a period of from two to three years and a half, on the occasion of at least three and probably four Paschal celebrations (Jn. ii. 13; v. 1 [no. 147]; vi. 4; xiii. 1). According to him the last Pasch seems to have been celebrated on the 14., and not the 13. of Nisan².

119. C. Facts. The Gospel of St. John contains many facts which are not found in the Synoptics. All the Gospels are parallel as far as the history of the Passion is concerned, and also in many of the events of the Resurrection story; thus they record: the events of Palm Sunday, the designation of the traitor, the prediction of Peter's denials, the title on the cross: and in many of the events which surrounded the cross of Christ. Outside of this however there are just six very short portions wherein the Synoptics and the Gospel of St. John touch, and then with many differences in detail. These are: the testimony of John the Baptist in favour of Jesus (i. 19—34), the cure of the officer's son (iv. 46—54), the multiplication of loaves (vi. 1—13), the walking upon the sea (vi. 16—21), the anointing at Bethany (xii. 1—8).

Besides, the fourth Gospel omits many facts which are more or less important. Thus it passes over: the genealogy of our Lord, the virginal conception of Christ, the birth, the infancy, the baptism, the temptation, the transfiguration, the agony, the ascension of our Lord, as also the institution of Baptism and the Eucharist. On the other hand the Synoptics do not mention: the miracle at the wedding feast at Cana, the second testimony of John the Baptist in favour of Jesus (iii. 25, 36), the history of Nicodemus, of the Samaritan woman, of the paralytic of Bethesda, of the man born blind, of Lazarus, of the washing of the feet, of the presence of Mary the mother of Jesus at the foot of the cross, the apparition to Thomas etc. Yet St. John alludes to the virginal conception of Christ, by the words: «et Verbum caro factum est» (i. 14), as also to the election of the twelve Apostles (vi. 71; xxi. 2), to the imprisonment of the Precursor (iii. 24), to the agony in the public monologue of our Lord after the visit of Greeks (xii. 27—28), to the transfiguration in the words of the Father: «I have glorified Him, and I will glorify Him again» (xii. 28), to the ascension (I shall go to My Father, xx. 17), to the institution of the Eucharist (vi), and the institution of Baptism (iii. 5).

D. Discourses. **SUBSTANCE.** The Synoptics are particularly anxious to reproduce the moral teaching of our Lord. Further, eschatology (discourse on the last things) occupies quite a prominent place in their accounts (Mt. xxiv, xxv; Mk. xiii; Lk. xxi.). Our Lord again and again speaks of the advent of the kingdom of heaven and presents it as being very near; all is subordinated to this idea of the kingdom; the virtues laid down by the Gospels are the conditions upon which admission to the kingdom might be gained; the moral exhortations are but an invitation to every one to hold himself in readiness for the coming of the kingdom. All the discourses of St. John are peculiarly his own, and the doctrine which he sets out is essentially dogmatic (iii; v. 19—45; vi; vii; xv—xvii). He scarcely touches at all on eschatology, nor does he speak much of the kingdom of God; for this latter expression has come to mean with him «life eternal».

¹ No. 148.² See nos. 149 f.

FORM. The fourth Gospel differs from the Synoptics by the form in which the discourses are clothed, as it does in the ideas which these very same discourses express. The preaching of Jesus according to our first three Gospels is simple, familiar, varied, popular, often parabolic. The fourth Gospel is full of allegories which after all are parables in embryo, but yet it does not contain any parable in the strict sense of the word¹. The tone of the discourses is more elevated, more mystical, more abstract, even when it is addressed to the people, as at Capharnaum (vi), and lastly, more obscure.

The vocabulary is by far less abundant; for the same terms and the same stereotyped turns of expression occur again and again, because the doctrine inculcated constantly proceeds along the same line of thought. Thus we have such expressions as: *Esse apud Patrem... esse in Patre, in Filio... manere in Deo..., in Christo..., in caritate... Esse ex Deo..., ex veritate..., ex diabolo..., nasci ex Deo..., ex spiritu..., ex carne...; nosse, cognoscere Deum... Facere veritatem... ambulare in luce... in tenebris.* We find repeated here «to know» 55 times, «to believe» 98 times, «to love» 45 times, «truth» 25 times, «light» 23 times, «life» 36 times, «the world» 78 times, «darkness» 13 times, «name» 25 times, «word» 50 times, «work» 27 times, «sign» 15 times, «witness» or «to bear witness» 47 times, «life», «vivify», «to live» 52 times, «glory» «to be glorified» 42 times. We have no right to say that the terms «light», «life», «darkness», «death», «deceit», «plenitude» which he so often employs, are peculiar to him and in a certain sense his very own; for these very same terms with the same meaning are found in the prophetic books, in the writings of St. Paul, and even in the Synoptics, but we find them so frequently here that they might be said to be on every page of the Gospel. And thus it appears that «if Jesus spoke as Matthew represents, He could not have spoken as John relates»².

Yet despite all this, when there is question of the narration of an ordinary occurrence, such for instance as the cure of some one, St. John can and does descend to language as simple as that of the Synoptics, and on the other hand, in some particular passages the Synoptics rise to such a height of thought and language as to rival the highest of St. John's flights³. Leaving aside the similarity in figure and the comparisons of thought, there are 27 verbal coincidences between the Synoptics and the fourth Gospel⁴.

We insert a table of passages which are common to the first Synoptics and the fourth Gospel, as found in Huck (*Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*² 177, 178).

¹ x; xv. 1; xvi. 21; iii. 8; 19, 20; v. 35; viii. 35, 36.

² *Renan*, *Life of Jesus* 48.

³ See Jn. i. 29—51; ii. 1—17; iv; v. 1—17; vi. 1—27; viii. 1—12; ix. 6—39; xi. 17—56; xii. 1—22; xiii. 12—17, 21—31; xvi. 1—5. Then compare Mt. xi. 28, 29 with Jn. vii. 37; — Mt. x. 30 with Jn. xii. 25; — Mt. xi. 27; Lk. xi. 21, 22 with Jn. xiii. 1, 18; vi. 45; xiii. 3; — Mt. v. 6; Lk. vi. 21 with Jn. vi. 35; — Mt. xi. 25—30 with Jn. xiv. 18—23; — Mt. xiii. 57 with Jn. iv. 44; — Mk. xvi. 16 with Jn. iii. 18; — Mt. xxviii. 18 with Jn. xvii. 2; — Mt. xvi. 19 with Jn. xxi. 15; — Mt. x. 40 with Jn. xiii. 20; — Mt. x. 22 with Jn. xv. 21; — Mt. x. 25 with Jn. xv. 20; — Mt. xxvi. 55 with Jn. xviii. 20; — Mt. xxvi. 52 with Jn. xviii. 11; — Mt. x. 29; Mk. viii. 35; Lk. ix. 24; xvii. 33 with Jn. xii. 24; — Mt. xxvi. 46 with Jn. xiv. 31; — Mt. xxvi. 34; Mk. xiv. 30; Lk. xxii. 34 with Jn. xiii. 38; — Mt. xxvi. 52 with Jn. xviii. 11; — Mt. xxviii. 18—20; Mk. xvi. 15—20 with Jn. xx. 19—23; xxi. 15—17; — Mt. xi. 25—30; Lk. xi. 21—24 with Jn. x. 1—18; xv. 1—11.

⁴ Jn. ii. 19 = Mt. xxvi. 61; Mk. xiv. 58; xv. 29; — Jn. iii. 18 = Mk. xvi. 16; — Jn. iv. 44 = Mt. xiii. 57; — Jn. v. 8 = Mt. ix. 6; Mk. ii. 9; Lk. v. 24; —

Synoptics			John
Mark	Matthew	Luke	
i. 3.	iii. 3.	iii. 4.	i. 23.
i. 4.	iii. 1.	iii. 2.	i. 6.
i. 7.	iii. 11.	iii. 16.	i. 26, 27.
i. 9—11.	iii. 13—17.	iii. 21, 22.	i. 31—34.
i. 16—20.	iv. 18—22.		i. 35—42.
		v. 1—11.	xxi. 1—11.
ii. 11, 12.	ix. 6, 7.	v. 24, 25.	v. 8, 9.
iii. 16.	x. 2; xvi. 17, 18.	vi. 14.	i. 42.
	viii. 5—13.	vii. 1—10.	iv. 46—53.
	xiii. 15.		xii. 40.
vi. 1.	xiii. 54 <i>a</i> .	iv. 16.	iv. 43.
vi. 2.	xiii. 54 <i>b</i> .	iv. 22.	vii. 15.
vi. 3.	xiii. 55.	iv. 22.	vi. 42.
vi. 4.	xiii. 57.	iv. 24.	iv. 44.
	x. 24.	vi. 40.	xiii. 16; xv. 20.
vi. 31—44.	xiv. 13—21.	ix. 10—17.	vi. 1—13.
vi. 45—52.	xiv. 22—33.		vi. 16—21.
viii. 22—26.			ix. 1—7.
viii. 29.	xvi. 16.	ix. 20.	vi. 69.
viii. 35.	x. 39; xvi. 25.	ix. 24; xvii. 33.	xii. 25.
ix. 37.	x. 40.	ix. 48.	xiii. 20.
x. 15.	xviii. 3.	xviii. 17.	iii. 3.
xi. 1—11.	xxi. 1—11.	xix. 28—38.	xxii. 12—16.
xi. 15—17.	xxi. 12, 13.	xix. 45, 46.	ii. 13—17.
xi. 23, 24.	xxi. 22.		xiv. 13—14; xvi. 23.
xiv. 1, 2.	xxvi. 1—5.	xxii. 1, 2.	xi. 47—53.
xiv. 3—9.	xxvi. 6—13.	vii. 36—38.	xii. 1—8.
		xxii. 3.	xiii. 2—27.
xiv. 18—21.	xxvi. 21—25.	xxii. 21—23.	xiii. 21—26.
xiv. 27.	xxvi. 31.		xvi. 32.
xiv. 30.	xxvi. 34.	xxii. 34.	xiii. 38.
xiv. 32, 33.	xxvi. 36, 37.	xxii. 39.	xviii. 1, 2.
xiv. 34—36.	xxvi. 38, 39.	xxii. 42.	xii. 27; xviii. 11.
xiv. 42.	xxvi. 46.		xiv. 31.
xiv. 43—50.	xxvi. 47—56.	xxii. 47—53.	xviii. 3—11.
xiv. 49.	xxvi. 55.	xxii. 53.	xviii. 20.
xiv. 54.	xxvi. 58.	xxii. 54, 55.	xviii. 15.
xiv. 58; xv. 29.	xxvi. 61; xxvii. 40.		ii. 19.
xiv. 66—72.	xxvi. 69—75.	xxii. 56—62.	xviii. 17, 25—27.
xv. 1.	xxvii. 1, 2.	xxii. 66; xxiii. 1.	xviii. 28.
xv. 2—5.	xxvii. 11—14.	xxiii. 2—5.	xviii. 33—37; xix. 9.
xv. 9.	xxvii. 17.		xviii. 39.
xv. 11.	xxvii. 20.	xxiii. 18.	xi. 47, 48.
xv. 13, 14.	xxvii. 22, 23.	xxiii. 21—23.	ix. 6, 7.
xv. 15.	xxvii. 26.	xxiii. 25.	xix. 16 <i>a</i> .
xv. 16—19.	xxvii. 27—30.		xix. 1—3.
xv. 22.	xxvii. 33.	xxiii. 33 <i>a</i> .	xix. 17.
xv. 24.	xxvii. 35.	xxiii. 34.	xix. 23, 24.
xv. 26.	xxvii. 37.	xxiii. 38.	xix. 19.
xv. 27.	xxvii. 38.	xxiii. 33 <i>b</i> .	xix. 18.
xv. 36.	xxvii. 48.		xix. 29.
xv. 40.	xxvii. 55.	xxiii. 49.	xix. 25.
xv. 42—47.	xxvii. 57—61.	xxiii. 50—56.	xix. 38—42.
xvi. 1—8.	xxviii. 1—10.	xxiv. 1—12.	xx. 1—10.
		xxiv. 36.	xx. 19.
		xxiv. 39 (40).	xx. 20.

120. E. The Portrait of Jesus. DIFFERENCES. «The figure of the Saviour and His manner of being appears altogether different in the Synoptics and in the fourth Gospel... The *Synoptic Christ* is a being of flesh and bone, who conducts Himself among men as one of their number, despite the consciousness of His high mission, or may be, He does so because of that very mission. He speaks and acts like a man; He sits at table with both Pharisee and publican; He suffers Himself to be touched by the sinner woman; He converses in a familiar manner with His disciples; He is tempted by the devil, He is afflicted in the Garden of Gethsemane; He performs miracles from mere motives of pity, concealing them rather than bringing them into the light as authoritative marks of His mission; He is calm and dignified before His judges; yet He permits Himself to be beaten and wounded; while it is true that everywhere in His discourses, in His acts, in His sorrows, we feel something as it were divine, which raises Him above common, aye even the best humanity, it remains true all the same, that what He does and says is deeply human and penetrated with human activity, if I may so express myself.»

«The Christ of John, on the contrary, is represented as a transcendent being, clearly not of the earth, but from heaven, who appears only to speak and act to prove that He is of God, that He is one with God; the persons who are brought in contact with Him, are introduced only to furnish the occasion for the utterance of important announcements, moving in the same circle and tending more or less to affirm the divinity of His origin...; just as His teaching has no other object than to portray the dignity of His Person, His divine mission, and an economy of salvation which He truly associated with Himself, so He performs miracles only to give value to what He taught, 'to manifest His glory' as it is put in assigning the object of the miracle of Cana, ii. 11; the miracles are no longer the works of His mercy, but rather the arguments of His omnipotence and the clear symbols of His spiritual action, that is, of His mission, such as it was defined in His teaching... One can say that the human has disappeared and has been effaced before the divine»¹.

RESEMBLANCES. Nevertheless, resplendent as is the portrayal of the Saviour, one can easily recognize in Him the Son of Mary, the Teacher, the Prophet and the Wonder-worker of the Synoptics. He is always natural to His own character and yet different from all others, possessing a superiority, a sanctity, a serenity, and an unction unparalleled. Throughout the Gospel He manifests the same prudence (Jn. x. 24, 25 = Mt. xvi. 20; Mk. iii. 12; Lk. iv. 41), the same modesty (Jn. v. 13, 30; vi. 15 = Mt. xiv. 22; xxvi. 39; Lk. v. 15, 16), the same benignity toward His enemies (Jn. xvii. 20 =

Jn. vi. 20 = Mt. xiv. 27; Mk. vi. 50; — Jn. vi. 35 = Mt. v. 6; Lk. vi. 21; — Jn. vi. 37 = Mt. xi. 28, 29; — Jn. vi. 46 = Mt. xi. 27; Lk. x. 22; — Jn. xii. 8 = Mt. xxvi. 11; Mk. xiv. 7; — Jn. xii. 25 = Mt. x. 39; xvi. 25; Mk. viii. 35; Lk. ix. 24; xvii. 33; — Jn. xii. 27 = Mt. xxvi. 38; Mk. xiv. 34 ff.; — Jn. xiii. 3 = Mt. xi. 27; — Jn. xiii. 16 = Mt. x. 24; Lk. vi. 40; — Jn. xiii. 20 = Mt. x. 40; Lk. x. 16; — Jn. xiii. 21 = Mt. xxvi. 21; Mk. xiv. 18; — Jn. xiii. 38 = Mt. xxvi. 34; Mk. xiv. 30; Lk. xxii. 34; — Jn. xiv. 18, 23 = Mt. xxviii. 20; — Jn. xiv. 28 = Mk. xiii. 32; — Jn. xiv. 31 = Mt. xxvi. 46; — Jn. xv. 20 = Mt. x. 35; — Jn. xv. 21 = Mt. x. 22; — Jn. xvi. 32 = Mt. xxvi. 31; — Jn. xvii. 2 = Mt. xxviii. 18; — Jn. xviii. 11 = Mt. xxvi. 52; — Jn. xviii. 20 = Mt. xxvi. 55; — Jn. xviii. 37 = Mt. xxvii. 11; — Jn. xx. 23 = Mt. xviii. 18; xvi. 19. Cf. *Godet*, Introduction to the N. T. and Commentary on St. John.

¹ *Loisy*, Le Quatrième Évangile 72, 75.

Mk. xvi. 48; Lk. xxii. 52), the same influence over His disciples (Jn. xvi. 16; xxi. 12 = Mk. ix. 31; Lk. ix. 45), the same idea of His personality and His ministry (Jn. iii. 17; v. 22, 24, 45; viii. 12; ix. 39; xiii. 20 = Mt. v. 14; vii. 22; x. 40; xi. 27; xiii. 13; xxvi. 63; xxviii. 19; Lk. ix. 56), oftentimes He employs the same figurative language (Jn. ii. 34; iii. 8; v. 25; ix. 39; xi. 11; xv. 1; xvi. 21, 25; cf. Jn. iii. 3 = Mt. xviii. 3; Jn. x. 7 = Mt. xviii. 12; Jn. xiii. 1 = Lk. xii. 37; Jn. xiii. 6 = Mt. x. 24, 25; Jn. iii. 29 = Mt. xxii. 2; Jn. xv. 2 = Mt. xvii. 19), and the same manner of working His miracles (Jn. v. 8; vi. 12; xi. 43 = Mt. viii. 3; ix. 6; xiv. 19; Lk. vii. 14), of teaching (Jn. iv. 31; v. 14; vi. 25; ix. 1—5, 25—41; xiii. 3 = Mt. xii. 47—50; xiii. 43, 45; xv. 11—20; xviii. 1; Mk. i. 16, 17; ix. 35; x. 13, 15; Lk. ii. 27; ix. 47; xiii. 1—5), of proving His doctrine (Jn. iv. 23, 24; = Mt. v. 25, 31; xviii. 33; xxiv. 42; xxv. 31; Mk. viii. 33; xiii. 37; Lk. xii. 15, 21, 35, 48; xviii. 1), and of explaining His acts (Jn. iv. 31; vi. 25; ix. 1—5, 35, 40; xiii. 3 = Mt. xii. 47, 50; xv. 1—20; xvi. 5; xviii. 1; Mk. i. 16, 17; x. 13—15; Lk. xi. 17; xiii. 1—5; xiv. 15). — He takes part in the festivities of a wedding feast; He converses with the woman that was a sinner, as also with the Samaritan woman; He becomes wearied, He weeps, He shudders within Himself, etc.

ART. II.

THE SOLUTIONS OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

I. THE TRADITIONAL SOLUTION.

121. I. Exposition. All the Fathers and all the commentators before the end of the 18. century, nearly all Catholic scholars of the present day¹, and also quite a number of Protestant scholars², notably those of the Anglican Church, maintain that the narratives and the discourses of the fourth Gospel are historical in the sense that we have already explained. No one is so uncritical as to deny the existence of the differences which immediately mark off the Synoptics from the Gospel of John. The early Church writers knew of them and clearly recognized them. In a passage which has been preserved for us by Eusebius³, Clement of Alexandria calls the fourth Gospel *πνευματικόν*, *spiritual*, whilst he alludes to the three others as *σωματικά*, *corporal*, and in a certain sense *material*.

St. John records the particular and personal teaching of Jesus, which, if we desire to establish any chronological order, and arrive at the content of His life, must be combined with the data that the Synoptics afford. It is true that the author's object in composing his Gospel is to prove a certain thesis, namely the divinity of Christ, and this he expressly tells us himself⁴. It is likewise true that many

¹ Fouard, Le Camus, Didon, Cornely, Fillion, Kaulen, Knabenbauer, Schanz, Belser, Vigouroux, Mangelot, Lepin, Jacquier.

² Godet, Bovon, Reynolds, Stanton, Sanday, Drummond.

³ *Eus.*, H. E. VI, 14: P. G. XX, 552. See also *St. Aug.*, De cons. evang. I, 5: P. L. XXXIV, 1045, 1046.

⁴ xx. 31. See no. III.

of the details embody a mystical meaning¹. Yet it is equally true that the presence of a mystical sense and the intent to prove a thesis are not incompatible with genuine history. St. Matthew also sets out to prove a thesis viz. that Christ is the Messiah, and he does it by appealing to facts which are historical². As regards the discourses, all we can say is that to retain them verbatim would require memory of miraculous tenacity, a condition which is not at all required here. They are reproduced substantially and are written in the style of the Evangelist; moreover they contain the doctrine of our Lord and not that of St. John.

122. 2. The Direct Proof of the Traditional View. a) The AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH. As a first remark, let it be stated that in itself Biblical inspiration and inerrancy may extend to all sorts of literary compositions, and are not incompatible with any species of writing³. Even though we could not rely upon the historical character of the fourth Gospel, yet it would still be true that all the dogmas of Christianity have sufficient proof for their existence, and then this work, even though at best it were but a theological fiction, would yet deserve a place in the N. T., just as the Epistles which give no direct reproduction of the Saviour's thought.

Nevertheless the ordinary *magisterium* of the Church represented by the Fathers, theologians and Catholic commentators, looks upon the fourth Gospel as a historical work. Now, on the one hand, we are not dealing with a purely historical question, but with a question which is intimately bound up with dogma, namely the life, the work, and the doctrine of the Redeemer; on the other hand, as regards questions which relate to faith and morals, we must, according to the Councils of Trent and the Vatican⁴, follow the opinion of the Church and the unanimous agreement of the Fathers. The Bible, as a matter of fact, can lay claim to being a work of both divine and human authorship, and as such must be interpreted according to the rules laid down for all literature, and likewise according to the light which God promised to give to those who take His place here below, namely the Church and the Fathers.

b) THE DECISION OF THE PONTIFICAL COMMISSION DE RE BIBLICA (no. 97). This Commission declared with the approbation of the Holy Father (May 29., 1907) that «it cannot be said that the facts narrated in the fourth Gospel are wholly or in part made out to be allegories or doctrinal symbols, and that the discourses of our Lord are not properly and truly the discourses of our Lord Himself, but the theo-

¹ See no. 126. ² No. 38.

³ No. 90.

⁴ Conc. Trid. «Decr. de editione et usu sacrorum librorum», sess. IV; Conc. Vatic. sess. III, c. 2. Cf. *Denz.*, Enchir. nos. 667, 668, 1636, 1637.

logical compositions of the writer, albeit they are placed in the mouth of our Lord»¹.

c) THE APOSTOLIC ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL. The Apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel which we have already shown from internal evidence, argues for its general historic character. It is scarcely conceivable that a companion and friend of Jesus would write a treatise on the Incarnation, or some sort of a fictitious account under the name of true history, without at least giving some indication to his readers that such was his intention. Now, not only are all such indications totally wanting in the Gospel, but the very study of the fourth Gospel in itself leads to the firm conviction that the author's aim was to write a real history.

d) THE AGREEMENT WITH THE SYNOPTICS AND PROFANE HISTORY. The story of the Passion as contained in the fourth Gospel is a true history, since it harmonizes generally with the Synoptics although there are a few points of difference in detail. In this section the four Gospels run parallel. They all begin with the triumphant entry into Jerusalem², and then agree in the story of the impetuosity of Peter in refusing to let his Master wash his feet, and in his striking Malchus³, all of which is in line with what we know of this Apostle's character from the Synoptic accounts⁴. The remark of John, that Jesus was accustomed to go into the Garden of Olives, is confirmed in a special manner by the third Gospel, which makes a similar remark⁵. The portrait of Pilate desirous of doing good, accessible to ideas of justice, yet withal revengeful, sceptical, irresolute, and fearing to lose the favour of the legate of Syria and that of the emperor, agrees perfectly with what the Jewish historian Josephus has left us . . . Now, if the story of the Passion is historical, the rest of the book must be the same; for it is all written in the same manner. This fact becomes more pronounced when it is remembered that the fourth Gospel contains many points of contact with the Synoptics (no. 119, at the end, notes), that it supposes the same historical setting as our first three Gospels (sects, Sanhedrin, etc.), and that it is in perfect accord with Jewish customs of this period, as it is with Palestinian geography (no. 102). The disputes of Jesus

¹ In connection with this same question, the Holy Office, in its session of July 3.—4., 1907, condemned the two following propositions: XVI. *Narrationes Ioannis non sunt proprie historia, sed mystica Evangelii contemplatio; sermones, in eius evangelio contenti, sunt meditationes theologicae circa mysterium salutis, historica veritate destitutae.* XVII. *Quantum Evangelium miracula exaggeravit non tantum ut extraordinaria magis apparerent, sed etiam ut aptiora fierent ad significandum opus et gloriam Verbi Incarnati.* — For this whole decree see The Tablet (June 8., 1907) 885.

² Mt. xxi. 7; Mk. xi. 7; Lk. xix. 35; Jn. xii. 12—15.

³ Jn. xiii. 6—9; xviii. 10.

⁴ Mt. xiv. 28; xvi. 22; xvii. 4; xxvi. 33, 35 and parallel passages.

⁵ Jn. xviii. 2; Lk. xxi. 37.

with the Jewish teachers have the same object in both sets of writings¹, namely the so-called violations of the Sabbath.

Moreover, the persons common to both, the fourth Gospel and the Synoptics, Peter, John, Andrew, Caiphas, Judas, are as real as the facts which are narrated concerning them. Why should it then be otherwise with Nicodemus, Lazarus, the Samaritan woman, the man born blind, and their history? One may easily admit, and we shall show this later on that, over and above the literal sense and real personages, there may exist a figurative meaning. But it does not follow from this at all that the author has created these persons and manufactured these facts in order to enunciate his thoughts.

e) THE DISCOURSES. 1) As we have shown, the Synoptic Gospels contain the authentic teaching of Jesus². Now the fourth Gospel embodies substantially the same doctrine as the Synoptics, especially in regard to the three Persons in the Trinity, the Messiahship and the divinity of Jesus, the spiritual mission of Christ which is to save all men, the doctrine of wicked angels, the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, the abrogation of the Old Law, and the universality of the new religion, etc. The teaching in regard to the kingdom, eschatology and morality which receive a special development in the Synoptics and are their special features, is not entirely lacking in the fourth Gospel³.

Between the doctrine embodied in the fourth Gospel and that of the Epistles of St. Paul there are striking analogies, especially in regard to the divine filiation and the pre-existence of Jesus, and the union of the faithful with Christ. Now, on the one hand, St. John's Gospel is written in such a style that no one would dream of accusing him of having borrowed from St. Paul, and, on the other hand, St. Paul tells us explicitly that his theology had no human origin, but was derived from Jesus Himself.

Again we must not lose sight of the fact that there are a certain number of expressions which are common to the fourth Gospel and to the Synoptics⁴. Moreover, and this is remarkable, in both, the fourth Gospel and in the Synoptics, the teaching of our Lord has a certain aphoristic form, such as: «My food is to do the will of Him that sent Me and to accomplish His work» (iv. 34), «Judge not according to the appearance, but judge just judgment» (vii. 24), «If any one keep my word he shall not taste death for ever» (viii. 51). If therefore the discourses of the fourth Gospel contain a theology in some points peculiar to it and exclusively Johannean, the object of such an embodiment is not extensive.

¹ Jn. v; Mk. ii. 23—28; iii. 1—6; Lk. vi. 1—11.

² See nos. 115—134.

³ See no. 496, the doctrinal synthesis.

⁴ No. 120.

2) «The very elevation of the ideas presented ought to be an additional guarantee of their authenticity. The history bears uniform witness to the distance which divided the disciples from the Master, to their slowness to apprehend His teaching or to enter into His representations of the future. It would be difficult to attribute to any one of them conceptions so pure as those by which the fourth Gospel is distinguished. Assuredly, were the writer Hellenist, philosopher, or Galilean fisherman, if this eschatology, so completely free from Judaism, if this spiritual conception of miracles, this depth of religious feeling were his own creation, and did not come to him from the lips of Jesus, then the disciple is greater than the Master.»¹ To convince oneself of this, one must only compare the discourses of the fourth Gospel with the Epistles of St. John and the Apocalypse.

123. 3. General Explanation of the Resemblances and the Divergences of the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel.

The resemblances are easily explained by the fact that all our Gospels have the same historical basis. As regards the differences in subject matter and form, we have already shown that they are emphasized too much and unduly exaggerated. They find their explanation, according to the opinion of Catholic critics, in the *object* which St. John had in writing his work, namely, to complete the Synoptic accounts (no. III), as also in the necessity of keeping only those arguments which would best serve as proof of *the divinity of Christ*, as well as in *the difference of persons and locality*. «The audience to which Jesus addresses His words, is not the same, and hence the difference in tone and language»²; for language as a rule generally changes as the milieu and the audience are changed. All these observations cannot be set aside too readily; for they are of value. But in order to make the traditional solution more probable, it must be added that in the fourth Gospel we have *different aspects of the physiognomy of Jesus*, and that St. John reproduces the higher and more exalted side of His life.

The physiognomy of a man is not as stable and as immovable as that of a statue. One and the same person can, in turn, be grave, cheerful, imperious, irritable; one and the same man can possess various good qualities which almost oppose each other. Thus he can be haughty yet generous, firm yet patient, exalted in thought and yet simple in heart, and each one of these dispositions can be revealed in successive moments both in his outward appearance and in the words he speaks.

On the other hand, all men are not struck by the same things, nor will all carry away the same recollection of events and discourses.

¹ *Reuss*, History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age II, 362.

² *Fillion*, *Introd. générale* 62.

Jesus Christ is one: He is the sun of justice, He is perfection itself, and He is the complex realization of a divine and a human life. But the Evangelists differ among themselves in their power to grasp this personality. They are as it were mirrors different in make and different in size. As such, each one cannot reflect the divine image in the same manner, but only according to his individual dispositions and capabilities.

St. John possessed a spirit to grasp the personality of Jesus and reflect it in a brilliant light. It is natural that he should represent Christ with a specially bright aureole and in a very divine aspect. St. John lived a life that was wholly interior, entirely contemplative. He possessed an affectionate disposition and a pure heart, and consequently he was endowed with true nobility of soul. His virginal purity and his love made it easier for him to grasp the meaning of Christ's discourses, aye even, to understand them in their hidden and mysterious sense.

The differences which exist between the Synoptics and the fourth Gospel are easily explained by a supposition which it is unfair to say is wholly gratuitous. The Epistles as a matter of fact embody a double teaching for the souls of Christians: the one rather elementary which was designed for all, and the other higher and more complete which was reserved for more perfect souls. Thus St. Paul writes to the Corinthians: «And I, brethren, could not speak to you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto little ones in Christ. I gave you milk to drink, not meat; for you were not able as yet. But neither indeed are you now able; for you are yet carnal.»¹

From the foregoing it seems probable that the Synoptics reproduced the simple and popular catechesis. We can easily suppose that at Ephesus, at the end of the 1. century, there were some perfect souls which were capable of receiving a higher teaching than was usually accorded those just converted. And we can suppose likewise that it was for these that St. John would want to expose the higher and the more exalted side of the life and doctrine of his Master.

4. Explanation, in regard to the Discourses, proposed by Catholics of the Progressive School.

124. 1. EXPOSITION. There are several Catholic scholars who maintain that, if the facts of the fourth Gospel are historical, the discourses cannot make the same claim, and are not really the literal reproduction of the words of the Saviour. According to them the fourth Gospel is «a work apart. It reflects the Apostolic' tradition which has been kept alive orally, interpreted and developed by theological teaching.

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2; see Hebr. v. 12.

It is the product of long meditations and of profound speculation, and the evangelical history is only seen through the developments of dogma»¹. Our Lord had promised His disciples that, after His death, He would send the Holy Ghost, who would instruct them in all truth, teach them all things, and recall for them all that He had taught them². Now «there is a striking difference between the Synoptics and St. John; for the Synoptics represent the teaching of Jesus as given in the form of parables, while St. John gives no parable and scarcely any figures at all. With John the time has come when Jesus no longer wished to employ proverbs, but intended to speak openly, xvi. 25, 29. Although the expressions given to the thought of Jesus by John are the translation of proverbs into clear and unmistakable language, yet John interprets and paraphrases the thought of his Master, as for example iii. 11—21.

2. CRITICISM. This solution really accounts for the difference in form that exists between the Synoptics and the fourth Gospel, at least as far as the discourses are concerned. These scholars readily grant the inspiration of the fourth Gospel and believe that they leave its inerrant character intact. They claim that it was under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, that St. John paraphrased and interpreted the discourses of Jesus, and hence he reproduced His doctrine without error, although he did embody it in a different form.

As a matter of fact, if this theory be applied too freely to the discourses of the fourth Gospel, it would be difficult to maintain the sincerity of St. John, and as a natural consequence the inerrancy of the Holy Scriptures. St. John gives it to be understood that he intends to reproduce the discourses of Jesus and nowhere gives a hint that, what he is aiming at, is merely to give an interpretation of his Master's words, or even a paraphrase. The formula: «Jesus answered and said to the Jews» (v. 19; vi. 32, 35, 43, 54; vii. 16, etc.) or one similar to this is found frequently in his writings, and if taken in its natural and ordinary meaning indicates that what follow are the real words of Jesus. But a paraphrase and an interpretation, although infallibly true, cannot be properly and rightly called a discourse of Jesus.

II. THE SO-CALLED «CRITICAL» SOLUTION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

125. I. Exposition. The so-called «critical» explanation exists at the present time under two forms.

FIRST FORM. A number of Rationalistic critics and liberal Protestants argue that the fourth Gospel in its make up is but a *philo-*

¹ Calmes, Comment se sont formés les Évangiles? 49.

² Jn. xvi. 12—15; xiv. 25, 26, 15—21; xv. 26, 27.

sophical fiction, possessing a religious tendency, which dates from the third Christian generation. As a source for the history of Christ, the real Christ, it has no value, yet it is precious in this that it affords us the type of the representation made of Christ, a little after the year 100, by the greatest thinker of contemporary Christianity¹. According to Loisy, «the life drawn from the contents of the book is that of the Christian faith, towards the end of the 1. Christian century. The narratives of John are not historical, but they are a *mystic contemplation of the Gospel*; its discourses are theological meditations upon the mystery of salvation.... The author has conceived Christ as a temporal manifestation of the divine Being, and his book is an expression of this conception. Just as the Christ of John is the Incarnate Word, so the Gospel of John is an incarnation, a figurative representation of the mystery of salvation which was accomplished and is continued by the Word-Christ. Discourses and narratives all contribute to this revelation of the Saviour, the narratives being the signs that express the spiritual realities, the discourses being an explanation of these signs and their deep meaning.... The Evangelist seems to have had an utter indifference in regard to history; not only does he take from tradition whatever suits his purpose, but he even corrects this tradition and completes it without the least scruple»².

SECOND FORM. There are other Rationalists and Protestants who maintain that the discourses of the fourth Gospel are entirely unhistorical and unreliable, and claim that the facts, at least those that do not contain anything of the supernatural, are the outcome of the Johannean tradition. They are Renan, Sabatier, Stapfer, Bern, Weiss, Schmiedel, etc.

126. II. Refutation. The observations that have been made already are a sufficient refutation of the second form of the Rationalistic explanation. The author of the Gospel was an Apostle and as such was in a position to be well-informed in regard to Christ's life and even in regard to His discourses. Besides, as we have said, the differences in the subject matter and in the form of the Synoptics and the Gospel of St. John can be easily reconciled. But to this we must add the following remarks as a refutation of the so-called «critical view» of the allegories or symbolism embodied in the fourth Gospel.

I. THE EXISTENCE OF A MYSTICAL SENSE IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL. It is very probable that from several facts, in the fourth Gospel as in the Synoptics (see nos. 363 f.), a signification results which is mystical or figurative, but, at the same time, difficult to determine,

¹ *Fülicher*, N. T. Introduction 376—385.

² *Loisy*, Autour d'un petit livre 85—108, especially 93, 95, 96; *Le Quatrième Évangile* 55, 56, 76, 77—80, 93, 129. A similar theory is held by *Strauss*, *Baur*, *Keim*, *J. H. Holtzmann*, *A. Réville*, *J. Réville*, *Harnack* and *Guignebert*.

because the author himself has seldom indicated these applications. The remark of the Evangelist: «autem erat nox», at the time that Judas left the Cenacle to betray his Master, naturally suggests some relation between material darkness and the blindness of the traitor, xiii. 30; according to our Lord's own interpretation, the anointing by Mary at Bethany is a figure of anointing at His death, xii. 7; Thomas is the type of all the unbelieving, and his conduct must not be followed, for «Blessed are they who see not and yet believe», xx. 29¹.

2. THE EXTENT OF THIS MYSTICAL SENSE. We cannot admit the existence of symbolic teaching, as explained above, in every part of the fourth Gospel. «The difference between the Law and the Gospel typified in the water and wine at Cana, is indicated in a similar manner in the discourse on the bread of life, by the comparison of the manna with the vivifying Christ.... The new birth by the water and the Spirit, the feeding of the faithful by the spiritual food and the blood of Christ are prefigured by the circumstances of the death of Jesus, the spirit which is given up, the blood and water which gush from His side.... The history of the Samaritan woman is but a frame to hold the symbols of the life-giving water, of the worship in spirit, of the true food of Christ and of the harvest of the Gospel; the conversion of the Samaritans, the intervention of the Greeks, xii. 20—24, signify the universal propagation of the Gospel, announced by the worship in spirit.»² «The casting of the lots upon the garments of Jesus is recorded for the sake of the prophecy (Jn. xix. 24; Ps. xxii. 19), while unity is typified by the robe without seam, and the universality of the Church by its division into four parts. The recommendation of His mother to His disciple, and of the disciple to His mother by Jesus, is only another symbol of ecclesiastical unity founded upon the reunion of believers, both Jews and Gentiles.»³

All these comparisons are rather forced; they are not founded upon weighty reasons, and do not produce conviction, even if it were admitted that the facts alleged in support of this symbolism were really historical. As a matter of fact, «the allegorist is always careful to draw the attention of his reader to the figures and symbols he wishes to portray», and this is by no means the case in the fourth Gospel. It has been said, but not proven that the early disciples «knew the method of the author and hence there was no need to explain to them those things which for us are obscure»⁴.

Moreover it cannot be shown that the work was written for minds that were prepared to receive it, that is for a circle of those initiated⁵;

¹ For other examples see *Calmes*, Évangile selon St. Jean 65—79.

² *Loisy*, Le Quatrième Évangile 78—93.

³ *Loisy*, Autour d'un petit livre 102, 94—108.

⁴ *Loisy*, Le Quatrième Évangile 87. ⁵ *Ib.* 95.

for this supposition, which has been manufactured for the sole reason of proving that there is symbolism in the fourth Gospel, has no foundation in the tradition of the early Church. At its very basis the whole system rests upon arguments that are more subjective than objective, and in questions of this kind, subjective reasons are most apt to deceive.

3. THE MYSTICAL SENSE AND HISTORY. Even if we suppose that symbolism understood in the orthodox meaning as above explained, extends to the whole Gospel, yet it would not follow that the author has invented the facts and discourses, or that he has transposed, or, in other words that he has altered, the Synoptic tradition; for the historian who composes an apologetical or dogmatic treatise, can make use of history in the exposition of his thought, without thereby sacrificing it. This is just what St. John has done in order to show the divine glory of Jesus (iii. iv. v. vi. viii. ix). We further remark that his thesis could have no solid foundation unless it rested upon facts and discourses that are historical.

127. 4. THE CHARACTER OF THE NARRATIVES. a) The symbolism which would change the history of the fourth Gospel proceeds from the influence which the Logos-doctrine — the doctrine primarily intended to be set out, it is said, by the fourth Gospel — exercised on the author. This is the assertion of the Rationalists, but there is a mass of features which are totally foreign to, and even opposed to this intention. Thus: «Our Lord called two disciples; they went with Him, it was about the tenth hour, i. 37, 38. Our Lord went down to Capharnaum, ii. 12, and the author tells us nothing of His sojourn here. Our Lord speaks in the *gazophylacium* or the treasury of the Temple, viii. 20. The feast of the Dedication took place at Jerusalem and it was winter; Jesus went and walked in the porch of Solomon, x. 22, 23.... The servant, whose ear Peter cut off, is called Malchus, xviii. 10¹.... Jesus is wearied, He is thirsty, iv. 6, 7; He weeps over Lazarus, xi. 35.» It is only an exegesis as subtile as it is improbable that could find in these details a symbolic meaning in relation with the theory of the Logos.

b) Every one recognizes the fact that the details of the fourth Gospel are exact, accurate, and often of «a wonderful freshness». The customs of the Jews, the circumstances of time, of place, of persons, of number, all are minutely given². The author in order to anticipate any misunderstanding incidentally supplies explanations of terms that are obscure. Thus: «John was not yet cast into prison³;

¹ See also i. 19, 28, 29, 35, 38, 39, 43; ii. 1, 6, 12, 13.

² Nos. 102, 103.

³ Jn. iii. 24; ii. 21, 24; vi. 72; vii. 39; viii. 6, 27; x. 6; xi. 13, 51; xii. 6, 16, 33, 41; xiii. 11, 28; xix. 36, 37; xx. 9, 31; xxi. 14, 19.

he refers to what has already been said: when Jesus was come into Galilee; this was the second miracle of Jesus in Galilee¹. The narratives are dramatic in action, full of truth and movement. All that the author relates is put feelingly and in a life-like manner. It seems as if one were really taking part in the scenes that he records; for all his actors seem to be before us performing their parts². He makes his characters speak, as St. Mark does³, and puts them clearly before us with a single touch⁴. It is in this wise that a real history is written.

c) There can be no doubt of the fact that in a narrative which is partially or even wholly fictitious, there may be numerous and minute details, which in themselves are true. It might be said that in this case the author would have no other pre-occupation than to give his narrative local colour, and to use literary tricks and methods of narration tending to facilitate and to animate his pet thesis. Loisy has accused St. John of all this, and besides he claims that he has given to his narratives the appearance of facts that were actually seen⁵. Granting that all these indications are found in the fourth Gospel — and they are — it is manifestly unfair to twist them from the ordinary and natural meaning, and it would make the work consist wholly of a symbolism which would quite exclude all historicity. Hence, not only are the opponents of the historical character of the fourth Gospel lacking in proof for their denial, but their theory is refuted by positive counterproofs.

5. OBJECTIONS TO THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL'S DISCOURSES. a) The discourses are written in the style of the Evangelist. — This is true in a great measure. But why should this circumstance surprise us? In all probability they are a translation from the Aramaic made by John himself. Besides, if he reproduced the substance of the Saviour's words, they would necessarily be coloured by his style and manner of expression.

b) The ideas of the fourth Gospel are identical with those of the first Epistle of St. John. — This is not all together true; for we do not find in the Gospel the doctrine of the expiatory value of the death of Jesus, nor of the coming of the Antichrist⁶. All that can be concluded from this objection, is that «the Apostle was strongly imbued with the ideas of his Master, and repeats them in loving affection. His Epistle is in fact a tissue of sentences which had origin either in the preaching of the Lord or in His conferences with His disciples. But what a difference there is between the dragging exposition of the Epistle, the indefinite repetition of the same

¹ iv. 45 and ii. 23; iv. 54 and ii. 11; v. 33 and i. 19; vi. 36 and vi. 26, 30; vii. 23 and v. 9; vii. 50 and ii. 1; x. 40 and i. 28, etc.

² iv. ix. . . .

³ Jn. iv. 7; vii. 40, 41; viii. 22; ix. 3; xiii. 24; xxi. 20. We find only one passage where St. John makes use of the *indirect* style: iv. 52.

⁴ See St. Peter: vi. 69; xiii. 6—9; St. Thomas: xi. 16; xx, 28; Caiphas: xi. 49, 50, etc.

⁵ *Loisy*, Le Quatrième Évangile 85—87; Autour d'un petit livre 103.

⁶ 1 Jn. i. 7; ii. 2; iv. 10; ii. 18, 22.

ideas which are seen here, and the nervous and rapid exposition of the fourth Gospel, the wealth of the teaching that it embodies»!¹

c) St. John attributes to our Lord his own personal teaching. — It would be better to say that St. John has assimilated the doctrines of Jesus and made them his own. There is no one that is in a position to know what was the personal doctrine of St. John. An examination of the discourses of the fourth Gospel proves rather that the author does not attribute to our Lord his own personal theology. This we know from his prologue. Here the Evangelist calls the Word Incarnate, *Λόγος*, and he tells us that the Word is the Creator, the light that enlightens every man that comes into the world. Now, our Lord never once applied these terms to Himself in the sense that St. John takes them here. Upon His lips *λόγος* always means *word* or *teaching*².

d) The structure of the discourses of our Lord as placed in St. John's Gospel is everywhere clearly the same, and the hearers are always supposed to be intelligent. The conversation of our Lord with Nicodemus is, from this point of view, most significant³. Our Lord first lays down a proposition, iii. 3; the sole listener does not understand it, and he asks for an explanation, 4; this is given, 5—8; it is not grasped better, 9, and this necessitates new developments, 10 ff. Now such an arrangement as this is artificial. Jesus who must have possessed a varied style of eloquence, would not be so lacking in skill as to cast all His discourses in the same mould, nor would He have always addressed Himself to educated people. — In answer to this, we say that here again we distinguish the literary activity of the Evangelist who reproduced the ideas and not the words and the order of the discourses of Jesus. In the Synoptics, as in St. John, the hearers who ordinarily were the Apostles, occupied as they were with worldly thoughts, did not always understand the exalted doctrine of Jesus⁴. Their failing to understand is much more probable in the Gospel of John, since this Evangelist reproduces primarily the dogmatic teaching of Jesus, which for them was necessarily more obscure. Besides, the interruptions that the crowd made to Christ's speeches reflect the pre-occupations of the Jews of that period. Thus: «We are the seed of Abraham and we have never been slaves to any man», viii. 33; «Art thou greater than our father Abraham?» viii. 53⁵.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

128. Besides the works quoted or referred to in the text of this chapter, see *Sanday*, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*; *Wernle*, *The Beginnings of Christianity*; *Drummond*, *The Character and the Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*; *Oscar Holtzmann*, *Life of Christ*; *Moffat*, *Historical N. T.*; *Fisher*, *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*; *Calmes*, *Évangile selon St. Jean*; *Jacquier*, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.* vol. IV; *Lépin*, *La valeur historique de l'Évangile de St. Jean et son témoignage sur Jésus*.

¹ *Jacquier*, *Histoire* IV, 233.

² v. 24; viii. 31, 37, 43, 51, 52; xiv. 23, 24; xv. 3, 20.

³ These particularities are found again in the other discourses: iv; vi. 28, 31, 34, 52. . .

⁴ Lk. xxiv. 25; Mk. viii. 16—18.

⁵ See also vii. 27, 41, 42; vi. 42.

PART II.

JESUS IN THE GOSPELS.

THE OBJECT AND DIVISION OF THIS SECOND PART.

129. Having demonstrated the historical value of the Gospels, we will now study, with the assistance they afford, the history and doctrine of Jesus. This study is divided into three sections:

1. *Christ in his Hidden, Public, Suffering, and Glorious Life.*
2. *The Supernatural Works of Christ.*
3. *Christ and His Teaching.*

But before we can begin the study of the life of Christ, it is necessary first of all to have a clear idea in regard to the *topography* of Palestine in the time of Christ, and to fix a *chronology* for His life; for, as has been well said, geography and chronology are the two eyes of history.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

ART. I.

PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

I. THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE GOSPELS¹.

130. General Divisions of Palestine in the Time of Christ².

The river Jordan, which flows from Mt. Hermon to the Dead Sea, crossing in the middle of its course the beautiful lake of Tiberias, divides Palestine from north to south into two unequal parts, the larger lying on the west side of the river and extending to the Mediterranean Sea. In the time of Christ, Palestine was composed of four provinces, namely: the Transjordanic Country which lay to the east of the Jordan, with Galilee, Samaria, and Judea to the west.

The Transjordanic Country (trans Iordanem) embraced the country east of the Jordan, as far as the Desert of Arabia, between Cæsarea Philippi on the north and the Dead Sea on the south. It

¹ See map at the end of the book.

² See the maps at the end of this volume. Cf. also *E. Stauffer*, *Palestine in the Time of Christ* (Engl. Transl.).

was largely inhabited by Gentiles and was called Perea, though this name was a more common designation for its southern portion.

On its northern side it included the five districts of: *Gaulanitis*, of which *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Julias* (Bethsaida), and *Gamala* were the principal cities, *Ituræa*, *Trachonitis*, *Bataneæ*, and *Auranitis*, which occupied the Hauran proper. *Abilene*, with its capital *Abila*, lay to the north of these districts¹.

Perea Proper (πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, «from beyond the Jordan», Mt. iv. 25) «extends in length from Macherus to Pella, and its breadth is from Philadelphia or Rabbath-Ammon to the Jordan»². Its principal cities were Gerasa, Philadelphia, and Pella.



Fig. 7. Lake of Gennesaret with the Ruins of Tiberias. (Phot. Bonfils.)

Galilee³. Galilee (גליל הַגִּלְיָה, «circle», «district of the Gentiles») received its name from the great number of Gentiles that lived there. In the time of the 1. century, it was noted for its great fertility and dense population⁴. The Galileans were a religious, hardy race, mercenary, brave in war, and more broad-minded and less bigoted than the Jews, which was largely due to their contact with neighbouring peoples.

In Galilee were the cities of Naim, Nazareth, Cana, Tiberias (situated on the lake of that name, and rebuilt by Herod Antipas in honour of Tiberius), Magdala (the city of Mary Magdalen), Capharnaum, Bethsaida, Corozain, and Mount Tabor. The Lake of Gennesaret (Fig. 7), also known as the Sea of Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee⁵,

¹ Lk. iii. 1.

² Jos., J. W. III, iii.

³ Ib.

⁴ Ib. III, iii, 2.

⁵ Jn. vi. 1.

formed an almost perfect oval, 13 miles long and nearly 7 miles wide at its widest part. Aside from its natural beauty, it was, in the 1. century as now, famed for its almost inexhaustible supply of fish, a fact which explains the numerous allusions of the N. T. to the boats and ships on its waters. Ordinarily the waters are calm, but the lake is subject to sudden and violent storms.

To the north-west of Galilee lay the province of Phenicia, with the two great maritime cities of antiquity, Tyre and Sidon.

131. Samaria. Samaria, situated between Judea and Galilee, takes its name from its capital, the city of Samaria, which was built by Omri, king of Israel¹. The principal localities were Sichem, Sichar, the well of Jacob, Mount Ebal and Mount Garizim. It was largely peopled by foreigners who emigrated there from Assyria, seven hundred years before the time of our Lord². The relations of its inhabitants and the Jews were marked with the strongest feelings of animosity and hatred.

When the city of Samaria was sacked, and the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Israel were carried in large numbers into Assyria, Sargon took people from Cutha, Avvah and Emath, to colonize the deserted land³. But in settling in Palestine, these strangers soon joined the belief and worship of the few Israelites, who had been left in the province, to the idolatrous superstitions which they had brought with them. Thus, in the Books of Kings, we find them sending for, and receiving one of the priests, who had been taken captive, so that he might teach them «the ordinances of the God of the land»⁴. It was in this wise that the religion of the Samaritans had its origin⁵. The Messianic hope which was current among the old inhabitants, perpetuated and strengthened itself among the new, because of the reading of the Pentateuch, which became the religious code⁶, and because of the ceremonies practised in their worship. This common bond, however, was incapable of effecting a union between them and the Jews. On their return from Babylon, the latter continued to look upon the Samaritans as the Cutheans⁷ and not as the children of Abraham. They regarded them as unbelievers who unjustly retained the land given to their fathers, and they refused to let them have a share in the reconstruction of the Temple⁸. On their side, the Samaritans began to treat the Jews as enemies and rivals⁹. About the year 332 B. C., in the time of Alexander the Great, a priest named Manasses, having married the daughter of the governor of Samaria, was expelled from Jerusalem and, settling among the Samaritans, he increased anew the resentment against his fellow-countrymen. The Temple on Mt. Garizim was then built, and a new worship was inaugurated. This edifice met with varying fortunes. It was profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes and consecrated to Jupiter in 164 B. C. Thirty years later, John Hyrcan razed it to the ground, and replaced it by a simple altar. Finally, Herod, in dedicating Samaria to Augustus Cæsar under the name of Sebaste, built him a Temple on the same summit¹⁰. All these facts explain the reason for the mutual hatred of the two

¹ 3 Kings xvi. 24. ² Cf. *A. Montgomery*, *The Samaritans*, Philad. 1907.

³ 4 Kings xvii. 6, 24. Cf. also *Jos.*, J. A. IX, xiv; XI, iv, vii, 2; viii, 2; xii, 1.

⁴ 4 Kings xvii. 26—34. ⁵ 4 Kings xvii. 9, 31.

⁶ Gen. xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 18; xxviii. 14; Deut. xviii. 15, 19; vi. 12.

⁷ *Jos.*, J. A. IX, xiv, 3; XI, iv, 4; XIII, ix, 1.

⁸ 1 Esdr. iv. 1—4. ⁹ 2 Esdr. vi. 1—4.

¹⁰ *Jos.*, J. A. XIII, ix, 1; x, 3; XVIII, ii, 2.

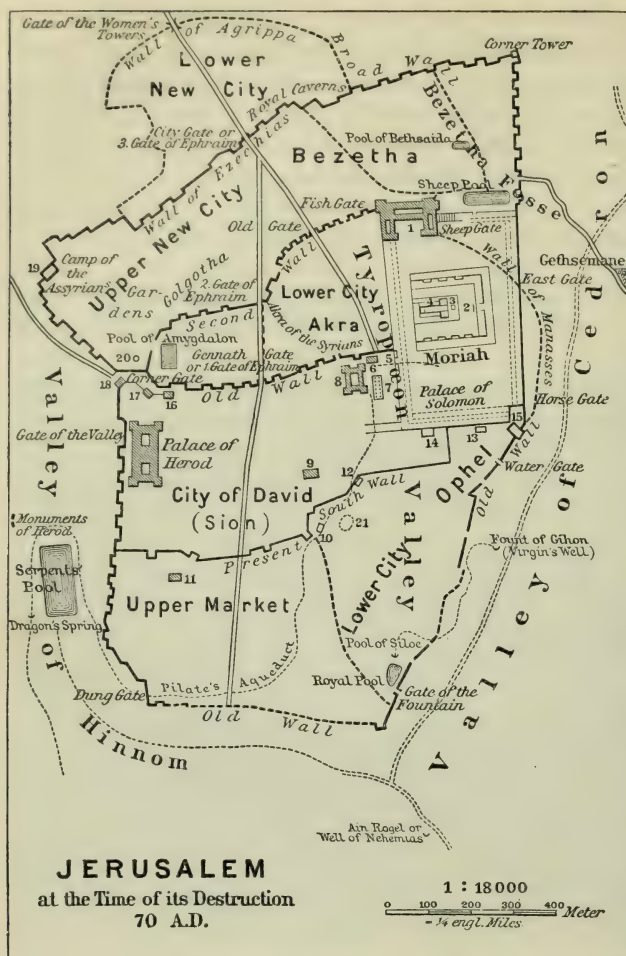


Fig. 8.

1 Antonia. 2 Court of the Women. 3 Altar of Holocausts. 4 Temple. 5 Tyropeon Bridge. 6 Council Chamber. 7 Xystus (Gymnasium). 8 Palace of the Asmoneans. 9 House of David. 10 David's Tomb. 11 House of Caiphas. 12 Tower of Heroes. 13 House of Eliasib. 14 Armoury. 15 The Projecting Tower. 16 Mariamne Tower. 17 Phasael Tower. 18 Hippicus Tower. 19 Psephinus Tower. 20 Tomb of the High Priest John. 21 Cistern.

¹ Lk. ix. 53; Jn. iv. 9; viii. 48.

² At the beginning of the 20. century, the Samaritans number about 100. They jealously guard an old MS. of the Pentateuch which they claim was written by the hand of Eleazar, the son of Aaron. Cf. *Lightfoot*, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* II, 612 f. Also *Schürer*, *The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ* (Engl. transl.).

³ Montes in circuitu eius et Dominus in circuitu populi sui. Ps. cxxiv. 2; lxxiii. 2; lxxxvi. 1, 2.

⁴ The city rises to a height of 2460 feet above the sea level. For a description of Jerusalem see the article in HDB., by C. R. Gonder, II, 584.

nations¹. They also explain the words of our divine Master to the Samaritan woman: *Adoratis quod nescitis*, i. e. your worship is sinful at its base, and error is its principle (Jn. iv. 22)².

Judea. This word may be taken in a two-fold sense, as meaning either all the land of Palestine, or one of the provinces of Palestine. Understood in the latter sense, Judea was a country peopled almost exclusively by the Jews. Jerusalem, its capital (Fig. 8), was built upon rising ground³, and formed, as it were, the central and culminating part of the whole region⁴. Its population numbered 200,000 souls,

religious to a degree, and the only adorers of the one and true God, in the midst of a world wholly polytheistic¹. It possessed a hundred synagogues (see no. 138), with a legion of priests, levites and doctors of the Law. Each year, on the occasion of the more solemn feasts, the Temple, the chief place of worship, drew an immense crowd of visitors, from all parts of the globe². Living under the shadow of the Temple, its inhabitants engaged very little in commercial industries, and were mostly interested in questions of a political nature, an interest which is explained by their relation with the Law and things pertaining to the divine worship.

In Judea, Mount Olivet is the most famed place, it is situated about a mile from Jerusalem (*sabbati habens iter*). Besides this, there is Bethany, about three miles to the east; also Bethlehem, Hebron, Youttah, Carem, the oasis of Engaddi, Jericho, the Desert of Quarantania, Arimathea, Cæsarea of Palestine, Lydda, and Joppe, the port of Jerusalem³.

II. POLITICAL SITUATION OF PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

132. Palestine under Herod the Great. At the time of the birth of our Lord, Palestine was governed by Herod the Great, an Idumean prince. The prophecy of Jacob had been fulfilled in him; for Juda had been deprived of its sceptre. Not only had the family of David ceased to be the reigning house, but the Jews had even lost their independence, and the sovereign power was invested in a stranger.

After the death of Alexander the Great, Palestine was under the domination of the Ptolemies or the Seleucidæ, until the time when the Maccabees wrested it from them and once more gained independence for the Jews. But in the year 63 B. C., when the two Asmonean princes and brothers, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus II., were engaged in a battle for supremacy, Pompey took possession of Jerusalem, incorporated Palestine into the Roman province of Syria, and left Hyrcanus as nominal head, with the title of high priest and ethnarch, that is, ruler of the people. Hyrcan continued to reign, but was swayed by Antipater, his favourite, and in reality his master⁴.

In the year 39 B. C., Antigonus, a descendant of the Asmonean princes, and son of Aristobulus, took possession of Jerusalem, with the aid of the Parthians. Herod, the son of Antipater, hurried to Rome to report the turn of affairs to Antony, whose protégé he was. Owing to the latter's influence the Roman Senate declared Herod king of the Jews. He marched at the head of an army and soon conquered Galilee, and in 37 B. C., after a six months' siege, he captured Jerusalem. Then began his long

¹ Cf. Ps. xlvii. 2, 3, 9; xcvi. 2; cxxxi. 13; Mt. iv. 5.

² Jos., J. W. VI, ix, 3; II, xiv, 3.

³ Acts ix. 36, 43; 2 Par. ii. 16; 1 Esdr. iii. 7.

⁴ For a more complete history of this period see *Gigot*, Outlines of Jewish History 354 f.; *Schürer* l. c. 302—670; Jos., J. A. XV, XVI, XVII.

reign, which, in comparison with those of his predecessors, was so effective, as to merit for him the name of Herod the Great. By the grace of the all-powerful Augustus, whose friendship he had won by flattery and treachery, he remained upon the throne for 37 years until the year 4 B. C.¹ Owing to the power of his protectors, and his own unscrupulous policy, Herod rid himself of the last of the descendants of the Asmonean kings, and succeeded in solidly establishing his dominion².

As a monarch, Herod was a cruel tyrant, and was universally hated by his subjects. A host of victims, among whom were numbered members of his own immediate family³, fell before his cruelty and suspicion. Even when death stared him in the face, he left orders that his eldest son should be put to death⁴.

133. Palestine after Herod the Great. By his will, Herod left his kingdom to his three sons. Judea, Samaria and Idumea he gave to Archelaus; Perea Proper and Galilee to Antipas; and Trachonitis, Ituræa, Batanæa, Gaulanitis and Auranitis to Philip⁵. This will, however, had to be submitted to Augustus for ratification, which after a time was accorded it.

ARCHELAUS. Archelaus was the son of Herod and Malthace. By the confirmation of Augustus he did not receive the title of king, but had to be contented with the title of ethnarch⁶. His tyranny and cruelty provoked his subjects to appeal to the Emperor, and in 6 A. D. he was banished to Vienne in Gaul⁷. His territories were incorporated into the Roman province of Syria, and began to be governed by *procurators*⁸, who were under the legates or proprætors of Syria. This is the title given by Tacitus to Pontius Pilate, who was at the head of Judea for ten years (26—36 A. D.)⁹.

In the year 39 A. D., Herod Agrippa I., the grandson of Herod the Great, and son of Aristobulus, recovered the government of Judea, with the title of king, by the favour of the emperors Caligula and Claudius. The latter at his accession bestowed upon him the provinces of Judea and Samaria, so that under his rule were once more united all the territories ruled by his grand-father¹⁰. But his dominion ceased at his death, which occurred in 44 A. D., and the kingdom of Judea was finally annexed to the imperial province of Syria. His son Herod Agrippa II. inherited his title, but did not succeed to his power¹¹.

HEROD ANTIPAS. Like Archelaus, Herod Antipas was the son of Herod, by the Samaritan Malthace¹². He ruled Perea and Galilee,

¹ Herod left no stone unturned to curry favour with the ruling powers; see nos. 144, 145.

² *Jos.*, J. A. XV, i, 2; iii, 3—4.

³ *Ib.* XVI, xi, 6, 7.

⁴ *Ib.* XVII, vii.

⁵ *Ib.* XVII, viii, i.

⁶ Mt. ii, 22; *Jos.*, J. A. XVII, xi, 4.

⁷ *Jos.*, J. W. II, vii, 3.

⁸ *Dion.*, H. R. LV, 27.

⁹ *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, iii, 1, 2.

¹⁰ Acts xii, 1; *Jos.*, J. W. II, xi, 5; J. A. XIX, v, 1.

¹¹ Acts xxv, 13; *Jos.*, J. A. XX, v, 2; vii, 1; viii, 4.

¹² J. A. XVII, i, 3.

under the title of tetrarch, from 4 B. C. to 39 A. D.¹ St. Mark refers to him as king, but he employs the word in its popular sense and not in its real signification². Antipas took up his residence in the city of Tiberias which he built on the sea of that name. As a Jew, he betook himself annually to the Holy City at the celebration of the Pasch, and then he abode in the old palace of the Asmoneans, on the east side of the city, near the Temple. It was in this palace that, in later times under the procurator Florus, Agrippa and Berenice lived³. The palace of Herod the Great was reserved for the Roman procurators (no. 295).

Antipas was a sensual, cunning, ambitious and unscrupulous prince. Our Saviour calls him a fox⁴. After putting away his lawful wife, he married Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip, who was then living in Rome as a private citizen. This is the incestuous union against which the Precursor boldly preached, and which in the end cost him his life⁵.

It was before him that our Lord appeared at the time of his Passion (no. 298). It was Antipas whose foster-brother was Manahen⁶. The steward of Antipas was Chusa whose wife was Joanna who ministered to our Saviour with her substance⁷.

In the second year of the reign of Caligula, he was banished to Lyons in Gaul. His death took place in Spain⁸.

HEROD PHILIP THE TETRARCH⁹. Unlike the other princes of his family, he was gentle, just, and peaceful. He died in the year 34, after a rule of 37 years, without issue, and his states were annexed to the Roman province of Syria¹⁰.

*Lysanias the Tetrarch*¹¹. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, when John the Baptist began his preaching, Lysanias was, on the authority of St. Luke¹², tetrarch of Abilene. The existence of this prince is denied by a certain number of critics, as Strauss, Renan, Gfrörer, B. Baur, Hilgenfeld, Keim, and Holtzmann. They accuse St. Luke of historical inaccuracy, in confusing Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene, with a prince of Chalcis, who bore the same name, and who was put to death by Mark Antony in 36 B. C., nearly sixty years before the Baptist appeared¹³. But

¹ Lk. iii. 1, 19; Mt. xiv. 1.

² Mk. vi. 14.

³ Jos., J. W. II, xv, 1; xvi, 3.

⁴ Lk. xiii. 32.

⁵ Mk. vi. 17—29.

⁶ Acts xiii. 1.

⁷ Lk. viii. 3.

⁸ Jos., J. A. XVIII, vii, 1, 2; J. W. II, ix. 6.

⁹ A ruler of the fourth part of a country, of a subordinate rank, under kings and ethnarchs.

¹⁰ Jos., J. A. XVIII, iv, 6.

¹¹ For details see HDB. iii. 178, art. Lysanias, by C. H. Prichard; Rawlinson, Bampton Lectures for 1859; Andrews, The Life of Our Lord 137; S. Davidson, Introduction to the N. T. I¹, 214—220; Plummer, Commentary on St. Luke 84; Wieseler, Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien 196—204; Schürer, The Jewish People I, ii, 335—339, and the literature referred to.

¹² Lk. iii. 1, 8.

¹³ Jos., J. W. I, xiii, 1.

the accuracy of the Evangelist has been verified by old inscriptions. A medal found by Pococke in 1737, among the ruins of Abila, dating from the years 14—29 A. D., alludes to a Lysanias, as tetrarch. The medal is dedicated to Tiberius and Livius by a freedman of Lysanias, named Nymphæus¹.

III. THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

A. THE SECTS².

134. The Jewish people were divided into two principal parties, the Pharisees and the Sadducees, to which latter are joined the Essenes. Their origin dates back to several centuries before Christ³, but we shall study them from the point of view of the Gospel narrative, as they appeared in the 1. century of our era.

1. THE PHARISEES (פְּרִישִׁים, «separates»)⁴.

a) *Their Doctrine.* The writings of Josephus, whose assertions on many points are obscure or inaccurate⁵, a few Jewish apocryphals, the Targums, and the Talmud furnish us with the most information on this point. Space does not allow here to go into details. We shall confine ourselves to their teaching in regard to the kingdom of God, the future life, and the Law. Their Messianic hopes and expectations will be considered later.

The Pharisees expected the advent of the *kingdom of God*, as announced by the O. T. This universal and eternal kingdom would not be a new institution, but an acknowledgment of the eternal right of God, by the world. The Messianic era was to be a kind of development of the kingdom of God, by the double exercise of His mercy in favour of Israel, and of His justice towards the Gentiles. This kingdom of God would be carried on more fully through the medium of the kingdom of the Messias.

Before the coming of Jesus Christ, Pharisaism was mostly interested in the question of the *state of man* after death. It believed in the immortality of the soul, in merit and demerit, with the necessary

¹ For the social conditions in the Holy Land, in the time of Christ, see *Seidel*, In the Time of Jesus 79—86; *Schürer* l. c. I, ii, 10 f.; *Jos.*, J. A. XVII, XVIII; *Edersheim*, Sketches of Jewish Social Life.

² *Jos.*, J. A. XIII, v, 9; x, 5, 6; XVIII, i, 1—4; XVII, ii, 4; J. W. II, viii, 14.

³ See *Gigot*, Outlines of Jewish History 351 f.

⁴ See *Edersheim*, The Life and Time of Jesus the Messiah, passim; *Keim*, Jesus of Nazara I, 322; *Schürer*, The Jewish People in the Time of Christ II, ii f.; *Bruce*, The kingdom of God 187 f.; *Mackintosh*, Christ and the Jewish Law 39 f.; *Fairbairn*, Studies in the Life of Christ 165 f.; *Wellhausen*, Die Pharisäer und die Sadduzäer; *Lagrange*, Le Messianisme chez les Juifs 2 f., 148, 151, 176 f., 257, 258.

⁵ Josephus seems to infer that the Pharisees were semi-fatalists, and that they reserved the privilege of resurrection only for the souls of the just. But the passage «J. W.» II, viii, 14, is to be corrected by J. A. XVIII, i, 3.

consequence of recompense and chastisement. Every one had to render an account of his acts to God and an inexorable judgment would settle his future condition. The inauguration of the next world would take place in a solemn manner, by the resurrection of the dead. Many details in regard to the main idea were disputed. The condition of those who would still be alive when the end came, was a source of controversy, as was the future place of happiness. Some argued it would be in heaven, and others contended that it would be here on this earth. As to the time of the advent of the judgment, all were uncertain. Some argued its near approach, others put it off to indefinite time. Still, even though they disputed these points, all were a moral unit in claiming that all, living and dead alike would be brought before the same tribunal, and every man would receive his just deserts.

The Pharisees held fast not only to the *written Law*, but also to *oral tradition*¹, assigning it an equal authority with the former, maintaining that it interpreted and completed it. As a consequence they were less conservative than the Sadducees, and readily championed what appeared to be innovations, providing always, that they could find some authority, vague or otherwise, for doing so. But they would not permit the yoke of the Law to be in the least made lighter, and hence, in this sense were rigorists and formed the most austere sect of Judaism². Our Lord sums up their doctrine in a few short words: «All things, therefore, whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do; but according to their works do ye not; for they say, and do not.»³ These words have reference merely to the substance of their moral teaching; for elsewhere the Saviour calls them «blind and the leaders of the blind»⁴, and severely reproves their casuistry on important matters⁵. Whilst insisting on the performance of matters of light moment, with a scrupulous exactness, they troubled themselves little with putting into practice the great law of charity⁶. «An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth»⁷, was their idea of brotherly love. Internal sins and faults they counted as nothing⁸, and they evaded certain obligations by their subtle reasoning⁹, although they were never loath to exaggerate others beyond measure, especially the law of the Sabbath.

b) *Their character* was most reprehensible. Undoubtedly there were some, like Nicodemus¹⁰, whose virtue and integrity contrasted strangely with the defects of the sect in general. All of them were not hostile to our Lord¹¹; for He ate with them, and it was they

¹ Jos., J. A. XIII, x, 6; Mt. xv. 2; Mk. vii. 3. ² Acts xxvi. 5.

³ Mt. xxiii. 3. ⁴ Mt. xv. 14. ⁵ Mt. xv. 5, 6; xvi. 12; xxiii.

⁶ Mt. iii. 7; ix. 11; xxiii. 14, 23. ⁷ Mt. v. 38. ⁸ Mt. v. 27.

⁹ Mt. xxiii. 16—22; Mk. vii. 10—12. ¹⁰ Jn. iii. 1, 2; vii. 50, 51; xix. 39.

¹¹ Jn. ix. 16.

themselves that extended the invitation¹. But the Gospel represents the great majority of them as arrogant², pretentious³, disdainful of their brethren⁴, insensible to the weakness and to the needs of their fellow-creatures⁵, avaricious⁶, and hypocritical⁷; for they said and did not the things they taught⁸. They affected austerity⁹, fasting¹⁰, frequent ablutions¹¹ and long prayers¹². But all this was done from a motive of self-love and self-interest. They desired the first places everywhere as a token of respect¹³. In death they paid great honours to the prophets, but in life they persecuted them and hunted them to death¹⁴. They crossed seas and traversed the world in order to make proselytes, with the desire of attaching them to their sect, and of imbuing them with their principles and their vices¹⁵.

The Talmud distinguishes seven classes of Pharisees, of which only two were straightforward and without duplicity.

135. 2. THE SADDUCEES¹⁶. The Sadducees represented the party of the aristocracy¹⁷, and at the same time the priestly party; for many of them were priests. From the time of the Roman dominion, in particular, all the high priests were Sadducees¹⁸. Nevertheless, it is true that for a certain number of years before and after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A. D.), some priests were Pharisees, and it is probable that at the time of which we speak, there were many priests who leaned towards the Pharisees¹⁹.

Between the Sadducees and the Pharisees there raged a bitter enmity. The latter hated the former, not so much because they were priests, but chiefly because they mingled with the Gentiles,

¹ Lk. vii. 36; xi. 37; xiii. 31. ² Lk. xi. 43. ³ Mt. vi. 5, 16; xxiii. 5, 14, 29.

⁴ Mt. ix. 11; Lk. vii. 39; xviii. 10—12. ⁵ Mt. xxiii. 4. ⁶ Mt. xxiii. 14; Lk. xvi. 14.

⁷ Mt. vi. 2, 5, 16; xv. 7; xxiii. 27—29; Lk. xi. 39; xii. 1.

⁸ Mt. xxiii. 3, 4. ⁹ Mt. ix. 11; xxiii. 4; Mk. ii. 15—18.

¹⁰ Mt. ix. 14; Lk. xviii. 12. ¹¹ Mt. xv. 2. ¹² Mt. xxiii. 14; Lk. xviii. 11.

¹³ Mt. xxiii. 6, 7, Lk. xx. 46. ¹⁴ Mt. xxiii. 29 f. ¹⁵ Mt. xxiii. 15.

¹⁶ The etymology of the name (*Σαδδουκαῖοι*) is doubtful. It is not very probable that it is derived from *tsadiq* צַדִּיק, צִדְקָה, «righteous», an ironical designation by their adversaries; for the change from *i* to *u* can then be explained only with great difficulty. It most likely was derived from the proper name Tsadoq or Saddoc, צִדְקָה, which the LXX (Ez. xl. 46; xliii. 19; xlv. 15; 1 Esdr. viii. 2, in the Greek text, MS. A) translated by *Σαδδοκ*. But which Saddoc? Most likely Saddoc would be either the name of an unknown person who would have founded the party of the Sadducees, or the high priest of that name whose descendants exercised the priestly functions in the temple of Jerusalem, from the time of Solomon, and who after the exile formed the principal element of the priesthood. Ez. xl. 46; xliii. 19; xlv. 15; xlviii. 11; 1 Par. vi. 3 f., 50—53. For further information on this and other points relating to the sect see besides *Montet*, *Essay sur les origines des Partis Sadducéen et Pharisien* 53 f., and HDB., art. Sadducees, IV, 349, by *D. Eaton*, the literature given above for the study on the Pharisees. The leaders of the Sadducean party belonged to the family of Saddoc, and the whole party was called the Sadducean.

¹⁷ *Jos.*, J. A. XIII, x, 6; XVIII, i, 4. ¹⁸ Acts v. 17; *Jos.*, J. A. XX, ix, 1.

¹⁹ *Jos.*, Life 39; this writer was a priest and Pharisee.

adopted their ways, and led an easy, worldly, lax life. The height of their ambition was to make the most of their position and their wealth, and to live in peace with Roman authority.

As to doctrine, the Sadducees admitted the letter of the Law, but only as it stood originally, and not with the traditional interpretations with which the Pharisaic scribes had encrusted it, in the course of ages¹. They denied the immortality of the soul, the existence of spirits, the possibility of the resurrection of the flesh, the Providence of God, and His concurrence in our acts². The practical differences which divided the two sects are accounted for by these doctrinal divergences.

Unlike the Pharisees, the Sadducees were not popular with the masses, and scarcely exercised any influence upon the nation. They despised the common people and were despised in turn by them. Those who composed a part of the Sanhedrin, gained for themselves a well-deserved reputation for harshness³. In their infliction of punishment, the Sadducees were far more severe than the Pharisees; for they followed the Law literally, whilst the latter often softened its rigours by their subtle interpretations.

Like most of the Pharisees, the Sadducees waged an implacable opposition to our Lord and to His Apostles⁴, and not one of them has been known to have been converted to Christianity. After the destruction of the Jewish nationality, the sect disappeared from history. They were essentially a political party, and as politics, as far as the Jewish nation was concerned, had come to an end, there was no longer any reason for their existence.

3. THE ESSENES⁵. The Essenes numbering all told about 4000 constituted a sort of religious order. Finding that, as a religion, Judaism was degenerating, they separated themselves from the world and lived in community, under the authority of a superior. Their home, if it might be called such, was to the west of the Dead Sea, in the desert of Engaddi. They possessed everything in common, even their clothes, and they took their meals together. The majority did not marry, but voluntarily reared the children of others. They abstained from wine, practised frequent ablutions and bathed every day before the noonday meal. Their life was consecrated to prayer and manual labour. They loved the poor and the common people, and cured their diseases free of charge. They scrupulously observed the Sabbath, carried offerings to the Temple, without entering

¹ *Jos.*, J. A. XIII, x, 6; XVIII, i, 4.

² Mt. xxii. 23—28; Mk. xii. 18; Lk. xx. 27; Acts vi. 1, 2; xxiii. 8; *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, i, 4; J. W. II, viii. 14. ³ *Jos.*, J. A. XX, ix, 1. ⁴ Acts ii ff.

⁵ See HDB. I, 767, art. Essenes, by F. C. Conybeare; *Schürer*, The Jewish People in the Time of Christ II, ii, 188 f.; *Ginsberg*, art. Essenes in *Smith and Wace*, Dict. of Christ. Biogr.; *Thomson*, Books which influenced Our Lord 75—122; *Morrison*, Jews Under Roman Rule 323—347; *Edersheim*, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah I, 119 f., 237, 324—334. See also: *Plinius*, Hist. nat. V, 7; *Jos.*, J. W. II, viii, 12—14; J. A. XIII, v, 9; XV, x, 4—6; XVIII, i, 2—6.

it, however; for they celebrated their own sacrifices which they considered better and more efficacious. New members were admitted into the community only after a novitiate, and they were bound by the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to their superiors.

Their Doctrine. They admitted:

1. the immortality of the soul;
2. that matter was the source of evil;
3. that the body was the prison of the soul.

They exercised no great influence upon the nation and soon disappeared¹.

B. THE SCRIBES AND PRIESTS.

136. 1. THE SCRIBES. In close connection with the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Gospel frequently speaks of scribes (*γραμματεῖς*) or doctors of the Law (*νομοδιδάσκαλοι*)². These names are indicative of the office which they filled and have no reference to any particular party or sect. In the beginning, and probably before the exile, it was their special duty to copy the sacred texts on the great rolls, and to guard them from all injury.

After the exile, they were, most likely, not merely copyists, but became interpreters and commentators of the Law. In the time of our Lord, their activity was both didactic and formal. Their knowledge of the Law fitted them for teaching in the schools, as it also rendered them the best able to handle legal matters. Consequently it fell within their province to draw up all contracts and perform other official acts. Besides, they were the religious instructors in the worship of the synagogue. In a word, their duties made them the real spiritual directors of the Jewish nation. In politics and religion, they were, for the most part, Pharisees, and were cursed with their shortcomings. Like them they were arrogant³, self-centered⁴, and they interpreted the Law in an arbitrary, fantastic, and sometimes in a revolting manner⁵. They, too, were the subjects of severe reproofs from the lips of our Lord⁶.

2. THE PRIESTS. The scribes ruled in the schools and in the synagogue, the priests ruled in the Temple. They belonged to the family of Aaron, and were divided into 24 courses⁷, each of which would officiate in the Temple service, in regular succession, changing every week, thus giving each course an opportunity of serving twice every year. But as their number was great, many of them never received the opportunity for officiating at all.

¹ Others, less rigorous in discipline, formed a sort of third order to the Essenes, and lived in the midst of the Jewish people. Cf. *Stapfer*, *Palestine in the Time of Christ* (transl.); *Edersheim*, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life* 296.

² Mt. ii. 4; viii. 19; xxii. 35; Mk. i. 22; Lk. v. 17, 21; vii. 30; x. 25; Jn. viii. 3.

³ Mt. xxiii. 5-7; Mk. xii. 38, 39; Lk. xx. 46.

⁴ Mk. xii. 40; Lk. xx. 47.

⁵ Mt. xv. 5, 6; xxiii. 16-18; Mk. vii. 10-13.

⁶ Mt. xxiii; Mk. xii. 38-40; Lk. xx. 45-47.

⁷ Lk. i. 5, 8, 9.

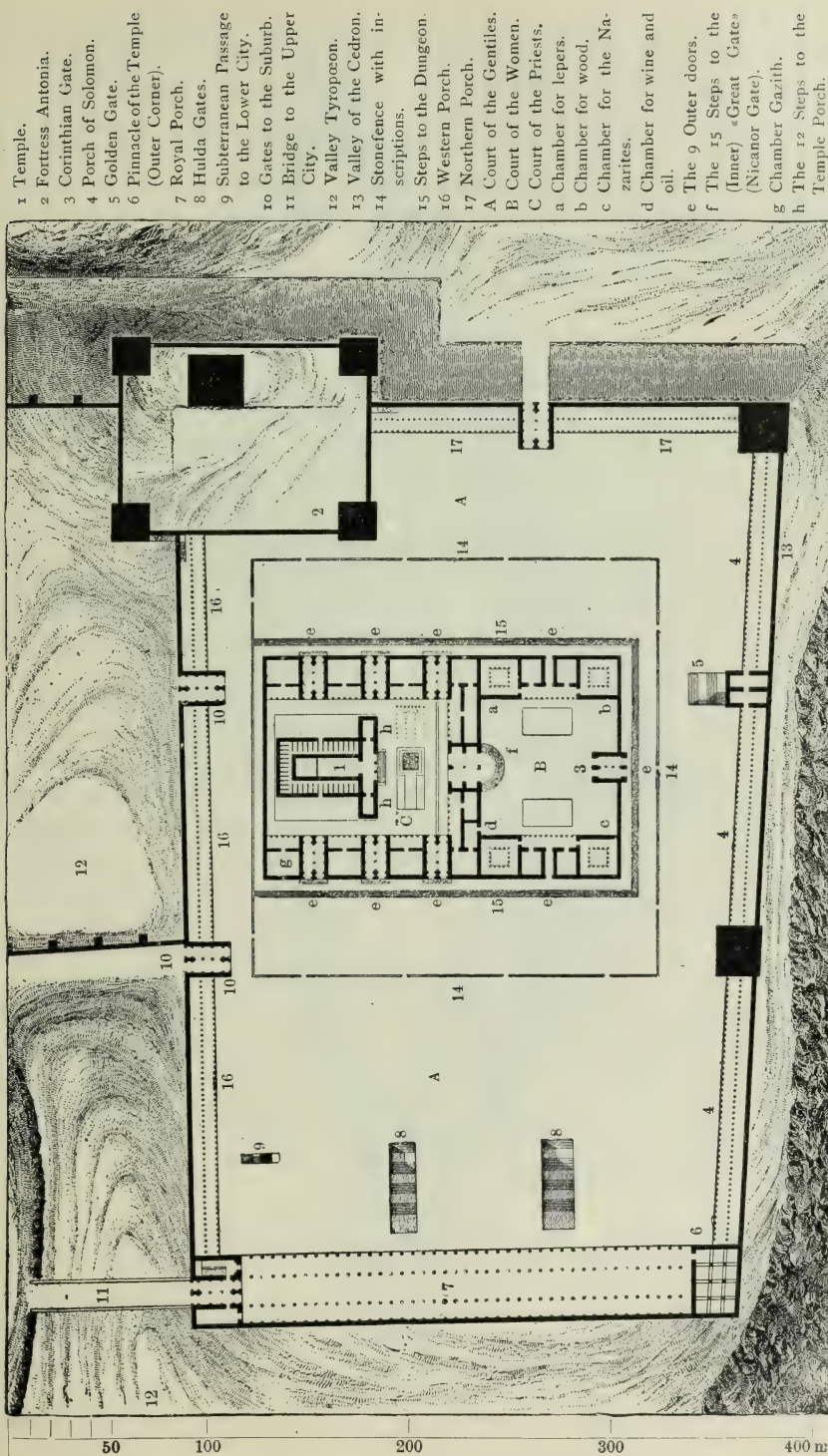


Fig. 9 Plan of the Herodian Temple.

3. THE HIGH PRIESTS. At the head of the Jewish priests, and chief of all, was the High Priest. He was a direct descendant of Aaron¹, and held his office for life. But from the time of Herod the Great, the civil power arrogated to itself the right to elect and depose them at will. Herod himself appointed seven; Archelaus three; and the Roman procurators seven. There were 28 of them holding office in the space of a 105 years. Three of these were deposed and re-appointed a second time. In party affiliations they were Sadducees possessing their beliefs and their defects².

C. THE TEMPLE. THE SYNAGOGUES.

137. 1. The Temple of Jerusalem³. The Temple (τὸ ἱερόν) of the Gospel, which our Lord visited so frequently, is not the one that Solomon⁴ built in the old days of Jewish autocracy, nor strictly speaking the one that Zorobabel built on the return from the exile. The former had been destroyed by Nabuchodonosor in the year 588 B. C., and the latter was transformed by Herod the Great. For this vast undertaking he employed 18,000 workmen⁵. This remodelled structure was the building that the Gospels have made us familiar with. Even though changed in appearance it did not lose its identity as the house of the true God⁶. Like the first and the second, it was situated on Mount Moriah, to the east of Jerusalem, along the Valley of Josaphat or the Cedron, opposite the Mount of Olives.

It was made up of several open courts or terraces, one situated above the other on higher ground, and connected by stair-cases. The outer court, called by Josephus the «exterior temple», was known as the *Court of the Gentiles*, not because it was given over to them as a place of worship, but because it was the only part of the Temple that they were permitted to enter. It is here that the traders sold their wares and the victims for the offerings and the sacrifices; here also the money-changers transacted their business, and the doctors of the Law had their meetings and their discussions on religious matters⁷. Surrounding this court on its inner side were porches or porticos resting on pillars of Corinthian marble. The Royal Porch lay to the south of the court, and the Porch of Solomon extended along the eastern side, parallel to the Valley of the Cedron (Fig. 9 and 10).

¹ Ex. xxviii. 1, 2; xxix. 4, 5; Hebr. v. 4.

² For further information see arts. *Scribes and Priests* and *Levites* in HDB. IV, 67 and 420, and the literature there referred to.

³ For a complete description see *Edersheim*, *The Temple: its Ministry and Services* 23 f.; *Ferguson*, *The Temple of the Jews* 77 f.; *Jos.*, J. A. XV, xi, where a long description of its erection may be found.

⁴ 3 Kings vi—viii; 2 Par. iii—vii.

⁵ *Jos.*, J. A. XX, xi, 1; J. W. V, v, 1.

⁶ *Ap. G.* ii. 7—9.

⁷ Lk. ii. 46.

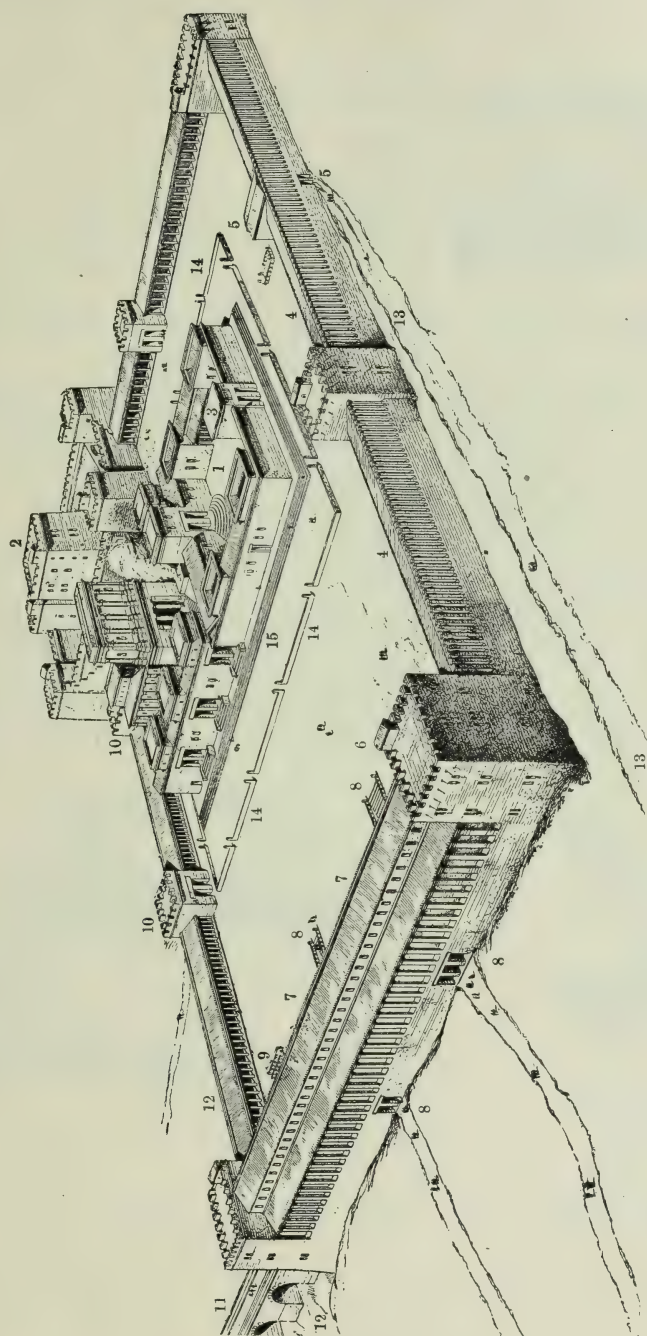


Fig. 10. The Herodian Temple (bird's-eye view).

- 1 Temple. 2 Fortress Antonia. 3 Corinthian Gate. 4 Porch of Solomon. 5 Golden Gate. 6 Pinnacle of the Temple. 7 Royal Porch. 8 Huldah Gates.
 9 Subterranean Passage to the Lower City. 10 Gates to the Suburb. 11 Bridge to the Upper City. 12 Valley Tyropæon.
 13 Valley of the Cedron. 14 Stonefence with inscriptions. 15 Steps to the Dungion.

The second court was the *Court of the Israelites*. Here the Gentiles were forbidden to enter. This we know from contemporary history, and from a stone discovered in 1871 on which this prohibition was written in Greek (Fig. 11)¹. This

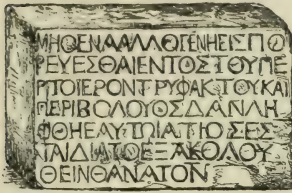


Fig. 11. Warning table
from the Temple of Jerusalem.
Constantinople, Museum.

court was divided into two parts, one section being reserved for the women, and the other for the men. On three sides it was surrounded by a simple colonnade, and in each of its corners were the chambers used for various purposes. Here also was the Treasury or the *gazophylacium* of the Gospels². Thirteen coffer were set apart for the reception of the offerings of the faithful.

Two steps led to the third terrace, the *Court of the Priests*. It contained the «Altar of Burnt-offerings», and was in contact with the Temple proper. The sacrifices were offered here, blessings given, and the psalms and canticles chanted.

Twelve steps above the Court of the Priests was the *House of God*, or the Temple proper (*ὁ ναός*). It faced the west and was divided into three parts: the «Vestibule», the «Holy Place» and the «Holy of Holies». The entrance to the Vestibule was covered with by a veil. The Holy Place was shut off from the Vestibule by gold plated folding doors. Here was the golden candlestick with its seven branches (Fig. 12), the golden table of the loaves of proposition, and the altar of incense. The Holy Place was separated from the

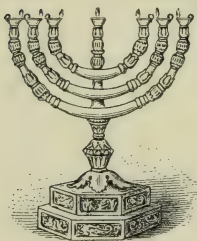


Fig. 12.
Seven-branched
Candlestick.
Reconstruction.

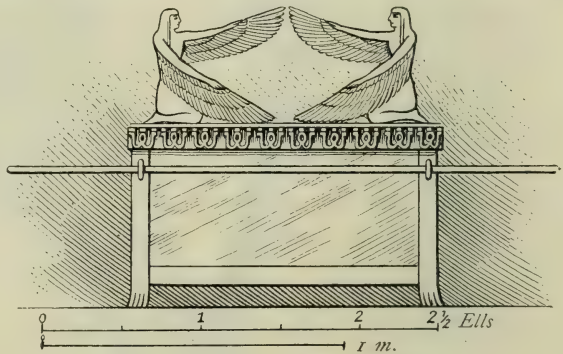


Fig. 13. The Ark. Reconstruction.

¹ This stone was taken to Constantinople, but a perfect fac-simile of it may be found in the Louvre. It reads as follows: *Μηθένα ἀλλογενῇ εἰσπορεύεσθαι, ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου· ὃς δ' ἂν λεφθῇ ξαντῶ αἵτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον.* There can be no doubt that our Lord saw this stone. It is addressed to the Greeks and is the first stone upon which a Greek inscription has been found in Jerusalem. Cf. Acts xxi. 28; *Jos.*, J. A. XV, xi, 5; J. W. V, v, 2; VI, ii, 4.

² Jn. viii. 20; Mk. xii. 41, 43; Lk. xxi. 1.

Holy of Holies by a wooden partition, over the door of which hung a second veil. It was here that the Ark (Fig. 13) of the Covenant reposed, but it was empty at this time, save for a large flat stone, which, since the captivity¹, had taken the place of the Ark. Upon this stone the high priest sprinkled the blood of the victims on the Day of Atonement.

138. 2. The Synagogues. The *synagogues* (*συναγωγή*, assembly, from *συνάγω*, to assemble) were, as their name indicates, places of reunion for the Jews where they assembled for religious instruction and prayer.

Their *origin* dates from the time of the Babylonian exile. The Jews torn from the fatherland and placed in circumstances that rendered it impossible for them to go up to the Temple for their religious practices, resorted to places of meeting during which prayer was said and the Law read. All this was with the idea of keeping alive in their hearts the love of God and the love of their country. After the exile *synagogues* were established throughout Palestine, though their purpose remained unchanged². According to the Talmud, there were in Jerusalem, before the siege of Titus, 394 *synagogues*, or according to another version, 480³. Probably these numbers are exaggerated, but they serve to show that the *synagogues* were quite numerous in the Jewish capital.

They were built in the *form* of a rectangular hall, divided into numerous naves. At the bottom of the hall, sometimes not touching the wall, was the Sanctuary or chest in which the rolls of the Sacred Text were kept. This chest was covered with a veil. Quite near it stood the seven-branched candlestick. Towards the middle of the hall was the desk, or *bima*, of the reader.

Each *synagogue* had its own ruler, called *archisynagogus*⁴, who was assisted by Elders of the people, called *archisynagogi*⁵. Under them were the *sheliah* who recited the prayers in the name of the assembly, the *hazzan* and the *targumist*, whose duties respectively included all that conduced to the material part of the worship, and the explanation of the Hebrew text in the popular language.

All Jews were obliged to attend the *synagogue* service on the Sabbath day. The religious services consisted in the recitation of prayers taken from the Bible, in the reading of Holy Scripture, in a homily on the Sacred Text, and in the chanting of Psalms. The president was at liberty to permit any of those present whom he

¹ 2 Macc. ii. 5; Jos., J. A. VIII, iii, 9; J. W. V, v, 1-8.

² In the time of our Lord, there was a *synagogue* at Nazareth, and one at Capernaum. Cf. Lk. iv. 16 and Mk. i. 21.

³ Talm. Babyl., Kethoub. 105^a; Talm. Jerus., Meghilla 73^d.

⁴ Lk. viii. 49; xiii. 14. ⁵ Mk v. 22; Acts xiii. 15.

thought capable, to read and explain the text. This explains the fact of our Lord speaking on the O. T. in the synagogue at Nazareth¹.

The hall of the synagogue was also used for educational purposes during the other days of the week, although the place where instruction was given was a separate apartment.

D. THE SANHEDRIN².

139. 1. The Great Sanhedrin. The great Sanhedrin was the supreme tribunal of the Jews. Its origin is most obscure and appears to date back to several centuries before the time of Christ. Before the conquest of Palestine by the Romans, its prerogatives were absolute. It adjudicated all important affairs, religious as well as political, public as well as private. It made laws, declared war, judged false prophets, and pronounced, over and above every other tribunal and court, the death penalty³. But in the time of Christ it had been shorn of much of this power, and most probably had been divested of the power to pronounce, or at least to carry out, the sentence of death, if the words of the Jews to Pilate have any meaning: *Nobis non licet interficere quemquam* (Jn. xviii. 31).

With its full membership, the Sanhedrin numbered 71 members, composed of *high priests*, the *ancients*, and the *scribes*⁴. We have already spoken of the latter. Among the high priests, besides the one who was actually in office, those who had been deposed — for they held their title for life — and probably the heads of the priestly families or of that family that furnished the high priests, were included. As regards the ancients, they were the heads of rich and influential families. Both the Sadducean and the Pharisaic parties were well-represented in its membership⁵.

In pronouncing the death sentence, the Sanhedrin was compelled to meet, under the pain of having all its acts void, in the Temple hall of the carved stones, or as it was called, the *lishkath hag-gazith*. Forty years before the destruction of the Temple, the right of pronouncing the death sentence was taken from the Sanhedrin.

The meeting was presided over by the high priest who was at the time in office⁶, assisted by two vice-presidents, who sat, one

¹ Lk. iv. 16 ff.

² Talm. Babyl., De Synedriis, in the Mishna, transl. by *Surenhusius*, IV, 207—268; *Selden*, De Synedriis et Praefecturis iuridicis veterum Hebraeorum; *Schürer* l. c. II, 188 f.; *Bacher*, art. Sanhedrin in HDB., IV, 397; *Stapfer*, Palestine in the Time of Christ 97—99.

³ *Jos.*, J. A. XIV, ix, 3—5.

⁴ Jn. xi. 47; Mt. ii. 4; xxvi. 57; xxvii. 41; Mk. xv. 1; Lk. xxii. 2, 66; Acts iv. 5.

⁵ Acts v. 17; xxiii. 6; *Jos.*, Life 38, 39; J. W. II, xvii, 3; J. A. XX, ix, 1.

⁶ *Jos.*, J. A. XX, ix, 1; Jn. xviii. 19; Acts v. 17 f.; viii. 1; ix. 1, 2; xxii. 5; xxiii. 2, 4; xxiv. 1.

at his right and the other at his left. The other members grouped themselves around these in the form of a semi-circle. On the outer edges of this group, sat the secretaries and the ushers. The accused always occupied a position in the centre, and was always surrounded by guards.

2. **The Small Sanhedrins.** In places where the population numbered 320, there was a Sanhedrin composed of 23 members, and in localities not so large the membership was narrowed to 7 judges. Besides the great Sanhedrin, Jerusalem had two smaller ones, which adjudicated the less important affairs¹.

E. THE RELIGIOUS FEASTS OF THE JEWS².

140. The Gospels make mention of three Jewish feasts, the Pasch, the Feast of Tabernacles, and the Feast of Dedication. All these were celebrated in the Temple, and the Jews came from far and near to assist at their celebration.

1. **The Pasch or the Feast of the Azymes.** The word Pasch can be taken in several different meanings. Sometimes it designates the Paschal Lamb, at others it refers to the celebration of the Paschal meal, and again at others it means the seven days during which the feast of the Azymes was celebrated. Taken in its latter meaning the Pasch was the most solemn of all Jewish feasts; for it commemorated the liberation of the Hebrews and their departure from the land of Egypt³. Its name, Pasch, פֶּסַח, *passage*, is derived from the fact that the angel sent by God to strike the first-born of the Egyptian families, *passed over* the houses of the Israelites and spared them⁴. It began on the evening of the 14. of Nisan (i. e. the end of March or the beginning of April) or rather on the 15. of Nisan; for the Jews reckoned their day from one sunset to another, lasted for seven days and terminated on the 21⁵. During this time no leavened or fermented bread was to be eaten, hence the name, the *feast of the Azymes*. The Paschal meal⁶ was celebrated in the early hours of the 15. of Nisan, and each succeeding day sacrifices were offered in the Temple.

2. **The Feast of Tabernacles.** This feast was celebrated in autumn from the 15. to the 22. of Tishri (i. e. the end of September

¹ Cf. *W. Bacher*, in HDB. IV, 398.

² *E. Elmer-Harding*, art. Feasts and Fasts, in HDB. I, 859; *Edersheim* l. c. 144 to 300; *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, passim; *Geikie*, *The Life and Words of Christ*; *Schultz*, O. T. Theology I, 189, 196, 202, 359—369, 372, 402; *Willis*, *The Worship of the Old Covenant* 190—214; *Robertson*, *Early Religion of Israel* 363, 372, 378, 385, 397, 401; *Trumbull*, *Threshold Covenant* 209 f., 266.

³ Ex. xii.

⁴ Ex. xii. 27.

⁵ Ex. xii. 1—6.

⁶ See no. 263.

and the beginning of October). During these eight days the priests offered sacrifices of bulls in the Temple, while all the people were commanded to live in tents of green boughs, in commemoration of the time when their fathers dwelt in tents during their sojourn in the wilderness. Its object was to celebrate the completion of the harvest, and to thank God for all His mercies in having put an end to the nomadic life of the Hebrews by bringing them into the Promised Land. This feast is sometimes referred to as *Scenopegia* (erection of tents, σκηνοή, πῆγνυμι).

3. **The Feast of Dedication.** This feast which the Gospels refer to as *Encaenia* (ἐγκαίνια, *renewal, dedication*), began on the 26. of Kislev¹ (the end of November and the beginning of December), and, like the preceding, lasted eight days. It was not the anniversary of the consecration of the Temple under Solomon or under Zorobabel, but the anniversary of the purification of the Temple and the renewal of the altar, in the year 165 B. C., by Judas Machabeus, after it had been profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes².

F. THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS AMONG THE JEWS OF THE 1. CENTURY³.

141. The great majority of the Jewish people, in the time of Christ, were imbued with the religious ideas of the Scribes and Pharisees. The latter sect exercised a wonderful influence on the popular mind. The Sadducees, as we have already said, were not popular chiefly because of their worldliness, their materialistic and Epicurean tendencies. However there must have been some souls who belonged to neither party, and

¹ 2 Macc. x. 5.

² 1 Macc. i. 23, 39, 49, 50; iv. 59; *Jos.*, J. A. XII, v. 4.

³ SOURCES. 1. *The Book of Enoch*: The Book of Enoch Translated, by R. H. Charles (1893); Das Buch Henoch, herausgeg. Leipzig 1901. 2. *The Psalms of Solomon*: cf. Ryle and James, The Psalms of Solomon; HDB., art. The Psalms of Solomon, by M. R. James; Swete, The O. T. in Greek III, 765 f. 3. *The Sibylline Oracles*: cf. Alexandre, Oracula Sibyllina, Paris 1841—1856; Geffcken, Oracula Sibyllina, Leipzig 1902. 4. *The Assumption of Moses*: cf. R. H. Charles, Assumption of Moses, London 1897. 5. *The Fourth Book of Esdras*: cf. The second Book of Esdras, in HDB., by H. St. J. Thackeray, I, 763; Bensly, The Missing Fragment of the Fourth Book of Esdras (1875); Drummond, The Jewish Messiah (1877). 6. *The Book of Jubilees*: cf. R. H. Charles, The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees, Oxford 1895; W. Singer, Das Buch der Jubiläen (1898); HDB., art. Book of Jubilees, by A. C. Headlam, II, 701. 7. *The Apocalypse of Baruch*: cf. Drummond, The Jewish Messiah (1877); De Faye, Les Apocalypses juives 195—204; R. H. Charles, The Apocalypse of Baruch, London 1896, and the article by the same author in HDB. I, 249. 8. *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*: cf. R. H. Charles, The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, Oxford 1896. 9. *The Ascension of Isaiah*: cf. HDB., art. Ascension of Isaiah, by J. A. Robinson, II, 499; R. H. Charles, The Ascension of Isaiah, London 1900; E. Tisserand, Ascension d'Isaïe, Paris 1909. — Besides these works consult: A. Harnack, Die Chronologie 560 f.; Schürer, The Jewish People in the Time of Christ; Stapfer, Palestine in the Time of Jesus Christ; and HDB., art. Jesus Christ, by W. Sanday, II, 604—606.

who, illumined by the light of God's grace and possessing a true knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, looked forward to Christ's coming with faith and hope.

1. **Idea of God.** In the time of our Lord all the Jews were monotheists, and for ages their religious history had not been tarnished by any pronounced tendency towards idolatry or paganism, such as characterized their early history. They had a better undersanding of the Deity, although their notions in regard to the Trinity were vague and obscure. Several canonical books and many of the apocryphal writings personified Wisdom and attributed to it a distinct and proper personality. In the Targums, the constituent elements of which at least date from the 1. century, the *Memra* (word) is the name applied to God whenever there is question of His work *ad extra*: creation, manifestation, revelation. Still, it is questionable whether these phrases are more than mere personifications.

2. **Angelology.** Before the exile Jewish thought was not much concerned with this question, but after the exile it was greatly developed among the Jews. They freely admitted the existence of angels and spirits. Their number is incalculable, and they watch over different nations and rule the elements. They are constituted in hierarchies and are subject to one who controls each order. Besides these offices they are the intermediaries between God and men. A certain number of them have fallen, and these too are subject to leaders. Their main object is to lead men to evil¹.

3. **Anthropology.** In the Jewish thought of this time man was recognized as morally feeble, having come into this world with all the effects of Adam's fall, yet free in regard to his future destiny. Salvation is his through the favour and mercy of God, if he believes, performs good works, and observes the Mosaic Law, which at this period was quite onerous, due no doubt to the casuistry and controversies of the Pharisees. The belief in the immortality of the soul was prevalent. Every man would have to undergo a judgment after death, and according to his works would receive a reward or a punishment. They also believed in the resurrection of the body and in a final judgment².

4. **Eschatology.** Before the end of the world, great earthquakes will shake the earth, terrifying phenomena will make their appearance, and wars and famine will follow each other in quick succession. Elias will come to restore all to order. According to one set of writings the Messias will begin his reign when the great dissolution shall take place, according to others his reign will end when it shall come. All agree, however, that the wicked will unite against Him under the leadership of Antichrist. After their destruction, the era of a new Jerusalem will begin; for the ancient world will be transformed and renewed. All the dead shall rise again, and then the last judgment will take place. God, or, as many texts have it, the Messias, will judge each man and put His sanction upon each one. The just will receive an eternal reward in Paradise; the wicked will be cast into the fire of *gehenna*, there to remain for ever³.

¹ S. Davidson, Theology of the O. T. 289 f.

² Cf. ib. 225, 409 f.

³ Ib. 399 f.; HDB., art. Eschatology of the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature I, 741—749.

142. 5. The Messias. In the days of our Lord the *hope and expectation of the Messias* had reached its highest pitch¹. The kingdom of Judea had passed into the hands of strangers, and the people were under a foreign yoke, and this announced the approaching of the Liberator², and made His coming to be desired impatiently³. The Seventy weeks of the prophet Daniel⁴ were completed, and no one was surprised when John the Baptist began to announce the approach of the kingdom of God, and the multitude did not hesitate to bestow upon him the title of Precursor⁵.

Nay more, even the Gentiles, knowing the prophets from the Greek version of the LXX and by their contact with the Jews, were in expectation of Him who was to come. «Pluribus persuasio inerat», writes *Tacitus*, speaking of the revolt of the Jews in the time of Vespasian, «eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens, profectique a Iudaea rerum potirentur»⁶. *Suetonius* writes in the same strain: «Percrebuerat in oriente toto vetus et constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur»⁷. Thus we see that the Saviour was not only the hope of Israel⁸, but also the hope of the nations⁹.

The Messianic idea existed in two sets of writings: in the Jewish apocalyptic literature, and in the writings of the Pharisees and rabbis. These form two different currents of thought.

The Messianic hope and expectation is expressed again and again in the *Jewish Apocalypses* which, dating from the Asmonean period (2. century B. C.), announce that the Messias will come from Israel, and will found, «with the help of the Israelites, a glorious, terrestrial kingdom». «The two earliest of them, the Book of Enoch, and the Sibylline Oracles, are equally emphatic on this subject. The seer in the Book of Enoch beholds Israel in the Messianic time as coming in carriages, as borne on the wings of the wind from East, and West, and South. Fuller details of that happy event are furnished by the Jewish Sibyl. In her utterances these three events are connected together: the coming of the Messiah, the building of the Temple, and the restoration of the dispersed, when all nations will bring their wealth to the House of God. The latter trait specially reminds us of their Hellenistic origin. A century later the same joyous confidence, only perhaps more clearly worded, appears in the so-called 'Psalter of Solomon'. Thus the seventeenth Psalm bursts into the strain: 'Blessed are they who shall live in those days — in the reunion of tribes, which God brings about'. And no wonder, since they are the days when 'the King, the Son of David', having purged Jerusalem, and destroyed the heathen by the word of His mouth, would gather together a holy people which He would rule with justice, and judge the tribes of His people dividing them over the land according to tribes, when 'no stranger would any longer dwell among them'.»

¹ Mt. ii. 3, 6; iii. 3, 5; xi. 2, 3; xvii. 10; xxvi. 63; Lk. i. 19, 20, 76; ii. 25, 26, 36, 38; xxii. 66; xxiii. 51; xxiv. 21; Jn. i. 19—21, 25, 41, 45; iv. 25; vi. 14; vii. 27, 31, 40, 41; x. 24; xi. 27; xii. 34; Acts xxviii. 20, etc.

² Gen. xlix. 10.

³ Mk. xi. 10; Lk. i. 74; iii. 4, 6; xxiv. 21; Acts i. 6; xxviii. 20.

⁴ Dan. ix. 25.

⁵ Mt. xi. 10; Mk. i. 2; Lk. i. 17, 76; vii. 27; Jn. iii. 28.

⁶ Hist. V, 13; cf. *Jos.*, J. W. III, viii, 9; VI, v, 3, 4.

⁷ Vita Vespas. IV, 3.

⁸ Acts xxviii. 20.

⁹ *Orig.*, Contra Celsum I, 53.

In the Book of Jubilees, «we are told, that, though for its wickedness Israel had been scattered, God would 'gather them all from the midst of the heathen', 'build up among them His sanctuary and dwell with them'. That sanctuary was to 'be for ever and ever, and God would appear to the eye of every one, and every one would acknowledge that He was the God of Israel, and the Father of all the children of Jacob, and King upon Mt. Zion, from everlasting to everlasting. And Zion and Jerusalem shall be holy'».

The Apocalyptic part of the Fourth Book of Esdras «endeavours to solve the mystery of Israel's state by prophecy.... What the end is to be we are told in unmistakable language. His Son, Whom the Highest has for a long time preserved, to deliver the creature by Him, is suddenly to appear in the form of a man. From His mouth shall proceed alike woe, fire, and storm, which are the tribulations of the last days. And as they shall gather for war against Him, He shall stand on Mt. Zion, and the Holy City shall come down from heaven, prepared and ready, and He shall destroy all His enemies. But a peaceful multitude shall now be gathered to Him. These are the ten tribes, who, to separate themselves from the ways of the heathen, had wandered far away, miraculously helped, a journey of one and a half years, and who were now similarly restored by God to their own land. But as for the Son, or those who accompanied Him, no one on earth would be able to see or know them, till the day of His appearing».

The Assumption of Moses «distinctly anticipates the return of the ten tribes»; while the Apocalypse of Baruch, «in the letter to the nine and a half tribes, far beyond the Euphrates, with which the book closes, preserves an ominous silence on this point, or rather alludes to it in language which so strongly reminds us of the adverse opinion expressed in the Talmud, that we cannot help suspecting some internal connection between the two»¹.

The *Rabbinical and Pharisaical writers* depict the coming of the Messiah in a mysterious, extraordinary manner with pomp and glory. In this they differ very little from the Apocalyptic literature on this point. He shall be of the seed of David, not miraculously conceived, but born of a man and a woman. He will be a man of war, a king, and all-powerful. All nations shall fall under his sway, and all Judea shall be united in him, and Jerusalem with its glory and priesthood shall be restored. His reign shall last for a long time, only to be terminated by the last judgment and the end of the world.

As can be readily seen, neither the Apocalypses nor the Rabbinical writings really grasp the true nature of the Messiah. They assign to Him only the functions of a judge, and of one who presides over the world as a material king. The ancient doctrine of the rabbis, wrapt in the consideration of a conquering Christ, failed utterly to realize the suffering Christ².

¹ *Edersheim*, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah 79—82.

² On this subject cf. HDB., art. Messiah, by *V. H. Stanton* III, 352; *S. Davidson* I. c. 357—392; *Edersheim* I. c. 73 f.; *Lagrange*, Le Messianisme chez les Juifs; *Schürer*, The Jewish People in the Time of Christ III, 126—186; *Lépin*, L'espérance Messianique au début de l'ère chrétienne; *Drummond*, The Jewish Messiah.

143. G. TABLE OF THE RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL AUTHORITIES
OF PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

Roman Chronology	Christian Chronology	Emperors	Kings, Tetrarchs	Procurators	High Priests	Legates of Syria
717	B. C. 37		Accession of Herod the Great (37 B.C. to 4 A.D.)		Ananel 37—36 Aristobulus 35 Ananel (second time) 34f. Jesus, son of Phabi	Sentius Saturninus (9—6 B.C.).
727	27	Accession of Augustus (27 B.C.—14 A.D.)			Simon, son of Boethos, 24 B.C.—5 A.D. Matthias, son of Theophilus 5—4 B.C. Joseph, son of Ellem	Quintilius Varus 6—4 B.C.
748	6				Joasar, son of Boethos	
750	4		Death of Herod the Great		Joasar, son of Boethos (?)	
751	3				Eleazar, son of Boethos	Sulpitius Cyrenus 3—2 B.C.
754	—				Jesus, son of Sia	C. Cæsar 1 B.C.—4 A.D.
	A.D.				Joasar (second time)	Volusius Saturninus 4—5.
759	6		Deposition of Archelaus	Coponius 6—9	Annas 6—15	Sulpitius Cyrenus 6 ff.
762	9			Marcus Ambibulus 9—12	Ismael, son of Phabi, 15—16	
764	11					
765	12			Annius Rufus 12—15		Cæcilius Silanus 12—17.
767	14	Accession of Tiberius 14 to 37.				
768	15			Valerius Gratus 15—26.		
769	16				Eleazar, son of Annas, 16—17.	
770	17				Simon, 17—18	Calpurnius Piso 17—19.
771	18				Joseph Caiphas, 18—36.	
772	19					Sentius Saturninus 19—21.
773	20					
774	21					Ælius Lamia 21—32.
779	26			Pontius Pilate 26—36.		
780	27					

Roman Chronology	Christian Chronology	Emperors	Kings, Tetrarchs	Procurators	High Priests	Legates of Syria
783	30					
785	32					Pomponius Flaccus 32 to 35.
787	34		Death of Herod Philip.			
788	35					Vitellius 35 to 39.
789	36			Marcellus 36 to 37	Jonathan, son of Annas, 36 to 37.	
790	37	Accession of Caligula 37 to 41		Marullus 37 to 41	Theophilus, son of Annas, 37 ff.	
792	39		Deposition of Antipas			Petronius 39 to 42.
794	41	Accession of Claudius 41 to 54	Agrippa I., king of all Palestine.			

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144. Sources. The *New Testament*, the *Works of Josephus*, *Babylonian Talmud* and *Talmud of Jerusalem*, *Philonis Iudaei Opera*, and all the Jewish Apocalyptic literature above mentioned.

145. Special Works. Besides those already quoted or referred to, the following may be mentioned: *Badeker*, Palestine and Syria, a Handbook, Leipsic 1876; *Bartlett*, From Egypt to Palestine, New York 1879; *Bovet*, Egypt and Palestine, Stuttgart 1863; *Caspari*, Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ (Transl.), Edinburgh 1876; *De Saulcy*, Dead Sea and Bible Lands (Transl.), London 1854; *Henderson*, Palestine, Edinburgh 1865; *Lewin*, Jerusalem, London 1861; *Lewis*, The Holy Places of Jerusalem, London 1888; *Merrill*, Galilee in the Time of Christ, New York 1881; *Schaff*, Through Bible Lands, New York 1880; *Thomson*, The Land and the Book, New York 1872; *MacCoun*, The Holy Land in Geography and History (1897); *G. A. Smith*, Historical Geography of the Holy Land, New York 1895; *Walker*, Jesus Christ and His Surroundings, New York 1899; *Wallace*, Jerusalem the Holy, New York 1898.

ART. II.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST.

I. THE DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

146. The author of the present system of dating was the monk Denis the Little who died in 540 A. D. Unfortunately for us his calculation was not scientific nor correct, and the result was that he placed the time of the Lord's birth at least four years after its actual occurrence, i. e. in the year 754 of the Roman era. Jesus we know was born before the death of Herod the Great. On this point there can be

no doubt as the Gospels and the historian Josephus explicitly state. But when did Herod die? Again appealing to the same Josephus, we must conclude from his statements that Herod died in the year 750 of the Roman era. Hence:

1. The date of Christ's birth cannot be placed after the Roman year 749, i. e. Christ was born 5 years before the beginning of the Christian era. St. Matthew tells us in so many words that Jesus was born while Herod the Great was king of Judea. He informs us also that, before this monarch's death, the Magi visited the Holy Family, and the incidents of the massacre of the Holy Innocents, and the flight into Egypt had taken place¹. Some time must have elapsed before all these things came to pass. According to the statements of Josephus, the chronologists generally admit that Herod the Great died in the month of March or April, of the Roman year 750.

Besides this notice from the Gospels there are others with which profane history furnishes us.

a) Archelaus, the son and successor of Herod, was deposed by Augustus in the year 759 A. U. C., under the consulate of Æmilius Lepidus and Arruntius², in the tenth year of his reign. Hence his reign must have begun in the year 750.

b) Antipas, another of the immediate successors of Herod, was deposed as tetrarch of Galilee by the emperor Caligula, in 39 A. D. or 792 A. U. C. And, as we possess coins which are dated in the 43. year of his reign, he must have succeeded Herod in 750, at the very latest.

c) Herod the Great reigned thirty-seven years after he had been declared king of Judea by the Roman Senate, thirty-four years after his entrance into Jerusalem. We know from other sources that this act of the Senate took place in the year 40 B. C. or 714 A. U. C., under the consuls Domitius Calvinus and Asinius Pollio. Herod took possession of Jerusalem in 37 B. C. (717 A. U. C.), under the consulate of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus (185. Olympiad)³. Hence he died in the year 750.

2. The date of Christ's birth cannot be placed before 747 A. U. C., seven years before the Christian era. We know from St. Luke's Gospel that, at the the time of the Nativity, Augustus had ordered a general enrolment, which could not have taken place before 746—747, because prior to this time the Roman Empire was not at peace; for we know that the temple of Janus was not closed till 746. Granting that the edict went forth at this time, it would be not before the following year that it was promulgated or at least published in such remote provinces as Judea.

3. Between these two periods of time Christ was born. But to state a precise date and time is impossible. We cannot fix

¹ Mt. ii. ² *Dio Cass.* LV, 25.

³ *Jos.*, J. A. XIV, xiv, 4—5; xvi, 1—4; XVII, viii, 1; J. W. I, xiv, 4; xvii, 9; xviii, 1—3; xxxiii. 8.

the exact date of the enrolment, nor can we determine just how long a time elapsed between the birth of the Saviour and the death of Herod. Certainly the Magi arrived at Bethlehem before the death of the Jewish king, but from whence did they come? Did they begin their journey before or after the birth of Christ? These are questions which cannot be absolutely determined. St. Matthew informs us that Herod ordered the death of all children of two years and under: *secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis*; but this cannot prove much, for it may have been that Herod ordered this age limit in order to make himself absolutely sure of his desired result.

147. The day of the Saviour's birth is likewise unknown; for the data, both oral and written, are either too recent for a critical determination, or they are contradictory.

«As for the month and day, *Clement of Alexandria*¹ speaks of calculations which result in fixing these as the 18. or 19. of April, or even as the 29. of May. But these were private calculations upon which no festival observance could be made to depend. The book called 'De Pascha computus', put forth in 243, either in Africa or Italy, states that our Lord was born on the 28. of March². Those who proposed such combinations knew nothing of the existence of the festival of the Nativity.

The most ancient authority for the observance of the Nativity is the *Philocalian Calendar*, drawn up at Rome in the year 336. We read in it, in the table called 'Depositio Martyrum': *VIII kal. jan., natus Christus in Betleem Judee*. . . . Christmas was originally a festival peculiar to the Latin Church. St. John Chrysostom states, in a homily delivered in 386, that it had not been introduced into Antioch until about ten years before, that is about 375³. At the time in which he spoke, there was no observance of this feast either at Jerusalem⁴ or at Alexandria.

It is thus clear that, towards the end of the 3. century, the custom of celebrating the anniversary of the birth of Christ had spread throughout the whole Church, but that it was not observed everywhere on the same day. In the West, the 25. of December was chosen, and in the East, the 6. of January. The two customs, distinct from each other at first, came finally to be combined so that the two festivals were universally observed, or almost so.⁵

II. THE PUBLIC LIFE OF CHRIST.

148. Duration of the Public Life. *Tradition* affords us no precise data on this point. The great majority of the Fathers agree in affirming that our Lord was thirty-three years old at the time of His death⁶. St. Irenæus seems to be the only discordant voice.

¹ Strom. I, xxi, 147: P. G. VIII, 887.

² See the Appendices of *Hartel's* edition of St. Cyprian 267.

³ In diem natalem Iesu Christi: P. G. XLIX, 351.

⁴ *Cosmas Indicopl.* V: P. G. LXXXVIII, 197.

⁵ *Duchesne*, *Christian Worship* (Engl. Transl.) 258, 260.

⁶ *Chrysost.*, Hom. 55 in Ioa., 2: P. G. LIX, 304, speaks of 40 years. *August.*, *De doct. christ.* II, 28: P. L. XXXIV, 55, 56.

Basing his opinion on the wording of Jn. viii. 56, 57 and on the testimony of St. John which was reproduced by the Ancients, disciples of this Apostle in Asia, he claims that our Lord was forty years old, and perhaps fifty when He died¹. Others, without assigning any special age for our Lord, limit His public ministry to the space of one year, because the Synoptic Gospels seem to substantiate this period². This latter view has some supporters to-day among Scripture scholars.

A mere reading, really, of the *Synoptics* seems to limit the public life of Jesus to one year of activity. Their statements are vague and do not give any anniversary in His apostolic courses; but, if they explain the facts in a chronological order, it seems that they indicate several changes of the seasons. They explicitly mention two facts which must have taken place in the spring-time, near the time of the celebration of the Pasch, namely: the plucking of the corn by the Apostles (the harvest was very near the Paschal celebration), and the multiplication of loaves (Mt. xiv. 13—21; Mk. vi. 32—44; Lk. ix. 10 to 17), which St. John places near the feast of the Pasch (Jn. vi. 1—13). The parable of the barren fig tree (see no. 118): «Behold for three years I come seeking fruit on this fig tree, and I find none» (Lk. xiii. 7) seems to many to insinuate that the public ministry of Jesus lasted at least three years.

St. John is more explicit and fixes the public life of Christ at two and a half, and probably to three and a half years. Between the Baptism of Jesus and the Ascension he mentions three Paschal celebrations. The first, after the miracle at Cana: *Prope erat Pascha... et ascendit*, «And the Pasch of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem»³; the second, close to the time of the Multiplication of the five loaves: *Erat proximum Pascha*, «Now the Pasch, the festival day of the Jews, was near at hand»⁴; and the third, at the time of our Lord's death⁵.

Moreover, St. John mentions a fourth feast which he refers to as *dies festus Judæorum*, «a festival of the Jews»⁶, which induces Jesus to go «up to Jerusalem»; this feast obliges us, probably, to add a third year to the two preceding. But does he refer to a Paschal feast? From the context we know that Christ went up to Jerusalem for this feast, and hence it must have been one of the great Jewish festivals. In the Greek texts, we find a double reading here, and

¹ Adv. haer. II, xxii, 5, 6: P. G. VII, 781—783. St. Augustine, in the work cited in the preceding note, refutes an analogous thesis.

² *Clem. Alex.*, Strom. I, xxi (at the end, 147): P. G. VIII, 885; *Orig.*, De princip. IV, 5: P. G. XI, 350; *Tertull.*, Adv. Iudæos VIII: P. L. II, 615, 616.

³ Jn. ii. 13.

⁴ Jn. vi. 4. This time, the Saviour does not go to Jerusalem.

⁵ Jn. xiii. 1.

⁶ Jn. v. 1.

both are equally supported by patristic testimony. In α C L Δ , in many of the minuscules and in the Egyptian versions, the text reads $\acute{\eta}$ $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\tau\acute{\eta}$; while in A B D and some minuscules, as well as in the works of Origen and St. Epiphanius the reading is $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\tau\acute{\eta}$. St. John is always careful to give explicit mention to the feasts he indicates (Tabernacles, Dedication, Pasch), and it appears very probable that here the most likely reading is $\acute{\eta}$ $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\tau\acute{\eta}$, and he is speaking of the feast of feasts, namely the Pasch. This also St. Irenæus affirms¹. If St. John followed a chronological order — and the precision of his narrative leaves no doubt as to this point — we must probably add a fourth Pasch to those which he has expressly mentioned.

149. Dates of the Public Life. Like the date of the Nativity, so the dates and the duration of the public life cannot be determined with any certainty.

According to the wording of Lk. iii. 23, our Lord, at His Baptism, and hence at the beginning of His public ministry, was about thirty years old. This expression might, according to the usage of the time, indicate a man anywhere from 28 to 32 or 33 years old. As Christ was born in the year 747, 748 or 749 of the Roman era, He must have been baptized some time between 775 and 782 ($747 + 28$; $749 + 32$ or 33) or between the years 22 and 29 A. D., and He must have died somewhere between 779 and 786 ($775 + 31\frac{1}{2}$; $782 + 31\frac{1}{2}$) or between 26 and 33 A. D.

St. Luke gives another basis to work upon. He tells us that John the Baptist began his ministry in the fifteenth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius². From profane history we know that Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the rule of the empire in the year 764 or 765 of Rome (11 or 12 A. D.), and he reigned alone from the 19. of August in the year 767 (14 A. D.). The fifteenth year after the association of Tiberius with Augustus is the year 779 to 780 (26 to 27 A. D.); the fifteenth year of his reigning alone runs from the 19. of August 781 to the 19. of August 782 (28—29; see the table no. 155). On the other hand, our Lord was baptized and began His public ministry, after John the Baptist inaugurated his preaching. Having been born in the year 4 B. C., He must have been at this time at least 32 or 33 years old. Yet it is impossible to ascertain what manner of computation St. Luke employed, when he wrote of the fifteenth year of Tiberius' reign. He might have counted from the time that he began to reign with Augustus, or from the time that he assumed the sole rule of the empire. And it is equally impossible to know just how long after the beginning of the Baptist's preaching our Lord was baptized.

¹ Adv. Haer. II, xxii, 3.

² Lk. iii. 1—3.

III. PASSION AND DEATH OF JESUS.

150. 1. Day of the Last Supper and the Death of Jesus.

a) *The difficulty.* The most certain point in this whole discussion is that our Lord died on a Friday, the eve of the Sabbath, the day of the third or fourth Pasch mentioned by the Evangelist John. Besides, all the evidence is in favour of placing the Resurrection on the morning of the Sunday, the third day after the death. The Lord's Supper was celebrated on Thursday; for all the Evangelists agree in placing this celebration on the night before His death¹, and there can be no doubt that the meal reported by John on the eve of His death, must be identical with that of the Synoptics; the one and the other is followed by the departure to the Olive-garden and by the beginning of His Passion; Judas is assisting at both; in both our Saviour announces His betrayal by Judas and Peter's denial, and to all the Apostles He recommends the virtues of humility and charity². But, and here is the main difficulty, according to the Synoptics, the Last Supper was celebrated on the 14. of Nisan (or in the early hours of the 15., according to the Jewish way of reckoning their day), whilst St. John insists that the day was the 13. of Nisan (or the early hours of the 14.).

b) *Solutions.* Rationalistic critics agree in claiming that here the Gospels manifestly contradict themselves. Some have decided against the version as given by the Synoptics, and merely aim at fixing the date of the Lord's death somewhere about the time of the great Jewish feast. Others reject the statements of St. John, because they see in them evidences of the author's usual method of establishing mystical connections in the facts of Christ's life. Here, they say, his intention was to show «a typological rapport between the Crucified Saviour and the Paschal Lamb» in the last hours of the 14. of Nisan, and for this reason John has displaced the day of the Last Supper. To enter into a full discussion of these various objections would take up too much space, and it will suffice to say that, leaving aside the fact of inspiration and inerrancy of the Sacred Scriptures, it is hardly credible that St. Matthew and St. Peter, the master and teacher of St. Mark, both present at this Last Supper, could be mistaken as to the exact time of its occurrence, and that St. John, who was familiar with the Synoptics, and in a certain sense completed their account, would contradict them on so important a point. Besides, these critics, as we have already seen, exaggerate the symbolical interpretation of the fourth Gospel beyond all proportion³.

¹ Mt. xxvi. 20, 30; Mk. xiv. 17—26; Lk. xxii. 14, 39; Jn. xiii. 1—xvii. 1; Mt. xxvii. 62; Lk. xxiii. 54; Jn. xix. 31, 42.

² Mt. xxvi. 23—25, 34; Lk. xxii. 22, 34 = Jn. xiii. 21, 22, 38; Lk. xxii. 26, 27 = Jn. xiii. 12—17.

³ See nos 117 f.

Conservative critics, who recognize the general trustworthiness of our Gospel accounts, have proposed three solutions as explaining the difficulty. Some accept the dates of the Synoptics as the most reliable, and attempt to harmonize them with the facts of the fourth Gospel; others prefer the date of St. John, and bring all the texts of the Synoptics into agreement with it; others again take in their natural sense the facts of the Synoptics and the fourth Gospel, seeking a solution of their apparent disagreement in an explanation which does not involve the combination of the two accounts. Because of the lack of precise and certain knowledge of the Jewish customs, no solution can be said to be satisfactory and final.

151. FIRST OPINION: CHRIST CELEBRATED THE LAST SUPPER ON THE 14. DAY OF NISAN. A. It is absolutely certain that Christ celebrated the Jewish Pasch with His disciples (see no. 264). This fact is not only alluded to, but it is recorded with a mass of almost identical details by the Synoptics: *Discipuli paraverunt Pascha*, «The disciples prepared the Pasch» (Mt. xxvi. 19). *Et discubuit*, «He sat down and the twelve apostles with Him» (Lk. xxii. 14). *Et discumbentibus eis et manducantibus ait...* «And when they were at table, and eating, Jesus saith» (Mk. xiv. 18). *Et ait: Desiderio desideravi hoc Pascha manducare vobiscum*, «He said to them: With desire have I desired to eat this Pasch with you» (Lk. xxii. 15, 16). *Et hymno dicto exierunt*, «And a hymn being said, they went out unto Mt. Olivet» (Mt. xxvi. 30; Mk. xiv. 26). The word *Pasch* meant the same for the Lord and His disciples as it did for the Evangelists. Hence there can be no doubt from these notices that Jesus celebrated a real Jewish Pasch with His disciples.

B. A second point in this consideration is that our Lord ate the Paschal meal on the same day that the Law prescribed that the Jews should eat it, i. e. the 14. of Nisan. Both *Scripture* and *Tradition* affirm this much. The Synoptics are a unit on this point and leave no room for questioning: the meal was celebrated at the time and in the manner in which the Law prescribed it: *Venit dies azymorum in qua necesse est occidi Pascha*¹. *Quando (Judæi) Pascha immolabant*²; *Venerunt discipuli dicentes: Ubi vis paremus tibi...* *Vespere autem facto discumbebat cum discipulis*³. We are told that they sat down at table at the legal hour (*facta hora*) (Lk. xxii. 14), that the next day was the great day of the Azymes, the Paschal feast (*dies sollemnis festus*), on which the Roman governor, according to an old custom, gave freedom to a prisoner⁴. This precise language can admit but one explanation.

Many of the Fathers and Doctors in discussing this question, maintain that our Lord celebrated the Pasch on the 14. of Nisan or that He was crucified on the feast of the Azymes. If St. Irenæus has no direct testimony in regard to this point, St. Augustine, Origen, Tertullian, St. Ambrose, Theophilus of Antioch, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. John Chrysostom and S. Jerome are most explicit⁵. But this tradition has no relation to faith

¹ Lk. xxii. 7. ² Mk. xiv. 12. ³ Mt. xxvi. 17, 20.

⁴ Mt. xxvii. 15; Mk. xv. 6; Lk. xxiii. 17; Jn. xviii. 39.

⁵ *Iren.*, Adv. haer. IV, x, 1: P. G. VII, 1000; *St. Justin*, Dial. 111: P. G. VI, 732; *Orig.*, In Matt. 79: P. G. XIII, 1728; *Tertull.* places the Passion on the first day of the Azymes: *prima die azymorum* (Adv. Iud. X: P. L. II, 630), but, as his language in other passages indicates, he wishes to speak of the day of the Pasch itself,

and morals, and, as we shall see, is far from being unanimous. The Ebionites and the Quartodecimans celebrated the feast of the Last Supper on the 14., because they alleged that this was the day on which our Lord celebrated it, *iuxta evangelium*¹.

The main objection to this position is that it cannot explain the texts of St. John, which explicitly affirm that the Jews did not eat the Pasch on the day that Jesus died (no. 152).

152. SECOND OPINION: THE LAST SUPPER WAS EATEN ON THE 13. OF NISAN, AND JESUS DIED ON THE 14. The advocates of this opinion accept the data of St. John as the most authoritative, and claim that our Lord celebrated the Pasch on the 13., and followed all the Jewish rites connected with the ceremony, except the eating of the Paschal Lamb. This latter ceremony may have been carried out, but it was done before the usual time set by the Law, and the blood of the Paschal Lamb was not poured out on the altar.

St. John clearly states that our Saviour celebrated the Last Supper on the eve of the Pasch: *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ Πάσχα* (xiii. 1). If it was eaten on the 14. of Nisan, its celebration would not be on the eve, but on the day of the Pasch itself; for the Jews reckoned their days from sunset to sunset. In all probability, St. John wrote his Gospel for the Gentiles, from a point outside of Palestine, toward the end of the 1. century. His readers reckoned, therefore, their time differently from the Jews, and began their days at midnight, and hence St. John, because the Last Supper was celebrated Thursday evening, could and ought to have written, in order to be understood, that it took place on the eve of Friday, the day of the Azymes: «*dies Azymorum qui dicitur Pascha*» (Lk. xxii. 1). For the same reason, in speaking of the night of the Resurrection, he writes (*cum sero esset, die illo*): «*now when it was late, that same day*» (Jn. xx. 19), although the legal day had ended, and the following day, according to the Jewish computation, had begun at the setting of the sun. The words are, however, not conclusive; for St. John certainly employed the Jewish method in xix. 31, for he marks Friday evening as the beginning of the Sabbath.

Secondly, that the Last Supper was eaten before the Jewish Pasch, is clear from the fact that Judas left the Cenacle for the purpose of purchasing provisions, as the Apostles thought, for the festival day, i. e. the Pasch (Jn. xiii. 29). That is a proof that the Pasch was not yet celebrated; for the text adds: *εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν*, for the feast.

Thirdly, the Jews on the day of the crucifixion were careful not to enter the palace of Pilate, lest they incur legal defilement, and thus be precluded from celebrating the Pasch (*ut manducarent Pascha*, Jn. xviii. 28). Now the question is of the Pasch where the Jews ate the Paschal lamb; for it is not demonstrated that they gave the name of Paschal victim to all that was offered to God, and that they ate unleavened bread during the days of Azymes; the texts which are cited in favour of this sentiment are ill understood: Deut. xvi. 1—3; 2 Par. xxx. 22—24; xxxv. 7—9.

saying: *e tot festis Iudaeorum Paschae diem elegit* (Adv. Marc. IV, 40: P. L. II, 460); *Ambr.*, Epist. XXIII, 2, 12, 13: P. L. XVI, 1030; *Theophil.*, Ad Theod. 5: P. G. LXV, 51; *Jerome*, In Matt. XXVI, 17: P. L. XXVI, 193; *Chrysost.*, In Matt. hom. LXXXI, 1, and De prod. Iuda hom. I, 4: P. G. LVIII, 729; *August.*, Epist. XXXVI, 30: P. L. XXXIII, 150.

¹ *Polyer*. in *Eus.*, H. E. V, xxiv: P. G. XX, 496.

Fourthly, St. John (xix. 14, 31, 42), like the Synoptics (Mt. xxvii. 62; Mk. xv. 42; Lk. xxiii. 54), alludes to the day of the crucifixion as *parasceve Paschae*, «the parasceve of the Pasch», i. e. preparation for the Pasch. It is clear that it would be very strange to designate thus the day of the Pasch. Hence our Lord must have anticipated the Paschal feast. That the expression «Parasceve» does not refer to the Pasch itself is clear from the wording of Mk. xv. 42, «because it was the Parasceve, that is the day before the Sabbath». *Parasceve Paschae* would therefore signify the Friday comprehended in the Paschal octave.

Fifthly, if our Lord celebrated the Pasch with the Jews, then He died on the Paschal feast itself, which is highly improbable; for the arrest, the execution and burial of the Saviour would not and could not have taken place on such a solemn festal day. The Law made an exception only for the preparation of aliments: Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 7. No doubt, the violator of the Sabbath in Num. xv. 32—36 was arrested and put to death, by order of God Himself, on the day of Sabbath. It is also certain that the Sanhedrin, when they agreed to await the close of the Paschal solemnities in order to seize Jesus, did so, not through fear of violating the sabbatical rest, but in order to avoid popular troubles. In view of the fact that the Roman soldiers made the arrest and carried out the execution, it might be argued that, as far as the Jews were concerned, the great sabbatical rest was unbroken. But it must be remembered that the arrest of Jesus in which the Temple servants and the members of the Sanhedrin took part, the meetings of the Sanhedrin, the episode of Simon the Cyrenean, the buying of the winding sheet by Joseph of Arimathea, and the anointing by Nicodemus and the holy women, cannot be explained in this light.

Still, many of the foregoing arguments are exaggerated. At the time of the composition of the Talmud, funeral services certainly were permitted on sabbath days and great feasts. Again the members of the Sanhedrin were guilty of so many irregularities in the trial of Jesus, that they would not scruple much over the infraction of the sabbatical rest, to gain their desired ends. Besides, quite a number belonged to the party of the Sadducees, and professed no belief in the formalities of the Paschal celebration (n. 135).

The advocates of this opinion also appeal to the Synoptics. In their accounts the Last Supper is placed on «the first day of Unleavened Bread» which lasted from the evening of the 13. to the evening of the 14. of Nisan. The Talmudic regulation demanded that no leavened bread be eaten from the noon hour of the 14., and we know from Josephus¹ that sometimes the duration of the Paschal feast was reckoned as eight days, and at others as seven. Hence, even according to the Synoptics, our Lord could have celebrated the Pasch on the 13. of Nisan. But Chwolson² has conclusively shown that, for a period of 3000 years, and through out all their writings, the Jews always understood πρώτη τῶν ἄζύμων as referring to the 15. of Nisan³ (the 14. according to our reckoning), and never the 14. Josephus himself has identified the Pasch with «the day of Unleavened Bread», and if he speaks of the feast lasting eight days it is because those who lived without the boundaries of Palestine, celebrated it from the 14. to the 21. of Nisan⁴.

St. Mark (xiv. 12) and St. Matthew (xxvi. 17) explicitly affirm that the Pasch was sacrificed on «the first day of Unleavened Bread» (the day

¹ J. A. IX, xiii, 3; III, x, 5; II, xv, 1.

² Das letzte Passahmahl (1908) 3 ff., 133 ff.

³ Ex. xii. 15, 16, 18; xxiii. 15; Jos., J. A. IX, xiii, 3; III, x, 5.

⁴ Chwolson l. c. 3, note 2.

of the Pasch), in spite of the fact that the Paschal lamb was always sacrificed after the noon hour of the day preceding the feast. Is there a contradiction here? Some affirm it, and some deny it. Most are content with the assertion that the data of Mark and Matthew are faulty. Others again explain this and other discrepancies between the Synoptics and St. John by resorting to a very ingenious solution. They claim that the translator of the Hebrew or Aramaic document, which is at the basis of the Synoptic account in this section, made a mistake, and should have translated «before the day of the Unleavened Bread»¹.

Quite a number of scholars, on the other hand, argue that the Synoptics, possessing no pretensions as regards chronology, wished, above all, to make it clear that the Last Supper was really carried out with all the legal Jewish formalities. Consequently they call the meal, that Jesus ate, by the same name as that which the Jews partook of on the 14., without affirming that Jesus celebrated the feast on the day itself².

Several writers of the early ages assert that our Lord did not celebrate the Jewish Pasch, and that the Last Supper did not take place on the 14. of Nisan. Leaving aside Marcion († about 165/170), whose testimony is open to suspicion, because this heretic regarded as bad and in opposition to the Christian faith all Mosaic practices³, the Churches of Asia, which were in possession of an ancient tradition authorizing the celebration of the death of Christ on the 14. day of Nisan or the paschal moon, can be cited⁴. Besides, there are passages in St. Apollinaris of Hierapolis († 183), Clement of Alexandria († 217), St. Hippolytus of Porto († 230), St. Peter of Alexandria († 311), and indications in Tertullian which make for the same conclusion⁵. These traditions are ancient and trustworthy, and have the confirmation of the Jewish traditions which place the death of Jesus on the 14. of Nisan. In our days, some scholars have attempted to revive this opinion⁶.

153. THIRD OPINION. CHRIST CELEBRATED THE LEGAL PASCH ON THE 13. OR 14. OF NISAN, BUT ANTICIPATED THE JEWISH FESTIVAL BY 24 HOURS. The Paschal lamb was immolated outside of the Temple. The Law prescribed only the immolation at Jerusalem (Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6), and Philo, in conformity with the Talmud, assures us that, in the 1. century, every Israelite could immolate the lamb, no doubt because of the great number of pilgrims.

The arguments of the first opinion are urged to prove that Jesus celebrated the Jewish Pasch, and the reasons for the second view are alleged to show that Christ anticipated the Jewish festal day. That the date of the Last Supper was the 13. or 14. of Nisan is established by the following arguments:

1. Neither the O. or the N. T., nor the writings of Josephus give the least indication that the law, fixing the 14. of Nisan as the time for the Paschal celebration⁷, was ever abrogated. However, it would be impossible to sacrifice, on the same day and within the space of three hours, or even from noon time until night, the nearly 250 000 lambs, which, according to Philo, were necessary in order to supply the many pilgrims⁸. This would demand the killing of 1300 lambs a minute. Yet it must be borne in mind that these figures are exaggerated, and even though only the

¹ Cf. Allen, Comm. on St. Matthew 270—274.

² Cf. Revue biblique 1896, 86.

³ *Epiph.*, Haer. XXX, 22; XLII, 62; P. G. XLII, 441, 443, 764.

⁴ *Eus.*, H. E. V, xxiii: P. G. XX, 492.

⁵ P. G. V, 1298; IX, 758; X, 870; XCII, 78; XVIII, 518, 519; *Tertull.*, Adv. Iud. VIII: P. L. II, 616.

⁶ As Lami, Calmet, Sepp, Wallon and Godet.

⁷ Ex. xii. 1—6.

⁸ *Jos.*, J. W. VI, ix, 3.

priests had the power to sprinkle the altar with blood, it does not necessarily follow that this ceremony took place on the afternoon of the 13.

2. When it happened that the Pasch co-incided with Friday, the two consecutive days were days of rest. The Pharisees, unwilling that this rest should be broken, made the Pasch, under certain circumstances, co-incide with the sabbath, as we know from the Talmud of Babylon¹. Our Lord, however, uninfluenced by the scrupulosity of the Pharisees, celebrated the Pasch on the day upon which it rightfully fell². In reality, the Talmud permits the violation of the Sabbath rest in order to cut the sacred sheaf which was offered to God as first fruits of the crop.

154. 2. The Year of the Death of Jesus. The uncertainty in regard to the dates of the Nativity, the Baptism, and the duration of the public ministry of the Saviour, renders it impossible to determine the year of His death. It cannot be placed (no. 149) before the Roman year 779 (26 A. D.), nor after 789 (36 A. D.), the date of Pilate's deposition³, and perhaps not later than 786 (33 A. D.). The two terms that we can fix with a reasonable amount of certainty are the years 26 and 33 A. D.

Our Saviour certainly died on Friday, the 14. or 15. of Nisan. But in what year? The only years between these two terms in which the 14. or 15. of Nisan fell on a Friday are the years 30 and 33⁴. But this calculation rests on the supposition that the calendar was correctly kept and observed. Yet we know that such was not the case with the Jews. In many of their calculations, arbitrary methods were employed. They counted 29 or 30, never 31 days in their months, and the consequence was that they very seldom agreed with the various seasons. Then, too, from time to time, the Sanhedrin deferred the beginning of *Nisan*, and created an intercalary month which was placed after the month of *Adar*, and was called *Veadar* (second Adar). But we have no evidence whether such a provision was made in the year that Christ died⁵.

3. Conclusion. The labours of the chronologists have not solved the problem of Gospel chronology definitely, though they have narrowed its limits considerably. To sum up: our Lord was born between the years 7 and 5 B. C.; He was baptized between the years 22 and 29 A. D.; He died somewhere between 26 and 33 A. D. Taking the extremes of both sets of these dates, the duration of His life at the very lowest estimate lasted 31 years, i. e. from 5 B. C. to 26 A. D., and at its greatest, 40 years, or from 7 B. C. to 33 A. D.

¹ Mishna, De Synedrio I, 3, transl. by *Surenhusius* IV, 210^b.

² For more complete details in regard to this question, see *Andrews*, The Life of Our Lord 461—481; *Edersheim*, The Temple and its Ministers, appendix; *Farrar*, Life of Christ, excursus X; Was the Last Supper an Actual Passover? 702—708.

³ *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, iv, 1—2.

⁴ Journal of the Theological Studies 1910, 120—127.

⁵ See *Andrews*, The Life of Our Lord 35—51, and the list of authorities given.

However divergent the chronological notices of the Gospels may appear, it should be borne in mind that they affect in no way the order and fulfilment of the divine counsels.

155. IV. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

Roman Era	Christian Era	Life of Christ.	Jewish Events.	Roman Events.
746	— 8		First date possible for the Census Edict.	
747	— 7	Possible dates for the Birth of Jesus.		The Census.
748	— 6			
749	— 5			
750	— 4	Beginning of the Christian Era.	Death of Herod.	
754	1			
759	+ 6		Deposition of Archelaus.	
765	+ 12			Tiberius associated in the Rule of the Empire.
767	+ 14			Death of Augustus; Accession of Tiberius.
775	+ 22	Possible dates for the Baptism of Jesus.	Pilate, Procurator, 26 to 36.	The 15. year since Tiberius was associated in the Rule of the Empire.
779	+ 26			
780	+ 27	Possible dates for the Death of Jesus.		The 15. year of the Actual Rule of Tiberius.
781	+ 28			
782	+ 29			
783	+ 30			
784	+ 31			
785	+ 32			
786	+ 33			
787	+ 34		Death of Philip the Tetrarch.	
789	+ 36		Removal of Pilate.	

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BOOK I.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST.

SECTION I.

THE HIDDEN LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST.

Prologue: THE WORD, Jn. i. 1—18¹.

157. The Object, Beauty and Literary Structure of the Prologue. The prologue is the preface and at the same time the key of the fourth Gospel. The first five verses may be regarded as the speculative preface; for it is here that the author views the Word or *Λόγος* in His relations with the Godhead, then with creatures in general, and finally with men in particular. Verses 6—18 form what might be called the historical preface, inasmuch as the Word is compared with the Precursor at first in a general and indefinite manner and then in more precise detail. Although the word *Logos* is found in no other place in the Gospel, the doctrine enuntiated here in the opening chapter dominates all the discourses and narratives. And to understand the fourth Gospel rightly this must never be lost sight of.

The prologue forms one of the most beautiful pages of Holy Writ. «Rarely does it ever happen that an author rises to such heights of thought in so few words, and expresses in such daring and rhythmical simplicity a philosophy of history.» Christian metaphysics from the time of St. Augustine to St. Thomas and Bossuet have gone down deeply into this great subject without exhausting all its possibilities.

In its literary structure this early portion of John's Gospel falls into a pronounced rhythmical cadence. «The propositions, although not

¹ *Sanday*, The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel, 6. conference; *Gloag*, Introduction to the Johannean Writings 167 f.; *Stevens*, Johannean Theology ch. 4; *Lias*, Doctrinal System of St. John; *Purves*, art. Logos, in HDB. III, 132 f.; *Strong*, art. Apostle John, in HDB. II, 685 f.; *Reynolds*, art. Gospel of John, in HDB. II, 703, 732 f.; *Fairweather*, art. Development of Doctrine, in HDB., extr. vol. 384 f.; *Fouard*, The Christ, the Son of God, Appendix II, I, 362; *Corluy*, Spicilegium dogmatico-biblicum I, 138 to 155; *Edersheim*, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah I, 56 f.

bound by a rigid measure, are nevertheless of proportionate length and are governed by a certain musical cadence.» Each phrase embodies several propositions connected by an art «which consists in repeating, at the beginning of a proposition, the last word or the most important idea of the proposition preceding.» Thus:

In the beginning was the *Word*,
And the *Word* was with *God*,
And the *Word* was *God*.

This characteristic is especially noticeable in the first five verses. It is not so pronounced in the rest of the prologue; for the propositions are grouped less regularly, although they possess both rhythm and cadence.

158. I. *The Logos*, 1—5. — a) *Relation of the Logos with God*, 1—2. Like Moses in the opening words of the Book of Genesis, St. John «also begins with a 'Bereshith' — but it is the theological, not the cosmic Bereshith, when the Logos was with God and was God». Moses goes back in order to arrive at the time of man's creation, and is mainly preoccupied in furnishing a history of the Jews, while St. John goes back to the beginning of things even into eternity itself, to that initial point which existed before the world and all time when the Logos was.

The author of the fourth Gospel is the only writer of Sacred Literature to make use of this term. His peculiar use of the term is found six times in his writings, namely four times in the Gospel — three times in i. 1, and once in i. 14 —, once in his first Epistle (i. 1), and once in the Apocalypse (xix. 13)¹.

In the language of the N. T. it always is used in the sense of «word» (*sermo*), except in a few passages where it is taken in the sense of «account» or «reason»². Here in St. John it denominates a being existing before the world and all things, and is identified with the historical Christ. Its use as the designation of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity is admirable. Logos refers to both the *interior word* or thought and the *exterior word* or the thought expressed. The Father produced an eternal, substantial, infinite likeness of Himself. The Word is the «real incarnation of God» interpreted by men as the expression of the Father's thoughts and will: «hath spoken to us by His Son» (Hebr. i. 2).

The Word was in God (which indicates consubstantiality) or rather toward God, *πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*. The preposition *πρὸς* with the accusative marks movement and expresses not only juxtaposition, coexistence,

¹ It is found also in the famous passage of the heavenly witnesses, 1 Jn. v. 7, but the genuineness of this passage is open to doubt. See *Künstle*, *Das Comma Iohanneum*.

² See Mt. xviii. 23; Rom. xiv. 12; Acts xx. 24; and Acts x. 29.

but ineffable tendencies, a substantial, active and intimate communion of the Word with the Godhead. Here as elsewhere in the N. T., the term «God» designates the Father. The terminology here then makes the Word a personality distinct from the Father; for the Word «was with God», and no being can be with itself. Although distinct, yet the Word is consubstantial with the Father, possessing a nature equal to His, and one with Him by the communion of the divine essence: *Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος*. The subject of the proposition is *Λόγος* and not *Θεός*; for it would be absurd to say that God was the Word. The Evangelist has placed in front the predicate, firstly in order to accentuate the idea of the Godhead, and secondly to remain faithful to his method by which he begins a proposition with that principal word which terminates the preceding proposition.

The second verse accentuates the first. The Word is eternally one with His Father both by the unity of nature and the union of will.

b) Relation of the Word with Creatures in general, 3.
All things without exception were made by Him. The Father as the First Cause possessed within Himself all power, but in their form, their beauty and their life, all things were made by the Word. The Word, as infinite wisdom, is at once both the instrument or rather strength of the Father, and the perfect model of all things; for He is the intermediary between God and the world. The second half of this verse expresses the same idea, but in negative language. Special stress is laid here on «made» as in contradistinction to «was», in the two preceding verses.

c) Relation of the Word with Men, 4—5.

Between the end of verse 3 and the beginning of verse 4 there are two manners of punctuation which modify the sense very much. Up to this day all critics have accepted the punctuation of the Vulgate and have set a point after *quod factum est*. According to this punctuation the signification of the passage is the following: All things were made by the Word; in Him as in its source reposes all life; this life is arrayed in splendour and enlightens every man.

Other critics (Loisy, Calmes ...) join the words *quod factum est* of verse 3 to the opening words of verse 4.

The sentence would then read: *quod factum est in ipso vita erat*, «that was made in him was life». Two explanations have been given for this reading. 1. That which was made (the world, and especially the human race), *in it* (the world) there was life (*ζωή*, without the article), that is to say the manifestation of the Word which is a source of eternal life for men, and the life «which appeared in the Word Incarnate was the light of man's salvation». We would have here the equivalent of the formulas: *Verbum caro factum est ... Vidimus gloriam eius ...* 2. Connecting «in him» with «life», others reject

the foregoing explanation, and rightly so because this exegesis is too subtle. With St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas¹, they explain the passage thus: Before the time of creation, the world had an ideal existence in the Word, being eternally present to the divine intelligence in which all life is to be found.

Both these explanations are plausible, but we adopt neither, because we think the punctuation of the Vulgate the better.

Almost all MSS. and ecclesiastical writers after the 4. century favour the Vulgate punctuation. Irenæus, Clement of Alex., Theophilus, Origen, Tatian, Cyril of Jerus., Cyril of Alex., Eusebius and Augustine, the heretics of the early ages, the MSS. ACD, the Curetonian, the Codex Veronensis, and one Coptic MS. favour the other. The Vulgate reading results in a pleonasm; for the idea that all things were made by the Word has been already expressed twice, and the art of repeating at the beginning of a phrase, the last word or the most important word of the preceding phrase is lost. Yet the punctuation of the Fathers should be abandoned, because it led the way to abuse by heretics. St. Ambrose² informs us that from it the Arians concluded that the Word was a pure creature.

Both the natural and the supernatural light that the Word diffuses upon the earth shine in the midst of men plunged in the darkness of ignorance and sin. *Light* and *darkness* are taken here as personifications, the former referring to the Word Incarnate (*I am the light of the world*), and the latter to ignorant and corrupt man. Most men remained obdurate and insensible to the miracles of the Word, and hence failed «to comprehend the light», all of which is brought out further on in the words: «He came unto His own, and His own received Him not» (i. 11), and: «the light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light» (iii. 19).

159. 2. *The Mission of Jesus and of the Precursor*, 6—18.

— a) **Comparison on general terms**, 6—13. — 6—8. A man, and not God as was the Word, was sent by God, and his name was John, יְהוָה, *God has shown mercy*. The immediate object of his mission was to give testimony of the Word Incarnate, the great light, and through this testimony to bring all men, not only the Jews, to a knowledge and belief in Christ, and we know from the Synoptics how well he fulfilled this role³. John was not the real and substantial light, but by participation he shed that light in showing that Jesus was divine and true light.

9—11. The Logos, in opposition to the Precursor, was the veritable and essential light which enlightens every man. Before the Incarnation the Word was in the world by virtue of His creative and conservative omnipotence. Although plunged in a degrading

¹ *Aug.*, *Evang. Ioan.* I, I, 16: P. L. XXXV, 1387; *S. Thom.*, *S. theol.* I, q. 18, a. 4.

² *De fide* III, 6: P. L. XVI, 598.

³ *Lk.* iii. 3—18; *Mt.* iii; *Mk.* i. 4—11.

idolatry, men knew His divinity from the existence of this world, for, as St. Paul writes: «The invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, His eternal power also and divinity.»¹ Nevertheless men did not understand Him, and fell into the deepest idolatry². The Word came into the world as into His own home, and unto the human race that was His own, and He was not received. In a special sense the Jews are meant here. They belonged to God in virtue of a great covenant, and therefore to the Word, but they received Him with incredulity and failed to recognize His high prerogatives³.

12—13. To those, whether Jew or pagan, who recognized Him as the Creator of the world and the author of eternal life, He granted the power to become, in the supernatural order, the sons of God by adoption. This filiation demanded, as a prerequisite, a faith which saw in Him the Messiah, the Son of God, and the Redeemer of the human race. This sonship was not to be established by carnal generation, neither by blood (*ex sanguinibus*), nor by human will (*ex voluntate carnis*), enlightened by reason (*ex voluntate viri*), but by the regenerating waters of the Holy Spirit, as we are told elsewhere⁴, or, to put it in theological language, by the reception of sanctifying grace which makes all participators in the divine nature (*divinae consortes naturae*)⁵.

b) Comparison by a definition more precise, 14—18. —

14a. Leaving the bosom of His eternal Father the Word became flesh (*caro factum est*). The word «flesh» here signifies «man» as it does in many places of the Bible (*omnis caro corruperat viam suam*)⁶, and is employed by St. John in order to emphasize the humanity of Christ and portray to what abasement He condescended for our sakes. These few words are a sufficient refutation of all heresies that deny the reality of Christ's humanity or His divinity, or the union of the human nature with the divine in the Person of the Word.

14b. Not only did He become flesh, but He dwelt among us (*ἐσκήνωσεν*), taking up His temporary abode with men, and that without losing any of His prerogatives; for we, His apostles and disciples, have seen the glory of His divinity, which was manifested during His public life, by His teaching, His miracles, and especially by His resurrection and His appearances to men after His death. It was such a glory as the Only-begotten Son can receive from His Father (the expression *quasi* does not hinder a complete identity). He possessed in the fullest measure all the supernatural gifts, the love of God and the intimate knowledge of God (*plenum gratiae et veritatis*). St. Paul speaks in the same terms, when he writes: «In

¹ Rom. i. 20.

² Rom. i. 20—23.

³ Rom. ix—xi.

⁴ Jn. iii. 5—8.

⁵ 2 Pet. i. 4.

⁶ Cf. Gen. vi. 12; Is. xl. 5; Joel ii. 28.

whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (*in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae*).»¹

15. The words of John the Baptist: «This was He of whom I spoke; He that shall come after me (i. e. begin after me His public ministry), is preferred before me» because He teaches a grander doctrine, and because «He was before me» from all eternity, are the Precursor's testimony of the Word to mankind.

16. This is an addition by the Evangelist to explain the words, «full of grace and truth» (*plenum gratiae et veritatis*). We Christians, baptized in Christ, have received the plenitude of grace, because we have received the author of grace, or better, we have received an abundant succession of graces (*gratiam pro gratia*).

17—18. These gifts of the Logos are pre-eminent. The Law, which had no power of itself to confer holiness², was indeed given by Moses; but «grace and truth came by Jesus Christ». He alone had the power to communicate the truth; for no man, not even Moses, was able to see God as He is, and hence no man was able to manifest the divine truth. But the Only-begotten Son³, consubstantial as He is with the Father (in sinu Patris), knew all the divine perfections and revealed them to us. This language should not be taken as meaning that before the Incarnation there was no revealed truth nor grace. It must be taken in the meaning of St. Paul in Romans, Galatians, Hebrews, where he says that the O. T. falls far below the New, inasmuch as the reign of Moses is the reign of the commandment, the reign of the Law, that of chastisement, whilst the reign of Christ is a reign of grace and revelation and life and light.

160. The Origin of the Doctrine of the Logos. — St. John and Philo⁴. There are quite a number of critics who are of the opinion that the Johannean doctrine of the Logos is an adaptation of the Philonian speculations, «because all the fundamental elements of the religious philosophy of the fourth Gospel are Jewish-Hellenic, with the exception of the Incarnation»⁵. Undoubtedly, there are many points of contact between St. John and Philo, his contemporary⁶. «In both, the Logos is called the Son of God and God; a role is given to Him in the formation of the world; and He brings to mankind a heavenly revelation.» But the Logos of Philo is not the Creator, and He only enjoys the title «Son of God» in the same sense as the world, neither is He the Messiah, nor the Redeemer; for Philo had no idea of the Incarnation.

¹ Col. ii. 3. ² Rom. iv; Gal. iii. iv.

³ Several MSS. & BLC and some Fathers (Iren., Clem., Orig., Epiph.) have: ὁ μονογενὴς Θεός.

⁴ Besides the works quoted above, consult HDB., arts. Logos and Philo, by Drummond, III, 134 f. and extra vol. 282 f.; also art. Development of Doctrine, by Fairweather, extra vol. 284 f.

⁵ J. Réville, Le IV. Évangile² 106; see also 75—121.

⁶ Philo died in 45 A. D.

The real source of the Johannean doctrine is the *Old Testament*, especially the Sapiential Books, and the *teaching of our Lord Himself* in the New, together with the *Apostolic tradition* anterior to the composition of the fourth Gospel. In the O. T. creation is effected by the word of God alone (Gen. i. 3) which fact has been personified in Biblical poetry¹. According to Isaias, the Word is the messenger of Jehovah in executing His will and wishes (Is. ix. 7; lv. 11). The Book of Ecclesiasticus is even more clear. It tells us that «all wisdom is from the Lord God, and hath been always with Him, and is before all time» (i. 1), and that it is eternal and has been manifested in the works of creation (i. 4, 9, 10), and that it possesses the most profound depths of knowledge (xxiv. 38—47).

By contact with Greek philosophy and under the influence of the Holy Ghost this doctrine was developed and made more precise in the Book of Wisdom. We are told that wisdom is «a vapour of the power of God, and a certain pure emanation of the glory of the almighty God, the brightness of eternal light, and the unspotted mirror of God's majesty, and the image of his goodness»². It resides by the throne of God (ix. 4), and existed before the creation; for it was present when God made the world (ix. 9). It is the artful worker of the things that are (viii. 6), can do all things and knows all things (viii. 8; ix. 11), and it possesses all spirits (vii. 22—30). John had merely to add the name of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity to these varied personifications, and he had his doctrine in full. Probably it was due to these conceptions that the Targumists so often employ the term «Memra» or «Word», and attribute to It all that God has said or done³.

In the course of his word, St. John appeals to the *teaching of the Precursor and of Jesus Himself* as the principal source of his doctrine in regard to the divinity of the Saviour and His role as Mediator. Since the fourth Gospel must be considered a historical work, this testimony must be accepted⁴.

The Epistles of St. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews contain many elements of the Johannean doctrine of the Logos. St. Paul writes to the Colossians that Jesus «is the image of the invisible God», «the firstborn of every creature»; for in Him all things were created⁵.

The Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of the word of God (λόγος), which «is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two edged sword; and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit, of the joints also and the marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart»⁶. Jesus Christ is called He by whom God made the world, the brightness of the glory of the Father, and the figure of his Substance⁷.

In view of these remarks it appears much better to say that St. John and Philo borrowed from a common source, namely the religious and philosophical atmosphere in which both lived, and each was independent from the other. This latter statement should be admitted because their terminology, though very much alike in many particulars, betrays some very marked differences.

¹ Cf. Ps. xxxii. 6; cvi. 20; cxlvii. 15, 18; cxlviii. 8.

² *Wisd.* vii. 25, 26.

³ Cf. *Onkelos*, Gen. iii. 8; Targum on Ps. ii. 4; also see *Lightfoot*, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, hoc loco.

⁴ i. 30; iii. 13—21, 35, 36; v. 19—30; vi. 57, 62; vii. 28, 29; viii. 14, 23, 38, 42, 54, 58; x. 29—38; xii. 44—50; xiv. 6—11; xvi. 15, 28; xvii. 2, 5, 8, 21; xviii. 37.

⁵ Col. i. 15—16; ii. 9; Phil. ii. 5—11.

⁶ Hebr. iv. 12.

⁷ Hebr. i. 1—3.

But whence did St. John get the name «Logos»? We cannot be very wrong in admitting that he borrowed it from the phraseology of Philo; for, as we know, the Apostle was for a long time an inhabitant of Ephesus, at this particular time one of the great centers of learning. An Alexandrian philosopher, Apollo, as we are told Acts xviii. 24, came to that place, and brought thither the philosophy of Alexandria. It is probable, too, that at this time the Gnostics were beginning to employ the term, in their meaning, just as Basilides and Valentinus¹ did later. And this may be the reason why St. John made use of it. He wanted to give the term its real religious meaning and thus correct all abuses.

ART. I.

THE ANNUNCIATION AND BIRTH
OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.(Lk. i, 5—25.)²**161. Source and Historical Character of the Narrative.**

This narrative must have been taken in many details, from the traditions of the family of John the Baptist, a fact well-evidenced by its strong Hebraic tone. Any one, admitting the possibility and the existence of the supernatural, will have no trouble in accepting the historicity of this narrative. The fact that St. Luke does not envelope the Precursor's birth in colours of the miraculous, together with the obscurity of the details he does furnish (v. 24, 25), argues well for the story and precludes all idea of an invention (nos. 64, 91, 92). Nor can its historical character be rejected on the ground that it betrays a marked similarity with some incidents of the O. T.; for, as Edersheim says, «from whatever source the narrative may be supposed to be derived, its details certainly differ in almost all particulars, from the theological notions current at the time.»³

1. Zachary and Elizabeth, 5—7. During the reign of Herod the Great, there was a priest of the family of Abia, called Zachary (Jehovah remembers). When David organized the religious service of the Temple, he divided the priests into 24 courses, to each of which he gave the name of the principal families⁴. Each course took turns in the Temple service, officiating for one week, from Sabbath to Sabbath, twice every year⁵. The course of Abia was the eighth course and claimed direct descendance from Eleazar⁶. After the exile, only 4 families returned, among which we do not find the family of Abia⁷; but these also were divided into 24 courses

¹ *Iren.*, Adv. haer. I, 24, 3: P. G. VII, 675.

² Cf. *Lightfoot*, *Horae Hebraicae*, in loco; *Fouard*, *The Christ, the Son of God* I, 17 f.; *Edersheim*, *The Life and Time of Jesus the Messiah* I, 133 f.; *Andrews*, *The Life of Our Lord* 53 f.

³ *Edersheim* l. c. 143.

⁴ 1 Par. xxiv.

⁵ Ex. xxx. 7; Lev. xxiv. 2—9.

⁶ 1 Par. xxiv. 10.

⁷ 2 Esdr. xi. 36—39.

which had the old names. «Each course was accustomed to decide the divisions of the various offices by lot.»¹

The wife of Zachary we are told was Elizabeth (God hath sworn). She like her husband belonged to a priestly family, descending from the family of Aaron, so that the Precursor on both the paternal and maternal side was of the priestly race. — Both walked in the ways of God, were just and led lives above reproach. But they were without child.

They lived, as St. Luke puts it, in a city of Juda, *εἰς πόλιν Ἰουδα* (i. 39). Where was this city? Various localities have been assigned. It has been identified with Jerusalem, Hebron, Yuttah or Jeta, Beth-



Fig. 14. Ain Karim (St. John in the Mountains). (Phot. Bonfils.)

zacharia and Ain Karim or Carem (Fig. 14), which is a little over five miles from the city of Jerusalem, lying to the east. This latter opinion appears to have the most probability in its favour; for it rests on a tradition which dates away back in the Middle Ages. It is very unlikely that St. Luke would designate either Jerusalem or Hebron in such vague language as «the city of Juda», and there is no positive testimony which would justify the identification of Yuttah with Juda. Lastly the view that would make Bethzacharia the city referred to, falls to the ground because the words *εἰς τὸν ὄϊον Ζαχαρίου* employed with the article cannot denote a city.

No child had blessed this union, and the couple had no hope of ever having offspring; for Elizabeth was sterile and both were

¹ See *Edersheim* l. c. 135.

far advanced in years. This fact caused them a good deal of pain and disappointment. But God put an end to their trial.

2. **The Message of the Archangel Gabriel to Zachary,** 8—22. — 8—10. As has been said, the officers for the various religious services were chosen by lot. The lot indicating him who was to offer the incense fell to Zachary. This ceremony took place twice a day, once in the morning at the ninth hour, and again in the afternoon about the third hour, at the time of the public prayers; for it symbolized the acceptance of these prayers by God. It was offered on the Altar of incense (Fig. 15), which was in the Holy Place opposite the Holy of Holies (see no. 137). During this ceremony, the people were outside, reverently inclined in the courts of the Israelites and of the women. The veil which separated the

Vestibule from the Holy Place screened the celebrant from the sight of the people. The striking of little bells suspended from the dress of the priest gave warning of the precise moment of the offering.

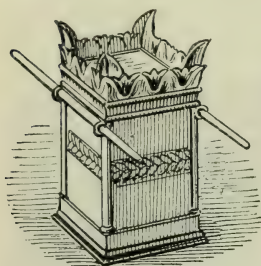


Fig. 15.

The Altar of incense.
Reconstruction.

11—13. At this moment, the most solemn of all, an angel appeared, and stood at the right side of the Altar of incense. Zachary was overwhelmed with terror and sorely affrighted at this heavenly visitation. The angel made haste to re-assure Zachary, and announced to him that his prayer had been heard. What prayer? Different explanations

have been given. One explanation claims that it refers to the customary prayer of the priest, who even in his old age longed for an offspring; for the whole burden of the angel's message is to announce the birth of John the Baptist. But it is more probable that, at this solemn moment, Zachary lost sight for the time being of his private wishes, and thought only of the salvation of Israel and the advent of the Messianic kingdom. The angel declares that this prayer has been heard, and immediately connects with this idea the annunciation of the Forerunner's birth. The infant that shall be born shall be called John, a name which augured well, since it signified that God had shown mercy, and expressed the beneficent intentions of the Lord towards His people.

14—16. He shall be an object of joy, not only for his own immediate family, but also for a multitude of men. He shall possess a nature morally elevated; for he shall be great before the Lord. His holiness shall be characterized *outwardly* by a life of penance; for, as a Nazarite¹, he shall not taste wine, nor shall he taste aught

¹ Num. vi. 1—5.

that doth inebriate; and *inwardly* by an abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit, which shall be manifested even before his birth in his mother's womb (i. 44). As the prophets of old, he shall exercise a vast influence upon religion and shall convert unto penance and unto their God many of the children of Israel.

17. He shall be the Precursor of God Himself, ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ (θεοῦ). For this mission he shall be endowed with the spirit and the power of Elias. Boldly and fearlessly shall he manifest in the presence of the debauched Herod Antipas, the hypocritical Pharisees, and the hard-hearted Jews, the same zeal that Elias exercised in his struggle with the impious Achab, the priests of Baal, and the apostate Israelites¹. He shall announce and prepare the way for the first advent of the Messias, even as Elias shall announce and prepare the way for the second. He shall bring back the hearts and the wills of the fathers and make them felt in the lives of their children, that is, he shall once more revive the old fervour of Israel. And then the patriarchs, irritated in the grave against their degenerated children, will turn to them with joyful satisfaction; the rebellious Jews (ὑπειθεῖς), contemporaries of the Precursor, will be converted and will have the sentiments of their fathers who were just. In a word, the Forerunner's mission is to prepare unto the Lord a perfect people, well-disposed to receive and profit by His benefits.

18—20. Zachary was astounded, as well he might be, upon hearing this message; for he was an old man, and his wife was well-advanced in years. He, therefore, demanded a sign in proof of what had been told him. Thereupon the angel replied by giving his *name*: I am Gabriel, גַּבְרִיֵּאל, *man of God*; his *dignity*: he is standing before God (Tob. xii. 15); his mission: I am sent to thee to speak to thee these good tidings. And as a sign of the truth of what he has announced he declares: «And behold, thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be able to speak until the day wherein these things shall come to pass, because thou hast not believed my words which shall be fulfilled in their time» (i. 64). And as the angel said, so it came to pass.

21—22. Whilst all this was going on, the people waited outside in fear and trembling; for, as we know from the Talmud, the priest was careful not to prolong his prayer, for fear of filling the souls of the people with uneasiness². This feeling of dread was further increased when Zachary appeared before them mute and was forced to leave the duty of pronouncing the benediction to his assistants³. Verse 62 even insinuates that he was deaf as well as dumb. His pallor and strange inability to speak were enough to make the

¹ 3 Kings xxi. 19 = Mt. xiv. 4; 3 Kings xviii = Mt. iii.

² *Lightfoot*, *Horæ* in Lucam I, 21.

³ Num. vi. 22—26.

people believe that something extraordinary had taken place, that Zachary must have seen a vision. He confirmed them in this conviction by his attempts to explain to them by signs what had taken place.

162. 3. The Fulfilment of the Promise, 23—25. At the end of the week, Zachary returned to his home. Some time after his wife Elizabeth conceived, and for five months secluded herself «to prevent the curiosity and malice of rumour from busying itself with such a marvel as was this unhopd-for conception.» As Rachel's, her joy was boundless, and in words similar to hers she gave vent to it: «The Lord hath had regard to take away my reproach among men.» ¹

ART. II.

THE ANNUNCIATION.

(Lk. i. 26—38.) ²

163. Character of the Narrative. Human poesy has never created anything more beautiful than this simple scene. Throughout it is pervaded by a charm, simple, pure, noble, delicate. No further language is needed to enhance it, none to be taken away to beautify it. The message of the angel is *great*. Great because God, the author and sender of the message, is *great*; great because Gabriel who is sent is *great*; great because Mary to whom it is sent is *great*; and great because its burden was the Incarnation of God, the salvation of mankind and the last end of man.

I. The Angelic Salutation, 26—28. — a) The Circumstances of the Narrative. The Annunciation took place six months after the conception of John the Baptist (in mense sexto)³, in the Galilean (no. 130) town of Nazareth (Fig. 16) which was built on the side of a hill to the north of the plain of Esdremon. The town was of very little importance; for it is not mentioned in the O. T., nor in the writings of Josephus, nor in the Talmud. In fact its insignificance was proverbial in the 1. century: «Can anything good come out of Nazareth?» ⁴

The actors in the scene were two: *Gabriel* and *Mary*. It would seem as if God had made Gabriel the minister of the greatest work of the Godhead. It was he that was sent to announce the birth of

¹ Cf. Gen. xxx. 23. The Jews looked upon barrenness as a humiliation and a punishment from God.

² See *Fouard*, The Christ, the Son of God 28 ff.; *Edersheim*, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah I, 144 ff.; *Andrews*, The Life of Our Lord 55 ff.

³ St. Luke as a matter of fact shows clearly that this must be the case: see the wording of verses 24 and 36.

⁴ Jn. i. 45, 46.

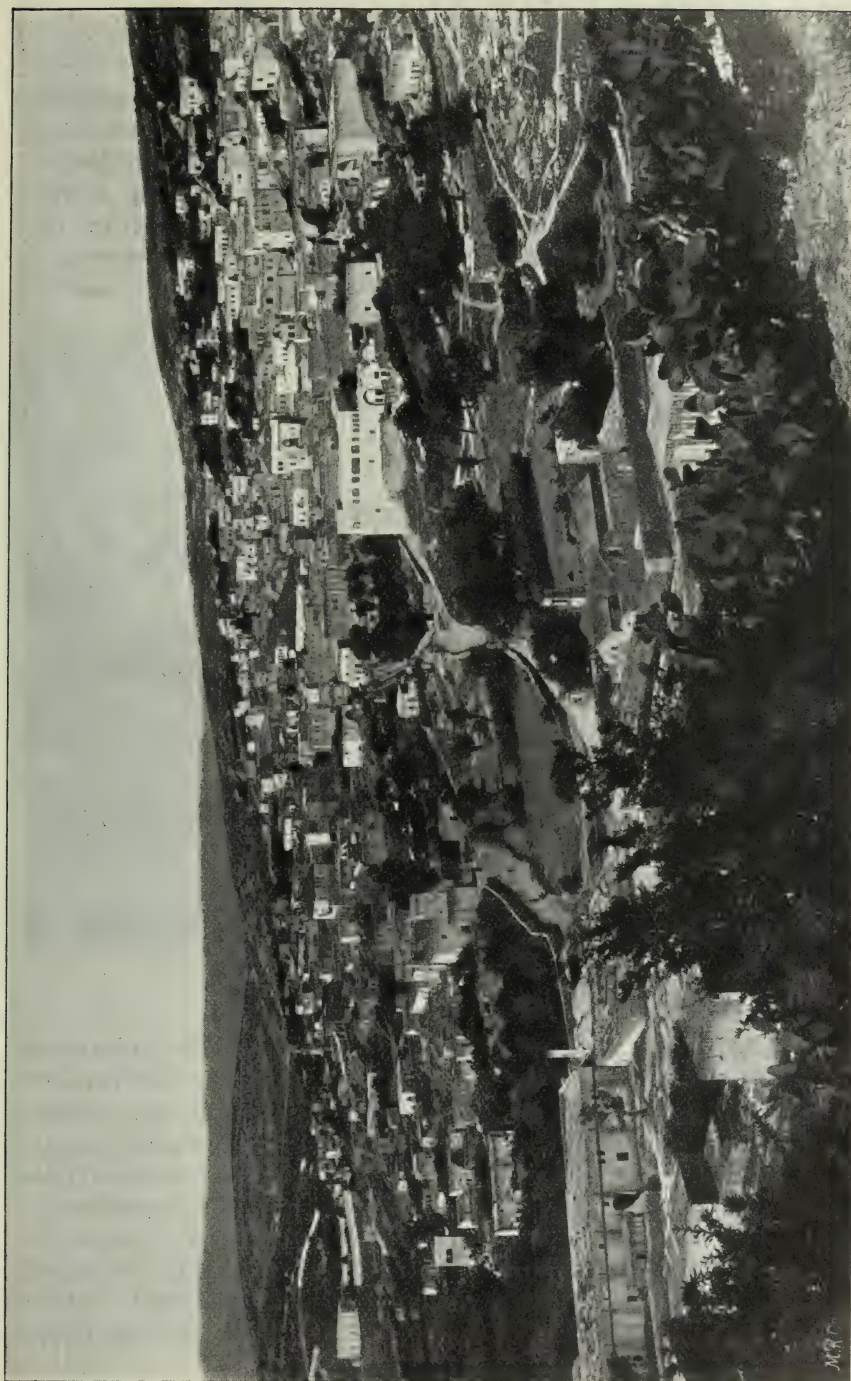


Fig. 16. Nazareth seen from the country of Cana.

the Word Incarnate, it was he that was sent to tell Zachary of the Forerunner's birth, and it was he that determined the 70 weeks of years that would elapse before the coming of the Saint of saints¹. And this is why he has been called the angel of the Incarnation. Mary — of whom the name, מרים, common in Palestine in the 1. century, signifies *beautiful* or *comely* lady —, was the daughter of Joachim and Anne who, according to some critics, were dwelling in Jerusalem (Fig. 17). At this time she was about twelve years old; for we are told that she was betrothed and would be married in a short while. The customary age for marriage at this time was

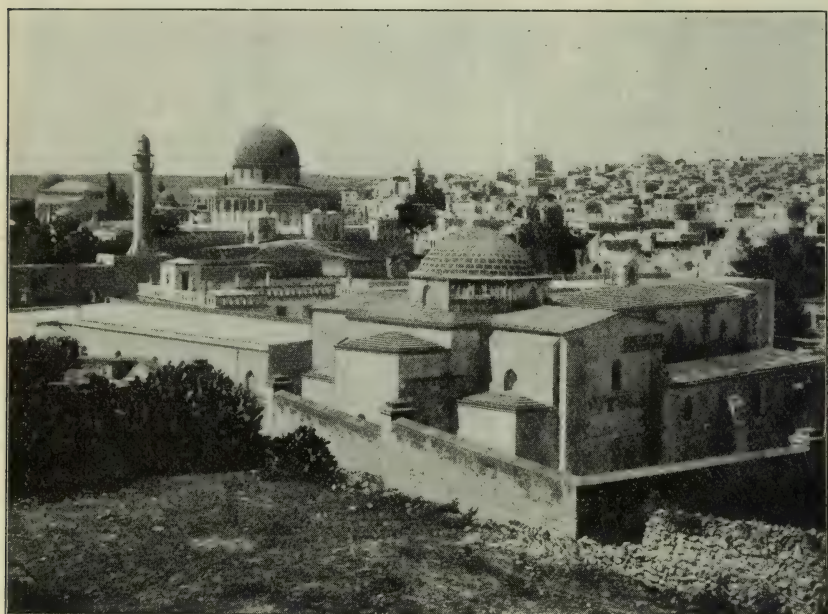


Fig. 17. Church of St. Anne, mother of the Blessed Virgin².
(In the back-ground the Mosque of Omar.)

eighteen years for the men, and twelve for the women. «In accordance with the custom of the daughters of Juda, Mary was expected to seclude herself in the privacy of her home from the day on which her troth was plighted.» It was while she was in seclusion that the angel Gabriel appeared to her in human form. Like St. Joseph she was of the house of David, and hence Jesus was a descendant of the royal race, both on the side of His legal father, and on His mother's side. That Joseph was of the house of David, is expressly stated in Luke ii. 4; but it is doubtful whether the words «of the house of David» (*de domo David*), as used here, refer to Joseph

¹ Dan. ix.

² Built, according to some critics, on the site of St. Anne's house.

rather than to Mary. Yet, unless they refer to the mother of God, the statement of St. Paul in Rom. i. 3, that the Son of God was born from the race of David according to the flesh, has no meaning. Besides, the Davidic descent of Mary is inferred further on, in verses 32 and 69.

The opinion of most modern commentators (Patrizi, Knabenbauer, Godet . . .) that *Mary at the time of the Annunciation was merely affianced and still lived with her parents*, is most probable. Such commentators as Luc de Bruges and Maldonatus, maintained that she had already been married and had taken up her abode with Joseph, because, in becoming a mother, both she and her child would be disgraced otherwise. But the verb *μνηστεύειν*, *desponsari*, «to be espoused», and its derivatives, ordinarily have the meaning of *being affianced* or of *seeking in marriage*. Again, there could be no room for disgrace here; for Jewish custom ruled that, even during the time of the espousals, the woman betrothed was considered already the wife of her promised husband, so that if a child were born it would not be considered illegitimate either in the eyes of the Law or in the opinion of the people¹. The name *husband*, *vir*, applied to St. Joseph in Mt. i. 19, was bestowed alike on those who were affianced as on those who were really wedded. — The expressions, «Before they came together» (*antequam convenirent*) and «fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife» (*noli timere accipere Mariam*)² which are urged in favour of the old view, can be understood of the solemn reception of the fiancée into the house of the fiancé; for it was this action which, for the Hebrews, constituted the marriage ceremony³.

Our Lord's will was to be born of a married woman, in order that His mother might not be exposed with Him to disgrace, and also that He Himself might be protected and nourished in His infancy as other men.

164. b) The Salutation. The salutation was the one used frequently among the Jews: «Peace be to you» שְׁלוֹמִים לָךְ, which Luke has translated into the Greek greeting χαῖρε (*ave* in Latin), «hail», «rejoice thou», for the benefit of his Greek readers. — «Full of grace», *κεχαριτωμένη* (*gratia plena*), not «thou hast favour with God», nor «thou hast been received in grace», but «thou hast the fulness, the plenitude of grace and of divine favours». This latter is justified by the words that follow, namely «*the Lord is with thee*» (*Dominus tecum*), as also by the *Vetus Itala*, the *Vulgate* and the *Syriac* versions, by the Greek Fathers, who were better judges than

¹ Philo, De spec. leg. 788; Lightfoot, Horae in Matth. I, 18.

² Mt. i. 18, 20, 24.

³ Cf. Merx, Das Evangelium Matthäus II.

we, in determining the shades of meaning of Greek expressions, and finally, by the accepted meaning of verbs in *ow* which are always expressive of intensity and fulness, as *αἱματώω* (*cruentare*), «to make bloody», and *θαυματώω* (*stupore implere*), «to fill with amazement». — «*The Lord is with thee*». God who loves you with a special love, grants you these extraordinary favours. God living in all His creatures by His power and His essence, emphasizes this fact in Mary's case, because He is with her in a special manner (Fig. 18).

The words «Blessed art thou among women» which are found in the Italic, Syriac, Gothic and Ethiopic Versions, in the *Textus Receptus* and in several MSS. as



Fig. 18. Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth. (Phot. Dr. Trenkler & Co., Leipsic.)

ACDXTΔII, are omitted in a few versions (Cop., Syr.-Her., Arm.) and in the MSS. \approx B.L. Many critics look upon these words as a gloss taken from verse 42, and as we shall see later, this position is not without a certain probability.

2. The Burden of the Message, 29—33. — a) **The Trouble of Mary, 29, 30.** Upon hearing the words of the angel, Mary was troubled and pondered within herself, *διελογίζετο*, what could be the meaning of what she had listened to. She was not worried because her purity was menaced; for even if the angel appeared in the form of a young man — which is not by any means certain —, his presence bore nothing that might alarm her delicate chastity. She was troubled in all probability because of the flattering words that had been addressed to her. The angel immediately re-assured her so that she might receive the divine message calmly. For this

reason, he addresses her affectionately and familiarly by her name, «Mary», and he affirms that she has found grace in God's sight¹, i. e. she is pleasing to God.

b) **Popular Description of the Messiah**, 31—33. Mary being set at ease, Gabriel announced to her that she was to become the mother of God². There is in this passage a resume of the chief Messianic prophecies and an evident allusion to the celebrated passage of Isaias vii. 14: «Behold a virgin shall conceive» (*Ecce, virgo concipiet*); for many of the words are identical and placed in the same relative position, which cannot be due to chance. The child shall be called Jesus, יֵשׁוּעַ, «God has saved» יְהוָה יִשַׁע. This name is frequently found in the O. T. under the forms of Osee and Josue, but the Messiah, the Saviour *par excellence*, has alone realized its meaning.

This Child shall be great. In fact, a secret bond shall exist between Him and Jehovah, and He shall be the Son of God and shall be recognized as such³. Here, in this context, the title «Son of God» is not, as in other Gospel passages, synonymous with the Messiah, nor does it denote one loved of God and chosen by Him. The idea of sonship is taken in its proper sense; for there is question here of a Child whose reign shall endure for ever, who shall be conceived in the womb of Mary by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and who shall, as a consequence, have God as His Father. Moreover, the Child shall be great; for the Lord will give Him the throne of David His father, and He shall reign eternally in the house of Jacob, i. e. in the Church, the true house and the spiritual posterity of Abraham, «and His reign shall be without end»⁴.

165. 3. *The Manner in which the Message was received*,

34—38. — 34. In contrast with the conduct of Zachary on a similar occasion, Mary received the angel's words without doubt and did not need nor ask for proof (i. 45). Yet in her prudence and reverence she demanded to know how such a birth could take place. «How shall I become a mother, since I know not man?» which in Biblical language means, «I make no use of marriage»⁵. According to all Catholic scholars, we have not here the simple and lawful expression of the astonishment of a pure conscience, as the Protestants (Godet, B. Weiss, Plummer) would have us believe, but the indication of a vow of virginity, which was taken before this event, otherwise Mary's question would seem strange and even nonsensical

¹ A Hebraicism; cf. Gn. vi. 8.

² «Thou shalt conceive in thy womb» (*concupies in utero*) is a pleonasm employed to accentuate the reality of the conception.

³ «Vocari», see Gen. xxi. 12.

⁴ 2 Kings vii. 12, 13; Is. ix. 6, 7; xvi. 5; Dan. ii. 44; vii. 14; Hebr. i. 8.

⁵ Cf. Gen. iv. 1; xix. 8; Jud. xi. 39.

in view of the fact that she was an affianced bride, and the consummation of her future marriage would have shown her how all these things could come to pass.

35. In reply to the question put, the angel reveals the holy mysteries in poetical language in which the rhythm and parallelism of Biblical poetry is plainly marked: «The divine breath, the holy creative force¹, shall come upon thee and shall overshadow thee», even as the Spirit of God brooded over the waters in the beginning of things (Gen. i. 2), and as the cloud overshadowed the tabernacle (Ex. xl. 38). This holy Child — literally this holy being — who shall be born of a virgin by the operation of the Holy Ghost, shall really, for this very reason, be the Son of God and He shall be recognized (*vocabitur*) as such. The conception of our Lord is attributed to the Holy Ghost; for, although the works *ad extra* are common to the three Persons, yet Holy Scripture in a special manner attributes by *appropriation* all the works of holiness, of charity and of mercy to the Holy Ghost. Nevertheless God the Father alone begot Jesus as God, and as man He has no Father.

The Authenticity of Verses 34 and 35. There are a certain number of Rationalistic critics who declare that verses 34 and 35 were superadded by St. Luke or by the author of the source he employed for this particular portion «in a narrative in which there is no question of virginal conception». The physical notion of the divine filiation of Christ is clearly distinguished from «the theocratic idea expressed in the first discourse of Gabriel. The second explanation is an outcome of the first». In the present order of the narrative, the ideas are not coherent; for Gabriel gives, as a sign of a miracle in the highest range extraordinary (the virginal conception of Jesus), a miracle less striking (the pregnancy of Elizabeth), and in order to show forth this latter, he says: «Nothing is impossible with God» — words which are better suited for the first miracle.

In the second discourse, Gabriel completes what he wished to impart. All his explanations are made necessary by the question which Mary put to him: «How shall this thing be, since I know not man!» (*quomodo fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco*), a question which is altogether natural in the supposition that Mary had a vow of virginity². Then, too, he had to show that the same person could be the Son of David and the Son of God also. — The fecundity of Elizabeth is certainly a less striking miracle than that of the virginal conception, but it is a sensible fact which can be used as an argument for another fact. — The words «nothing is impossible with God» (*nihil est impossibile*) apply both to the miracle of the virginal conception and to the pregnancy of Elizabeth.

We must also remark that, without verses 34 and 35, the narrative of St. Luke would be incomplete and would have no meaning. Mary is made the central figure in the whole story. It is she that the angel addresses; it is she to whom the prophecy of Simeon is applied; it is she, and not

¹ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, without the article, רִיחַ, ruah, perhaps the article is omitted because the Holy Spirit is a proper name.

² Protestants who have the faith (Plummer, Godet etc.) believe in the virginal conception, although they interpret the verse 34 in another manner.

Joseph, to whom the Child speaks when found in the midst of the doctors in the Temple. Before her Elizabeth breaks forth in great cries of acclaim and addresses her as «the mother of my Saviour», and in turn Mary herself breaks forth into the strains of the *Magnificat*. Why should all this be, if Mary had become a mother in the ordinary way and if verses 34 and 35 do not express a supernatural reality?

36—38. The angel, in order to confirm or rather to reward the faith of Mary, gives her a sign which it will be easy to verify: «Thy cousin Elizabeth hath conceived a son in her old age, and behold this is the sixth month with her that is called barren; for nothing is impossible with God.»¹ Fully assured now that her virginity would in no way be endangered, Mary replied immediately and simply: «Behold the handmaid of the Lord (or rather His slave; for at this time there were scarcely any servants who were not slaves), let it be done unto me according to thy word.» She offered her person and her honour as a willing sacrifice to God, despite the difficulties which would arise from the fact of her motherhood and despite the difficulty she would experience in trying to make her affianced husband understand this incredible mystery. The angel then retired; for his work had been accomplished. From that very moment the Word become flesh, and the work of the Redemption of man was begun.

ART. III.

THE VISITATION.

(Lk. i. 39—56.)

166. I. *The Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth*, 39—41. «In those days, Mary rising up» went with haste to visit her kinswoman Elizabeth «into the hill country into a city of Juda» (no. 161). In just what manner Elizabeth was related to Mary is not known. That Elizabeth was descended from the family of Aaron is certain from Lk. i. 5, but it is likely that her mother belonged to the house of David, just as it is possible that the mother of Mary was of the race of Aaron. The Law contained a strict prohibition of the marriage of priests with women who were not born of Hebrew parents, although they were not bound any more than the rest of the Jews were, to marry within their tribes². The woman was held to marriage in her tribe only when she was a hereditary daughter of her family³. There could be no question of inheritance either in the case of males or females of the tribe of Levi; for, in the general allotment of territory, the Levites did not receive a portion.

¹ «Omne verbum», פְּלִיגָה, a Hebraicism, meaning *nothing*.

² Lev. xxi. 14; Jud. xxi. 1. The high priest alone was forbidden to marry any other than the daughter of a priest. There is an exception to this, however, in 2 Par. xxii. 11, where Joiada, the high priest, married Josabeth, the daughter of King Joram (2 Par. xxii. 11).

³ Num. xxxvi. 7, 8.

But why did Mary undertake so long a journey and what was the reason for her haste? Was it to verify the angel's words (i. 45) and see for herself whether it had happened to Elizabeth as she had been told? Was it because she was rejected by St. Joseph and went to her kinswoman in her hour of distress, and sought consolation? No, Mary went for neither of these reasons. She was led by a great desire to tell of the great things that had happened to her, and to felicitate Elizabeth on the event that had befallen her. In all probability she went alone, for it does not appear that St. Joseph accompanied her¹.

Upon her entrance into the house of her cousin, Mary greeted her with the Jewish salutation: «Peace be to thee». Immediately the child in Elizabeth's womb leaped within her, because he recognized the presence of the Incarnate God². Then was realized the prediction of the angel (verse 15) that Elizabeth's child should be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb. Elizabeth herself was filled by the Holy Ghost and enlightened about the mystery of the Incarnation.

II. *The Greeting of Elizabeth*, 42—45. Under the stress of a lively emotion, which is shown in her unconnected and incoherent speech, Elizabeth, at the sight of Mary, burst forth in a great cry. Her address is made up of two strophes (verses 42 and 43; verses 44 and 45) each forming four parallel members: «Blessed art thou among women; for thou amongst all women hast received the greatest favour, the dignity of becoming the mother of the Messias. The fruit of thy womb, who is holiness itself and the source of all grace, deserves to be blessed by all creatures. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For behold as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in my ears, the infant in my womb leaped for joy. And blessed art thou that hast believed because those things shall be accomplished that were spoken to thee by the Lord.»

167. III. *The Hymn of Mary*, 46—56. — 1. *The Author of the Magnificat*. Loisy, Harnack and others claim that the Magnificat was spoken by Elizabeth and not by Mary, because 1. it contains nothing of the personal character of Mary; 2. it fits in better with Elizabeth's situation, for it is a duplicate of the canticle of Anne, the mother of Samuel, who also was barren; 3. St. Niceta (bishop of Dacia, 4. to 5. century), the MSS. *a b l* (4., 5., 7. century) of the *Vetus Italia*, one MS. of the Latin translation of St. Irenæus, and MSS. cited by Origen ascribe it to Elizabeth; 4. four MSS. of the *Vetus Italia* contain the words «et ait» in place of «ait Maria».

¹ Mt. i. 18, 19.

² It has been argued from the expression ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει, v. 44, that even at this time the Precursor was purified from original sin and received instantaneously the use of reason; for the word denotes a feeling of joy resulting from recognition (Lk. i. 47; x. 21; Acts ii. 46).

These difficulties are far from being decisive; for the Magnificat is well-fitted to Mary, as the commentary on its contents will readily show. All the known witnesses, except those above quoted, attribute it to her. Origen ascribes such little value to the MSS. he cites that in spite of their evidence he concludes that it is Mary's¹. The isolated testimony of St. Niceta and the tradition of the Church of Dacia, together with the MSS. of one version only, cannot outweigh the more authoritative witness of Christian tradition.

2. The Character of the Magnificat. «This beautiful lyric is neither a reply to Elizabeth nor an address to God. It is rather a meditation, an expression of personal emotions and experiences. It is more calm and majestic than the utterance of Elizabeth. The exultation is as great, but it is more under control. . . . The hymn is modelled upon the O. T. Psalms, especially the Song of Anne (1 Sam. ii. 1—10)²; but its superiority to the latter in moral and spiritual elevation is very manifest. From childhood the Jews knew many of the O. T. lyrics by heart; and, just as our own poor, who know no literature but the Bible, easily fall into biblical language in times of special joy or sorrow, so Mary would naturally fall back on the familiar expressions of Jewish Scripture in this moment of intense exultation.»³

In this canticle, the faith, the humility and the gratitude of Mary, together with her veneration for the wisdom, the power and the mercy of God, vouchsafed in the Redemption, and even her patriotism (verse 54) stand out in bold relief.

From a literary point of view, the Magnificat possesses all the characteristics of the poetry of the Bible. It abounds in parallelism and is made up of four strophes. Its calm, meditative, majestic and royal character is in strong contrast with the exalted speech of Elizabeth⁴.

3. The Authenticity of the Magnificat. Loisy⁵ and other Rationalists maintain that the Magnificat is a Jewish or Jewish-Christian Psalm inserted in the Gospel of the Infancy by St. Luke or by the author of his source of information. We do not deny that the author left the impress of his own personality on the three canticles that he affords us. But as has been said, no writer could have made up these accounts «without historic truth to guide him, any more than an architect of that age could have produced the Milan cathedral»⁶. Even if it be granted that it is an adaptation of a Jewish Psalm, there is no reason not to credit Mary with the adaptation. And again,

¹ In Luc. hom. 7: P. G. XIII, 1817, 1819—1821.

² Cf. Lk. i. 46 = 1 Kings ii. 1, Ps. xxxiii. 4; Lk. i. 48 = 1 Kings i. 11, Gen. xxx. 13; Lk. i. 49 = Deut. x. 21, 2 Kings vii. 23, Ps. cx. 9, xcviii. 3; Lk. i. 50 = Ps. cii. 17.

³ *Plummer*, St. Luke 30.

⁴ Cf. *Didon*, Jesus Christ I, ch. 2.

⁵ Les Évangiles synoptiques I, 298, 299.

⁶ *Plummer* l. c. 35.

if the canticle does not appear to be Christian in tone, it must be remembered that it was not Mary's object to praise either Christian dogma or Christian history.

168. 4. Exegesis. Biblical poetry, ordinarily, is made up of strophes, the number of which is gauged by the main ideas developed in parallel thought. In the Magnificat, we find four such strophes.

FIRST STROPHE: MARY EXPRESSES HER FEELINGS OF JOY AND PRAISE, 46—48. «My soul, my real, inner, higher self knows and blesses the greatness of God; I rejoice, because of the Incarnation, in God my Saviour (*salutari*, a substantive in vulgar Latin), because He has had regard from on high (*ἐπέβλεψεν*) for the humility (*ταπεινώσις*) of His handmaid, a daughter of the people, and chosen me for the highest of all honours, to be the mother of God, in spite of my lowly position as the affianced bride of a carpenter.»¹ «My future glory shall be incomparable; for from this moment, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, all nations shall call me blessed.» Elizabeth had already praised her and later, during the public ministry, a woman from the crowd blessed the womb that bore the Prophet of Nazareth².

SECOND STROPHE: IT EMBODIES THE REASONS OF THIS BENEDICTION IN THE UNFOLDING OF THE DIVINE PERFECTIONS IN THE MYSTERY OF THE INCARNATION, 49—50. «Future generations shall call me blessed; for God hath done great things in me, namely the wonders of the divine maternity and the blessings which it would involve.» Mary particularly pictures the power, the holiness and the mercy of God; for the Incarnation, the greatest of all miracles, is designed to crush sin and to satisfy divine justice and thus to deliver mankind from its moral ills even unto the utmost generation (a progenie in progenies), provided that in turn man manifests toward God a filial fear founded on respect, reverence and obedience.

THIRD STROPHE: MERCY OF GOD TOWARDS THE POOR AND THE LOWLY, 51—53. It is very probable that Mary has no intention here of describing God's dealings with the souls of men, even in a general manner; for this would be entirely out of place. What she has in mind is the work of the Messiah, which has already begun in the mystery of the Incarnation, and hence she uses the past tense, «hath showed», «hath put down» (*fecit, deposuit*). God hath showed might in His arm, performing works which portrayed His power³. «He hath scattered those who were proudly elated in the thoughts of their heart. He hath cast the mighty from their throne,

¹ Mary does not speak directly of God's abasement, but indirectly hints at it in speaking of her own lowliness.

² Lk. xi. 27.

³ In the language of the Bible, «the arm» denotes the source or seat of power, and the heart that of thoughts and desires. Cf. Mt. xv. 19.

and in their stead hath lifted up the lowly, as is instanced in the choice of Mary. He hath filled the hungry with both spiritual and material good, and on the other hand He hath sent away the rich with empty hands.»¹

FOURTH STROPHE: TESTIMONY TO THE DIVINE FIDELITY, 54—55. God, in the work of the Redemption already begun, has taken (*ἀντελάβετο*) the children of Israel, namely those who fear Him, under His protection. He has relieved Israel of its moral ills, being mindful of the mercies extended to Abraham and his posterity, in fulfilling the Messianic promises which were made mediately by the fathers of the Jewish people, namely the patriarchs and the prophets. The words «Abraham and his seed» (*Abraham et semini*) are governed both in the Greek and the Latin, not by *spoke* (*locutus est*), but by *being mindful of his mercy* (*recordatus misericordiae*); for a writer of Luke's ability would never be guilty of employing the preposition *πρός*, first with the accusative and then with the dative.

IV. *The Return of Mary to Nazareth*, 56. Mary remained three months with Elizabeth. As she came in the sixth month of her pregnancy, it has been supposed that she was present when the Forerunner was born; otherwise, because of the distance and the difficulty of communication, she would not be able to gain any knowledge of this event, until after a long time. It is true that in the story of the birth of John the Baptist her name is not mentioned, but then it must be remembered that she merely played a secondary role in this scene, and also that St. Luke, as a general rule, always terminated the narration of one event before beginning another.

ART. IV.

THE BIRTH AND CIRCUMCISION
OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

(Lk. i. 57—80.)

169. I. *The Birth and Circumcision*, 57—66. The full time of Elizabeth being delivered having come, she brought forth a son. Her neighbours and kinsfolk aware that God had manifested a special mercy towards her, gathered around her with congratulation and rejoicing (*συνέχαιρον*). According to the Jewish custom the child was circumcised the eighth day after his birth, and thus was made a member of the covenant². On this occasion the ceremony took

¹ This language is strictly Christian. Christ's words «Woe to you that are rich», «Blessed are the poor in spirit» (*Vae divitibus, beati pauperes spiritu*, Lk. vi. 24; Mt. v. 3) are a fulfilment of this prediction.

² Gen. xvii. 11, 13. Cf. *A. Macalister*, art. Circumcision in HDB. I, 442. For the ceremony see *Fouard*, *The Christ, the Son of God I*, 23.

place in the house of Zachary; for, on any other supposition, Elizabeth, who according to the Law was legally impure for forty days (Lv. xii. 3—5) and was bound during this period to keep in retirement, could not have been present.

At the close of the ceremony a name was given the child. The kinsfolk and neighbours desired to call the child, according to the ancient custom, Zachary, after the father. To this Elizabeth, who most likely had been informed by Zachary in writing of all that occurred on the day when Gabriel appeared to her husband, objected strenuously and demanded that the child be given the name of John. But they objected that there was none of her kindred that bore that name. Elizabeth still persisted and Zachary was appealed to by signs. «And demanding a writing tablet, he wrote, saying: John is his name.» And immediately his mouth was opened, and the spectators were affrighted at the miracle. The report of these wonderful events were noised abroad in the country, and people began to inquire «what an one shall this child be»; for, as St. Luke says, the hand of the Almighty God was visibly with him.

2. *The Canticle of Zachary*, 67—80. The *Benedictus* is the canticle sung by Zachary on this occasion, in thanksgiving to God for the coming of salvation through the Messiah. Just as the *Magnificat* is modelled on the Psalms and the Canticle of Anne, the mother of Samuel, so this is patterned after the prophecies of the O. T.¹ This fact has given rise to an objection against its historical character (J. Weiss, J. Holtzmann, Loisy); for it is claimed that it is a Jewish-Christian Psalm adapted by St. Luke or the author of the source he used, to the person of Zachary, a fact which is clearly seen by the additions which are easily detected. This, however, is gratuitous, and upon examination falls to the ground. A simple exegesis will show the contrary.

As Plummer aptly remarks, the tone of the *Magnificat* is regal, that of the *Benedictus* is sacerdotal. «The one is appropriate to the daughter of David, as the other to the son of Aaron.» St. Luke calls it a prophecy, but only in the wide sense, that Zachary is speaking under the influence of the Holy Ghost.

It falls into two main divisions, each composed of two strophes.

170. I. Part. The Benefits of the Messianic Salvation, 68—75.

FIRST STROPHE: THE GLORY OF THE SAVIOUR, 68—70. — 68. To the God of Israel (the Jews) and to Him alone, the true God, in opposition to all pagan deities, be blessing and praise. And why? Because He has intervened (visited) and saved His people, the Jews, in days gone by, delivering them from the Egyptian and Babylonian

¹ Cf. *Plummer*, St. Luke 39; *Harnack*, Luke the Physician 136—142.

oppression, and delivering them even now, through the agency of the Word, from the tyranny of the devil and sin. «To visit» has both a good and bad meaning, for it may refer to God's visits in mercy or chastisement. From the context, «Wrought the redemption» and «raised up a horn of salvation» (*fecit redemptionem, erexit cornu*), it is taken here in its better signification. Zachary speaks in the past tense, because the work of Redemption has already begun. Moreover he is speaking from the point of view of his compatriots and hence understands the redemption as for the Jews alone.

69. Zachary develops the preceding verse and explains the nature of the Messianic salvation. God has raised up «a powerful salvation» (horn of salvation, *cornu salutis*)¹, in the person of the Messias, the allpowerful Saviour, whose mother and legal father were of the house of David.

70. This is a parenthesis² in the principal statement. A number of prophecies foretold that the Messias would be the son of David and would sit on his throne³. «Holy» (*sanctorum*) is an adjective and not a noun and refers to «prophets». They are holy; for their mission and ministry was in a special sense consecrated to God. The words «who are from the beginning» (*qui a saeculo sunt*) does not mean that they were prophets since the world began to exist, but is used in a vague sense for «of old time».

SECOND STROPHE: THE CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORK OF THE MESSIAS, 71—75. — 71. The parenthesis is finished. This verse depends upon verse 69 and explains it: God has raised up a Saviour who shall deliver us from our enemies both external, i. e. the Romans whose domination is a bar to the progress of the kingdom of God, and internal, i. e. the devil and sin. It is not likely that Zachary, whose Messianic ideal was, contrary to the prevailing ideas of the time, pure and exalted (74—79), had in mind only political enemies.

72. This verse embodies the object of this salvation. God has pity upon the dead Israelites, and they are filled with joy, because the promises made to the fathers are fulfilled in the children (*Gen. xvii. 7*). God wishes to remember His holy covenant which He formed with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (*Gen. xv. 18; xxii. 16—18*). Instead of *memorari*, we should have, to be grammatically correct, at least for the Latin, *ad memorandum*, just as we have *ad faciendam*.

¹ The metaphor of the horn is very frequent in the O. T. (*1 Sam. ii. 10; 2 Sam. xxii. 3; Ps. lxxv. 5, 11, etc.*), and is taken neither from the horns of the altar, nor from the peaks of helmets or head-dresses, but from the horns of animals, especially bulls. It represents, therefore, primarily, neither safety nor dignity, but strength (*Plummer l. c. 40*).

² This determines the preceding statement more exactly (*Plummer l. c. 40*).

³ *Is. ix. 5, 6; xi. 1; Jer. xxiii. 5.*

73—75. The rules of grammar demand that the word «according» (secundum) be understood before the word «oath» (iusiurandum) in order to make this latter word in apposition to the word »covenant». The apposition would in this case be a genitive, but, in the Latin as well as in the Greek, the word forming the apposition can by attraction be merged into the pronoun *quod* which is in the accusative. By this oath made to Abraham, God promised to bless Abraham and his posterity: Gen. xxii. 16—18; xxvi. 3, and to permit us, after we shall be delivered from our enemies, to serve Him without fear, walking before Him in holiness and justice all the days of our life. The pronoun *se* as used in the Latin of verse 73 is not found in the Greek, and can signify only that God intends to give Himself to us, what is contrary to the Greek text.

171. II. Part. The Precursor and the Messias, 76—79.

FIRST STROPHE: THE ROLE OF THE PRECURSOR, 76—77. In an apostrophe filled with lofty and stirring thoughts, Zachary addresses the Precursor and maps out what his mission was to be: «And thou, small child, *παιδίον*, shalt in reality be the prophet of the Most High (*vocaberis*, verse 32), and all men shall recognize thee as such; thou shalt announce His coming, thou shalt prepare the way (i. e. the souls and the hearts, just as in the East they prepare the way before kings); thou shalt give knowledge of Him to the Jewish people, to the people, the privileged people of the Messias (*eius*), and thou shalt make known the spiritual nature of the kingdom which consists in the remission of sins and not in political liberty.

SECOND STROPHE: THE EFFECTS PRODUCED BY THE COMING OF THE MESSIAS, 78—79. — 78. The opening words «through the bowels (per viscera) are related to «unto the remission of their sins» (*remissionem peccatorum*). Sins are remitted in virtue of the superabundant mercy of God (per viscera)¹. Because of the mercy of God (in quibus), Jesus, the rising sun, *Oriens*, *ἀνατολή*, coming from on high, from heaven and from the very bosom of God Himself, hath visited us in His beneficence and in His love. Zachary, like Isaias², designates the Messias under the figure of a light, and even as Jesus does Himself, «I am the light of the world» (*Ego sum lux mundi*). The words «from on high» express the superhuman origin of the Saviour and His preexistence before His appearance upon earth.

79. The object of this gracious visit of the Messias is to lighten those who are sunk in the shadow of death and in the dense darkness which surrounds the eyes of the dead. The Jews had need

¹ Among all nations, but especially among the Hebrews, the bowels were looked upon as the seat of the deepest feeling, as also the seat of compassion and tenderness.

² Is. ix. 2; lx. 1.

of direction, but the Gentiles even more than they; for the former know and honoured the true God even though it was in an imperfect manner. The Messiah came to direct us in the way that leads to peace with men and with God. The grammatical construction here demands «ad illuminandos hos» instead of «illuminare his», just as we have «ad dirigendos» in the clause that follows.

80. St. Luke concludes his narrative, by giving a resume of the life of John the Baptist up to the time of the beginning of his public preaching. The child grew both physically and morally, being strengthened in spirit. From the very moment that he was able to do so, he lived in the «deserts», the nursery place of great souls. The desert place referred to here is probably the wild and barren waste of Juda which lies to the west of the Dead Sea, from which place St. Matthew (iii) marks the beginning of his public ministry. The expression «in the deserts» leads to the belief that John had no fixed place of abode in any one desert place, but that he wandered from desert to desert.

ART. V.

THE ANXIETY OF JOSEPH AND THE REVELATION
OF THE ANGEL.

(Mt. i. 18—25.)

172. 1. *The Anxiety of Joseph*, 18, 19. After a stay of three months in the house of Elizabeth, Mary returned to Nazareth. But before she took up her abode with St. Joseph, *priusquam convenirent*, *συνελθεῖν*, the outward signs of her approaching motherhood were visible. The whole trend of the narrative leads to the supposition that Mary had not confided the great things that had befallen her to Joseph, being content to let God reveal it in His own good time. Now, Joseph being a just man, that is, one who faithfully observed the divine laws, had no desire of marrying a woman who to all appearances had seriously violated one of the laws of God, and who according to the Mosaic Law should have been handed over to the judges¹. On the other hand he did not wish to denounce her (*traducere*, *δειγματίσαι*) by delivering her to the tribunal; for he was convinced that she was innocent, for Mary bore herself in such wise that to even suspect her of wrong-doing seemed a crime. Hence it was that he wished to put her away as quietly as possible. He wanted to break the engagement contract without any disturbance, by sending her away and giving her in the presence of two witnesses a letter of divorce in which the cause of the separation would not be mentioned.

¹ Deut. xii. 23.

2. *The Revelations of the Angel*, 20—25. Whilst Joseph was a prey to this perplexing anxiety, an angel, most likely Gabriel, the angel of the Incarnation, appeared to him in a dream and bade him not to fear to take Mary to wife; for the child that was to be born of her was conceived (γεννηθῆναι) of the Holy Ghost. This child shall be, for the Jews and the whole human race (*populum suum*), a Saviour (Jesus) who shall rule not in a political, but in a spiritual sense; for He shall save the people from their sins (*a peccatis eorum*).

In order to better prove his proposition (no. 38) that Jesus is the Messias, and to give more credence to the dogma of the virginal conception, St. Matthew remarks that this conception is but a realization of the prophecy of Isaias (vii. 14): *Ecce virgo concipiet*. The fact that the Evangelist makes use of this prophecy is sufficient to show that it is Messianic in import, although commentators are divided as to whether it is Messianic in its literal sense or in a spiritual meaning.

To further accentuate the dogma of the virginal conception, the Gospel writer adds that St. Joseph had no marital relations with Mary (*non cognovit*) until she brought forth her infant son¹.

The words «till she brought forth» indicates the time that elapsed until the birth of Jesus, and has no connection with the future after that. We have a number of examples² which are similar to this. Thus: «the raven went forth and did not return till the waters were dried up upon the earth» which means that the raven never returned³.

The expression «first born», which in all probability is not a genuine portion of the Gospel of St. Matthew, but is found elsewhere, does not mean that Mary bore other children; for in the language of Scripture the first-born does not necessarily mean that there are other brothers, but that he was the first opening the womb (*omne quod aperit vulvam*⁴), and in virtue of this he bore the distinction of being the first-born irrespective of the fact that there were other children or not. This title was necessary in the Jewish law; for by it the holder received several privileges and also incurred several obligations, as for example he had to be offered to God and ransomed from the Temple service. Hence it was intentional and right for the Evangelist to allude to Jesus as such; for He was the heir of David and thus had a right to all the privileges of His heritage⁵.

¹ The Vulgate has «first born son»; cf. Lk. ii. 7.

² Deut. xxxiv. 6; 2 Kings vi. 23; 3 Kings xii. 27; Is. xxii. 14; Mt. v. 25; 1 Cor. xv. 25.

³ Cf. Gen. viii. 7.

⁴ Ex. xiii. 2; xxxiv. 19; Num. xviii. 15.

⁵ Gen. x. 15; Deut. xxi. 17; Num. xviii. 15; Hebr. i. 1.

ART. VI.

THE VIRGINITY OF MARY, THE MOTHER OF JESUS.

173. I. *The Virginity of Mary in the Conception of Jesus*¹.

The Opinion of Critics. The Church of God teaches that Mary in the fact of the conception of Jesus preserved her virginity, and also that she was a virgin in His birth and always after His birth². All Catholic scholars admit these three propositions without any hesitation. Outside the pale of the Church, critics who really profess to be Christians, readily admit the fact of the virginal conception, because it is affirmed as clearly as possible in the Synoptic accounts. Liberal Protestants and Rationalists, of course, are a unit in rejecting it, but they disagree in the explanation of its origin. Some maintain that its origin must be traced back to a Jewish-Christian medium, taking root from the prophecy of Isaias (vii. 14), as translated by the LXX, to the effect that a virgin would conceive and bring forth a son. Others argue again that the doctrine is the outcome of early Christian Christology which received its development in a thoroughly pagan atmosphere. Heathendom had deified its great men, and Christianity under the same impulse deified Christ and made Him the Son of God by a human mother. Convinced that this latter really offers no explanation, others see in the need which forced the Hellenic-Christian consciousness to represent Christ and His person in the light of the high ideal of His mission and the unique character of the relation which united Him to the Godhead, the rise of the belief in the virginal conception. As Son of God, Christ must have been born of God, without any human cooperation. Attempts have even been made to fix the date of the origin of this doctrine in the year 80.

Proof. A. One thing we are certain of and that is that our present Gospel of the Infancy teaches that the conception of Jesus was supernatural. St. Matthew says: «*De qua (Maria) natus est*

¹ Cf. Wright, A synopsis of the Gospels in Greek, Introd. xli; Gore, Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation 12—40; Gore, Bampton Lectures for 1881 p. 78; also in Church Times, Dec. 24. 1903, and in The Christian World, Feb. 6. 1901; Swete, The Apostles' Creed, ch. 4; Ramsay, Was Christ born at Bethlehem? Randolph, The Virgin Birth of Our Lord; Sanday, The Virgin Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in The Christian World Pulpit, Feb. 4. 1903; also in Outlines of the Life of Christ 191; Knowling, Our Lord's Virgin Birth and the Criticism of To-day; Orr, The Virgin Birth of Christ; Durand, The Childhood of Jesus Christ 45 ff; Rose, Studies on the Gospels 41—85.

² This is *de fide* from the definition of the Council of Lateran (649): «Si quis secundum SS. Patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem Dei Genetricem Sanctam semperque Virginem immaculatam Mariam . . . absque semine concepisse ex Spiritu Sancto, et incorruptibiliter eam genuisse, indissolubili permanente et post partum eiusdem virginitatis, condemnatus sit.»

Jesus, i. 16; *antequam convenirent, inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto*, i. 18; *quod in ea natum est, de Spiritu Sancto est*, i. 20, 22, 23, 25. St. Luke writes in language equally as explicit: *Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te*, i. 34, 35; he accentuates the virginity of Mary in the Nativity accounts (ii. 5) by referring to her as the fiancée of Joseph, a title which is not synonymous and even precludes consummated wedlock. To offset these various proofs, the liberal Protestants and Rationalists deny the primitive character of the Infancy narrative, some even going so far as to claim that it is based on an Ebionite original. This they claim was touched up; for the words «*Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te*» of Lk. i. 34, 35, are lacking here.

We have already shown that the Synoptics, and especially the Infancy narrative, must be regarded as true history (nos. 82 f.). We have shown, too, that St. Matthew and St. Luke, although independent in their sources of information for the early chapters, are in accord in teaching this doctrine. All that remains is to take up the various objections and consider them in their demonstrative value. In a general way we can safely say that not one of them gives any justification (nos. 165, 174) to the Rationalistic position. The assertion that the original of the narratives is Ebionitic does not seem to be borne out by the nature and the general character of the record itself. In i. 79, St. Luke writes of those «*who sit in the shadow of death*», an allusion to Psalm cvii. 10, which reads: «*Such as sat in darkness and in the shadow of death: bound in want and in iron.*» Can we understand an Ebionite writing of those sitting in darkness and failing to make mention of those bound in want, when this latter expresses so clearly what their system stood for?

B. TRADITION. The faith of the Church throughout the Christian world, at the beginning of the 2. century and onward, places the supernatural conception of Jesus on the same plane of belief as the doctrine of His Resurrection. The Odes of Salomon, St. Ignatius, Aristides, St. Justin and St. Irenæus¹ teach it clearly, and they seem not to be aware that they are teaching anything new. In fact we find scarcely any evidence of any protest whatsoever. We can then conclude that the doctrine emanated from the Apostles themselves. However, the Ebionites form an exception, but their sect never rose to any prominence, and besides their belief finds an explanation in the fact that their «*credo*» was received before the dogma of the supernatural conception became widespread; for it is quite probable that a doctrine, so mysterious and so incredible, was carefully confined, at

¹ The Odes of Salomon XIX (cf. *Rendel Harris*, *The Odes and Psalms of Salomon*, 1909); *Ign.*, Eph. XIX; Trall. IX; Smyrn. I; *Just.*, Apol. I, 21, 31, 32, 33, 63; Dial. 23, 48, 100; *Iren.*, Contra haer. I, 10, 1.

first to the circle of the Holy Family, and only gradually revealed by Mary after the death of her Son. Again, it may have been, that fully aware of this teaching, this sect rejected it for some reason unknown to us. This last remark applies equally as well to the Gnostics who were strong in their denial of the virginal conception.

174. Objections. 1. St. Mark, whose Gospel embodies the primitive account, St. John and St. Paul not only make no mention of this doctrine, but they contain details which are irreconcilable with it. Mark is explicit in saying that the townsmen of Jesus remained incredulous (vi. 1—6); and also that His kinsmen desired to put Him away because they looked upon Him as a madman (iii. 21). St. John makes no attempt to rectify the words of the Jews when they refer to Jesus as the son of Joseph (cf. vi. 42; Mk. vi. 3; Mt. xiii. 55; Lk. iv. 22).

ANSWER. a) It is true that these three writers are silent on this point, because they had no intention of furnishing a complete biography of Christ. It is equally true also that they do not contain even a hint of a denial of the doctrine, and they surely would have shown its error had it been a deviation from Christian orthodoxy. b) We grant that St. Mark reproduced the primitive form of the Apostolic preaching, but we claim also that the public and not the hidden life of the Saviour was the theme of that preaching. Besides, as we have noted, it is very probable that the doctrine only became widespread at a date later than the formation of Mark's account. c) What has just been said explains the incredulity of the Nazareans and the kinsfolk of Christ. d) St. John who was fully cognizant of the belief of the faithful on this point, did not deem it necessary to correct the erroneous statements of the Jews.

2. Between Matthew and Luke there are quite a number of contradictions. Beneath their accounts the underlying strata of the primitive Ebionite Gospel can be detected, which in their hands was subjected to a clumsy adaptation. The genealogies, if not altogether useless, tend to show the Davidic descent of Jesus. But «Jesus is not the son of David unless He is the Son of Joseph»¹. St. Luke calls Joseph the Father of Jesus (ii. 33, 48) and frequently speaks of *the parents of Jesus* (ii. 27, 41, 43). He also notes the astonishment which the revelation of old Simon on this subject caused (ii. 33), and the failure of Mary and Joseph to understand Christ's reply in the Temple when He told them that He must be about His Father's business, and finally, in ii. 50, this writer plainly suggests by his language that Mary and Joseph were ignorant on this point.

ANSWER. a) We have seen that the contradictions between St. Matthew and St. Luke are not, upon examination, real². b) The two genealogies are not superfluous or contradictory, as we shall see later³. c) Although supernaturally conceived, Jesus is the descendant of David by Joseph, His father in the sight of the law. d) The expressions «father» and «parents» were used in characterizing Jesus before the public. In the narrative of the Infancy, St. Luke gave the true status of Joseph in the mystery of the Incarnation, and he supposes his use of the terms would be understood in this light. We could not expect him to be so unliturgical as to repeat again and again, after the mention of Joseph, the fact that he was not

¹ A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth* I, 377, 378.

² Cf. nos. 88—90.

³ See no. 184.

Christ's real father. e) The two passages of Luke ii. 33 and ii. 49—50 shall be explained later¹.

3. A variant of the old *Syriac Version* of Sinai, reproduced in the MS. Φ and by the «Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila»² ascribes the paternity of Jesus to St. Joseph, in these words: «Iosephus cui desponsata erat Maria virgo, genuit Iesum qui appellatur Christus.»³

ANSWER. If true, the text is only one voice against many. But in the light of the context of the latter part of the first chapter of Matthew, it most likely never formed a part of the original Gospel.

175. II. *The Virginity of Mary in the Birth of Jesus.* It is the teaching of theologians that, in bearing Christ, Mary's virginity remained intact and that she was not subject to the pangs which are natural to all mothers. The Sacred Text appears to insinuate this; for we are told that she received her Child and with her own hands wrapped Him in swaddling-bands and laid Him in an improvised cradle. Yet, in warm countries, it has been shown that childbirth is not attended with so much pain and heaviness, and it is by no means rare for mothers to give the first care to their children.

III. *The Perpetual Virginity of the Mother of Jesus*⁴. Without clearly proving it, there are many passages which imply this doctrine. First of all we have the question of Mary (Lk. i. 34): «How shall this be done because I know not man?» This, as Fouard rightly remarks, «has no meaning at all unless we suppose that she had formed a steadfast resolution to remain a virgin; for certainly she only had to look forward to the near fulfilment of her plighted troth, and to her natural motherhood for the accomplishment of the angel's message»⁵. Again, according to the text of Lk. ii. 42, Mary and Joseph made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the annual celebration of the Paschal feast, a journey which would have been impossible, if Mary were the mother of other children. Then again, if Joseph respected the virginity of his spouse before she gave birth to Jesus — and we know he did — there was greater reason for his doing so after, in view of the marvellous happenings that revealed the august sanctity of both Mother and Child. In any case, there is not one Biblical passage which can be adduced in support

¹ See nos. 186, 197.

² Published by *Conybeare* at Oxford in 1898. Its date goes back to some time before the 4. century.

³ See Mt. i. 16.

⁴ For this position see *S. Thom.*, S. th. 3, q. 28; *Pesch*, *Praelectiones dogmaticae* IV, 503; *Mill*, *Mythical Interpretation* 219; *Lightfoot*, *Comm. on Galatians*, diss. II: *The Brethren of the Lord*; *Andrews*, *The Life of Our Lord* 111; *Fouard*, *The Christ, the Son of God* I, app. V; *Gigot*, *Outlines of N. T. History* 65—67; see also the authors quoted in no. 173. — Against it see *Farrar*, *The Early Days of Christianity* chap. 19; *Plummer*, *St. Luke* 224; *Mayor*, art. *Brethren of the Lord*, in *HDB*. I, 320.

⁵ *The Christ, the Son of God* I, 30, note 1.

of the contrary. We have already seen what meaning must be attached to the words *antequam convenirent, non cognovit eam donec peperit primogenitum*, and as we shall see the objection taken from the existence of the so-called «brethren of the Lord» can be readily explained away.

The *historical tradition*, or what we might call human testimony, is a unit in its witness to the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary; for in their writings the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of the 3. and 4. centuries are unanimous and decidedly formal on this point. Among this number are Origen, St. Basil, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Epiphanius, St. Ildephonse, St. Ephrem, and, in part, Tertullian¹. From the 3. century downward we have an uninterrupted chain of testimony which leads us to the times of the Apostles themselves. St. Jerome tells us that for his position he can appeal to «the authority of Ignatius, of Polycarp, of Irenæus, of Justin Martyr, and of many other Apostolic men»². Moreover, the *theological tradition* which, in virtue of the infallibility promised to the Church by Christ, cannot err in questions of faith and morals, affords us absolute certainty in regard to the perpetual virginity of Mary; for it is formally a unit in regard to this dogma.

176. The Main Objection: «The Brethren of the Lord.»

1. THE FACTS IN THE CASE. There are about a dozen texts of the N. T. which make mention of the brothers and sisters of the Lord³. The names and the number of the sisters are unknown, whilst of the brothers we know the names of James, Joseph or Jose, Jude and Simon⁴.

2. THE VARIOUS SOLUTIONS. The difficulty which these texts give rise to, have been explained in three different solutions. According to Helvidius, Jovinian, the Socinians, Unitarians, Protestants generally and all Rationalistic critics, these brethren were the real brothers of Christ, born of the marriage of Joseph and Mary. This explanation is not, however, founded on serious argument; for the words «brother» and «sister» are often, in biblical terminology, taken in a very wide meaning, and besides it has against it all the proofs of Scripture and tradition which we have cited above.

Origen, St. Hilary, St. Epiphanius, St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Cyril of Alexandria⁵ are of the opinion that they are the

¹ See their texts quoted in Hurter.

² De perpetua virginitate Mariæ adv. Helvidium 17: P. L. XXIII, 201, 202.

³ Mt. xii. 46; xiii. 55, 56; Mk. iii. 31; vi. 3; Lk. viii. 19; Jn. ii. 12; vii. 3, 5, 10; xx. 17; Acts i. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 5; Gal. i. 19.

⁴ Mt. xiii. 55, 56; Mk. vi. 3.

⁵ At first St. John Chrysostom and St. Augustine were adherents of this view, but they changed and adopted the view of St. Jerome.

children of St. Joseph born of another wife in a former marriage. But according to the pious belief of Catholics first formulated by St. Jerome, it is held that St. Joseph had no other spouse but Mary, and that he himself remained a virgin; for the oldest authorities that are urged in proof of a former wife, are taken from the apocryphal Gospels (the Protevangelium of James, the History of Joseph the Carpenter, the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, and the Gospel of Peter) and lack all other historical authority.

The brethren of Jesus were not His brothers in the proper sense of the term; for, according to the Catholic doctrine, Mary always remained a virgin, but they were cousins of various degrees of kinship. This third solution, which has for a long time been the one admitted in the Church, is the true one. To what we have already said in treating the question of the perpetual virginity of Mary, the following remarks may be added:

a) Any fair-minded critic will readily grant that the word «brother», *ah*, אח, as used in the Bible and the translations that have been made from it, has not the restricted sense which we give it in our languages. It may designate a brother in the strict sense of the term, a nephew, a cousin, a member of the same tribe, or of the same people, a companion, a friend, etc.¹ The context alone can decide the meaning that it bears. The reason for this is that the Hebrew language does not possess a terminology expressing exactly the various degrees of relationship. The authors of the N. T. could have used the word ἀνψιώς, which means cousin, just as we find it in Col. iv. 10, and likewise they could have used the word «brother» in the meaning that the LXX assign it.

b) Although there is frequent mention of the brothers and sisters of Jesus in the N. T., and although they are mentioned together with the names of Jesus and Mary, not once are they said to be the children either of Mary or Joseph. On the contrary, not only is Mary very often alluded to as the Mother of Jesus², but further Jesus is known in His native village Nazareth as the «Son of Mary», a term which was ordinarily applied to the only son of a widow³.

c) The fact that our Saviour, in the solemn hour of His crucifixion, entrusted the care of His mother to the beloved disciple, and that this latter took her home with him, implies that Jesus was an only son. It would be very strange for another child not to be thought worthy enough to care for Mary. To this it cannot be objected that Christ's brothers remained incredulous; for we find them present

¹ Gen. xiv. 16; 2 Sam. xix. 12; Ex. ii. 11; Am. i. 9; Gen. ix. 5; Gesenius, Thesaurus linguae hebraeae, אח, 63, 64. For the Greek see Grimm, Lexicon graecolatina: ἀδελφός: Mt. xii. 46; Mk. iii. 31, 32; Lk. viii. 19, 20; Jn. ii. 12; Acts i. 14.

² Lk. i. 43; Jn. ii. 1, 3; Acts i. 14.

³ Mk. vi. 3.

in the Cenacle, and also in the gathering of the disciples on the day of Pentecost¹, in the company of Mary whose beliefs and hopes they shared.

d) Lastly, the degree of the relationship of James, Joseph, Simon and Jude to Jesus can be determined with some probability from various passages of the Gospels and from the data afforded us by Hegesippus, who was a native of Palestine (2. century). According to the Synoptics, we find among those at the foot of the cross: «Mary, the mother of James the Less and of Joseph.»² This woman, Mary by name, can not be the mother of Jesus; for the Gospel writers would have not alluded to her in such vague and uncertain terms. Therefore it must be another Mary that is meant, probably she whom St. John places at the side of the Mother of the Saviour at the foot of the cross, and whom he calls «his mother's sister», that is, her sister-in-law. He further designates her as «Mary of Cleophas»³. Again «James is commonly called by Hegesippus *the brother of the Lord*: which shows that under his pen the two expressions are equivalent»⁴. If this be so, then we have two of the brethren of Jesus who in relationship are no nearer than cousins, namely James and Joseph.

According to Hegesippus⁵, Simeon or Simon succeeded James the Less at the siege of Jerusalem, because he was another cousin of Jesus, and was also the son of Cleophas, who was a brother of St. Joseph and the uncle of our Lord. As regards St. Jude, he was, according to Hegesippus⁶ *called the brother of Jesus according to the flesh*. Therefore he was not his brother in the strict sense of the word. Simon, we know, was the son of Cleophas. The following table taken from Calmes (L'Évangile selon S. Jean 176) brings out the various degrees of relationship:

Jacob (Mt. i. 16)		Heli (Lk. iii. 23)	
Joseph	Cleopas	Mary Cleopas	
	Simeon or Simon	Jude	James or Joseph or Jose

ART. VII.

THE BIRTH OF JESUS.

(Lk. ii. 1—21.)

177. I. *The Birth of Jesus*, 1—7. — 1. *The Circumstances leading up to the Birth at Bethlehem*, 1—3. As we have already indicated, Mary and Joseph resided in the city or village of Nazareth. But «in those days», as the Sacred Text puts it, that is at the time which followed closely on the birth of John the Baptist, there went forth an edict, *δόγμα*, from Cæsar Augustus (31 B. C. to

¹ Acts i. 14.² Mt. xxii. 56; Mk. xv. 40, 47; Lk. xxiv. 10.

³ Jn. xix. 25. We admit that the words «soror matris eius» can if used strictly have no reference to «Maria Cleophae» and may even refer to a distinct and unnamed person, even as the mother of Jesus is unnamed in this very passage. Many scholars identify James the Less and James the son of Alphaeus.

⁴ *Durand*, *The Childhood of Jesus* 266. See *Eus.*, H. E. IV, 22, 4.⁵ *Eus.*, H. E. III, 11, 32; IV, 22, 15; P. G. XX, 245, 246, 281, 283, 380.⁶ *Eus.*, H. E. III, 32.

14 A. D., Fig. 19) which prescribed the enrolment of the whole Roman world, which at that time took place in almost all the known parts of the universe. This census or enrolment consisted in the recording on the official registers the name, the age, the profession, and the personal wealth of all the inhabitants of the country, and its purpose was to furnish the basis for a new apportionment of the tax-list. All Jews who did not live in the city of their forefathers, or, as the Text has it, «in their own city», had, because of the custom of their nation, to repair to that city, to have their names inscribed in the Census Registers.

This decree, coming at this moment most providentially, made it possible for the prophecy of Micheas, according to which it was foretold that



Fig. 19.

Emperor Augustus.

Rome, Vatican. (Phot. Anderson.)

the Messiah would be born in Bethlehem, to be fulfilled¹. To claim, as Renan does, that the fact of Christ's birth at Bethlehem is «a legend manufactured to fit in with the words of Micheas», is merely a gratuitous assertion, the only proof of which lies in the preconceived ideas of its author².

The first (*πρῶτος*) census was taken during the governorship of Cyrenus over Syria: *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*, or: this census took place before Cyrenus was governor of Syria, *πρῶτος* having, here and elsewhere, the value of a comparative. The expression «first» is probably an allusion to another census made by this same Cyrenus about ten years later, which is mentioned by the Acts of the Apostles and the historian Josephus³.

178. THE CENSUS OF CYRINUS. The historical accuracy of St. Luke in regard to this statement has been seriously questioned, and that for three main reasons: 1. The profane historian, Josephus, who shows such a great familiarity with Jewish affairs, gives no indication of the ordering of a general census by Augustus at this time. 2. If this census did take place, then it must have occurred during the reign of Herod the Great over Judea, since our Lord was born before the death of this prince⁴. But Herod was a *rex socius*, allied to, and under the protection of the Empire, but not subject to it, in which case the census could only have applied to the other parts which were directly under the Roman rule. 3. Josephus mentions a census under Cyrenus, but it did not take place until after the deposition of Archelaus, some ten years after the death of Herod the Great, and hence fourteen years after Christ's birth⁵.

¹ Mich. v. 1. ² Renan, *Life of Jesus* 78; cf. also chapt. 15.

³ Acts v. 37; *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, I, 1. ⁴ Mt. ii. 1, 19, 22.

⁵ *Jos.*, J. A. XVII, XIII, 5; XVIII, I, 1; II, 1.

Leaving aside for the time being the idea of divine inspiration, which makes for the inerrancy of the sacred writer, we should on *a priori* grounds accept the statement of St. Luke, because it is most unlikely that he could be thus greatly mistaken, since he manifests on all occasions that his information is of the best, and makes clear distinctions of other census from this. Even if he had failed in other cases, he is right in this; for not one of the arguments brought against his historical accuracy proves its point.

I. Granting that Josephus is silent on this point, his silence at most can only form a negative argument. But in this particular case it can be explained. The work of *Dio Cassius*, who alone has made a detailed biography of Augustus, has reached us, for this period, only in the form of extracts; the *Annals* of *Tacitus* do not begin before the reign of Tiberius; *Suetonius* and *Josephus* are like all historians prone to make omissions and even commit errors. Probably there is no other ancient testimony, outside of the statement of St. Luke, that establishes the existence of a general enrolment. Yet there are a number of indications which tend to prove that, at the beginning of the Christian era, there was a general census taken up in Judea, in virtue of more universal decrees emanating from Augustus. Such are: the *Rationarium* or *Rationes imperii*, a sort of account-book published periodically by the emperor¹; the *Breviarium imperii* which according to Tacitus² contained accounts of the «numbers of citizens and allies, of the vessels, kingdoms, provinces, of the taxes, imposts, and the like: *Opes publicae continebantur; quantum civium sociorumque in armis; quae classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia et necessitates et largitiones, quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus*. This «*Breviarium imperii*» is mentioned also by Suetonius³ and Dio Cassius, and must have been based upon government examination of all parts of the Empire. According to Prideaux, it was probably something of the same kind as the *Doomsday Book* of William the Conqueror. There was the *Index rerum gestarum*, the testament of Augustus, engraved on the walls of a temple in Ancyra (in Galatia), in which there is the question three times of the census of the Roman citizens. This much, at least, is fairly to be inferred from the labours of Augustus, that he had made an examination of the provinces of the Empire as to their resources and capacities, and with reference to their respective contributions in men and money for the support of the government. Weiss remarks that, if Augustus procured memoranda estimating the population, the number capable of bearing arms, the extent to which the whole country, including allies, was available for revenue, this involved throughout the Empire just such estimates of the people as this in Luke⁴. «Lastly, the researches of J. B. de Rossi⁵ have established the fact that Augustus, besides decreeing the census of all the citizens of Rome, also drew up topographical charts and maps of the whole Roman world, the result of it all being the celebrated *Orbis pictus* which was placed under the porticoes of Polla, on the Field of Mars. The work of surveying and making these measurements, which called forth vast pains and labour, was finally completed about the year 747 of the Roman era, that is, about the time of the Lord's birth. All this adds strong incidental evidence to the fact that, at this epoch, the other operations accessory to the work of survey reached completion, as did that of the numbering of the inhabitants,

¹ *Suetonius*, Aug. 28; Gal. 16.

² *Annales* I, 11.

³ Aug. 101.

⁴ *Andrews*, *The Life of Our Lord* 75.

⁵ *Piante iconographiche e prospettiche di Roma*, Rome 1879, 25.

of those even residing in kingdoms bordering on the Roman Empire, which served as a gradual preparation for annexation to the *Orbis Romanus*.»¹

2. The second objection is not unanswerable. Whilst Palestine was divided between the three sons of Herod, before it became a Roman province, Augustus lowered the tribute of the Samaritans, because they had not taken part in the Jewish uprising against Varus², and in like manner, Rome imposed a tax on the inhabitants of Clites, a lowly race of Cappadocia, although they remained free³. And it is not all unlikely that, at this time, Augustus demanded a census of all his states, from the obsequious Herod, in order to arrive at a more accurate estimate of the national tax which he had to pay into the public treasury of Rome in the name of his people.



Fig. 20. View of Bethlehem. (Phot. Bruno Hentschel, Leipsic.)

3. The third difficulty does not exist if we translate: the census took place *before*.... If we translate *during* the governorship..., the difficulty may be answered in either of two ways. a) Cyrenus was governor of Syria twice, namely: from the years 6 to 10 A. D., and, at this particular time, he completed the census spoken of by the Acts and Josephus, and he probably fulfilled this function, another time, according to an inscription found at Tivoli, now at the Museum of Latran. This last term of office cannot, it is true, be placed before the death of Herod the Great, and consequently not before the birth of the Lord; for C. Sentius Saturninus was legate of Syria from the year 9 to 6 B. C., and Quinctilius Varus from the year 6 to 4 B. C., some few months after the death of Herod which occurred in the spring of this latter year. From this time

¹ *Marucchi*, art. Cyrenus in Dict. de la Bible of *Vigouroux*.

² *Jos.*, J. A. XVII, XI, 4; J. W. II, VI, 3.

³ *Tac.*, Ann. VI, 41.

there is a gap of several years, and it is here that in all probability the first term of office of Cyrenus should be placed. The census begun by his predecessors must have been completed by him, and hence took his name. Tertullian explicitly attributes the census to Sentius Saturninus, and, in order to prove his point, refers to the archives of Rome¹.

b) Perhaps Cyrenus, before he became governor, really enjoyed extraordinary power in Syria. We are quite certain that, towards the year 3 B. C., he led an expedition against the Homonades in Cilicia². The need of knowing what resources he could command, induced him to take up the census of Syria and Palestine.



Fig. 21. Monastery and Church of the Blessed Virgin at Bethlehem.

179. 2. The Journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem,
4, 5. Joseph who descended from the Davidic line, set about obeying the orders of Augustus. Hence he left his home in Nazareth, and with Mary his espoused wife, who was with child, went to Bethlehem (Fig. 20 and 21), his own town, the city of David, their common ancestor. This place, the name of which signifies «the house of bread», בֵּית לֶחֶם, was one of the oldest towns in all Palestine, although it had, in the 1. century, no especial importance; for we find it referred to as *χώμη* and *πόλις*³, names which testify its insignificance. It was about 75 miles distant from Nazareth, and about 5 miles from Jerusalem. At the present time almost all its population is Christian.

¹ Adv. Marc. iv. 7, 19; P. L. II, 405.

² Tac., Ann. III, 48.

³ Jn. vii. 42; Lk. ii. 4.

The expression «betrothed» is designedly chosen by St. Luke to emphasize the supernatural conception of Jesus. The term «espoused wife», although true in view of the fact that the marriage had already been celebrated, is not authentic; for it is wanting in the majority of witnesses. We do not know why Mary accompanied Joseph on this journey. Probably she did not want to be separated from her husband, now that the time of her deliverance was so near. Perhaps, too, she was an heiress of her family which made it necessary to be enrolled also.

3. **The Nativity**, 6, 7. The number of strangers that would gather at Bethlehem during this time must necessarily have been great.



Fig. 22.

Caravansary: Khan of the Compassionate Samaritan on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho. (Phot. Brassac.)

There was no place for Joseph and Mary in the hostlery or caravansary (*κατάλυμα*), and probably they were refused admission too, because of their poverty and the delicate condition of Mary. We know that Shamaam of Berzellai in Galaad built a khan at Bethlehem which served as a station for the cara-

vans that plied to Egypt. Perhaps this same building existed still in the I. century. If we can form a judgment from the khans which are met with in Palestine at the present day, «a khan is a low structure, built of rough stones, and generally only a single story in height. It consists for the most part of a square inclosure, in which the cattle can be tied up in safety for the night, and an arched recess for the accommodation of travellers. . . . In Palestine it not unfrequently happens that the entire khan, or at any rate the portion of it in which the animals are housed, is one of those innumerable caves which abound in the limestone rocks of its central hills»¹.

Turned away at the caravansary (Fig. 22), Joseph and Mary, according to testimony, that was deemed worthy of credence by St. Justin²

¹ Farrar, *Life of Christ* 23, 24.

² Dial. 78: P. L. VI, 657.

who lived in Palestine in the middle of the 2. century, and by Origen¹ who lived in the first half of the 3. century, took refuge in a near by cave which was used as a stable. There, in the midst of strangers, surrounded by the poor and the lowly, the Son of God «who did not desire human display, but adopted the opposite extreme», came into the world and was placed in a manger, ἐν φάτνῃ (Fig. 23). This was by far the greatest event that had ever taken place in the history of the world, and it is doubtful if there is any that took place with more simplicity and less ostentation².

180. II. *The Message of the Angels*, 8—14. Scarce was

Jesus born, when from His manger-throne He sent forth the call to the lowly and the poor (pauperes evangelizantur). Around about Bethlehem, there were shepherds guarding their flocks, watching in their turn during the night in order to keep wild beasts and robbers from their sheep. According to a local tradition of uncertain value,

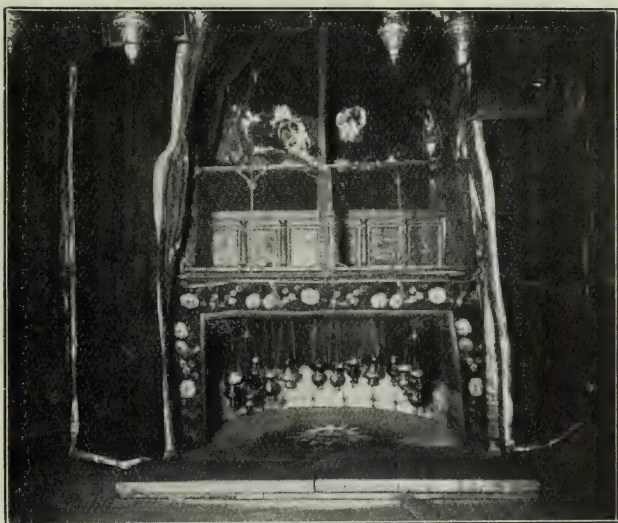


Fig. 23.

Christ's birth-place in the Birth-grotto at Bethlehem.

they were at *Beit-Sahour*, a village situated a short distance, to the east of Bethlehem. If the Nativity took place during the winter (no. 147), it need cause no surprise to find the flocks in the field at this time; for the temperature in Palestine at this season is mild, and the earth, after the first rains, is covered with verdure.

An angel, perhaps Gabriel, the messenger of the Incarnation, appeared to the shepherds. The glory of the Lord, that is the brightness which is generally attendant upon heavenly apparitions³, enveloped them in light, and as is usual in such cases filled them with a great fear (timuerunt timore magno). The angel quieted their

¹ Contra Cels. I, 51: P. G. XI, 756.

² The apocryphal Gospels surround the event with circumstances more or less spectacular, but their version has never been admitted by the Church.

³ Ex. xxiv. 17; 3 Kings viii. 11.

fears immediately. «Fear not; for behold I bring you tidings of great joy, that shall be to all the people. For this day is born to you a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David.» At the same time the angel gave them a sign whereby they might verify his message and which also would help them find the New-born. «You shall find the infant wrapped in swaddling clothes, and laid in a manger.» If there were other babes born in Bethlehem this night, not one of them, it is safe to say, would have a manger for a cradle.

All of a sudden, in order to confirm the words of the angel, a multitude of the angelic host, part of the divine army that surrounds the throne of the Almighty, joined with the first in praising God, and the burden of their cry was: «Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will.» This chant, according to the common opinion, and also the more probable, should be adhered to, and is made up of two and not three members:

Gloria in altissimis (est) Deo

Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis (εὐδοξίας).

This reading is founded on the oldest testimonies (ⲁ ABD, It., Vulg., Goth., Iren.-Lat., Orig.-Lat.) and upon internal evidence; for the two members find exact agreement with each other: *gloria* = *pax*; *in altissimis* = *terra*; *Deo* = *hominibus*. Its meaning is this: The birth of the Messias gives glory to God whose abode is the highest heavens, from whence He manifests His glory and from whence the angels came; the birth of this Babe brings peace and happiness to men, their conversion being the object of the divine good will. *Εὐδοξίας* (Lk. x. 21) is a qualitative genitive analogous to *filiū diffidentiae*, *filiū obedientiae*¹.

Other scholars arguing in their behalf the authority of such testimonies as *ΛΠΓΔΔΞ*, Pesch., Sin., Hérak., Boh., Arm., Eth., Orig., Eus., Bas., prefer the reading:

Glory to God in the highest!

Peace on earth! To men, good will!²

Paulus of the old school of Rationalism made the fanciful assertion that the apparitions of the angels were not real, but were will-o'-the-wisps or phosphorescent lights which the serpherds looked upon as signs of the Messias' coming. It is just as fanciful and gratuitous to maintain that the incident of the shepherds is but a mythical development of the truth of the Nativity; for in the majority of cases it is the poor that have been made the recipients of heavenly revelation in preference to any other class³.

¹ Eph. ii. 2; 1 Pet. i. 14.

² See *Tischendorf*, N. T. Graece, h. 1.; *Westcott-Hort*, The N. T. in Greek II, notes p. 52—56.

³ *A. Réville*, Jésus de Nazareth I, 401, 402.

181. III. *The Visit of the Shepherds*, 15—20. After the angelic vision had vanished, the shepherds, all upright and simple men, cried to one another that they should go to Bethlehem and see for themselves what had taken place¹. They departed in all haste and found Joseph, Mary, and the Child lying in a manger. What conversation took place we know not, but whatever its nature, it must have been most touching in character. It has been a pious belief that the shepherds offered gifts to the Holy Family. What we are almost sure of, is that all this passed off in the utmost simplicity; for nothing appears marvelous to these who can see with the eyes of faith.

After they had seen what the angel had told them, the shepherds returned and told all that happened to those they encountered, and thus became the first propagators of the Gospel. All they told were in admiration at what they heard². Mary, on the other hand, was silent and recollected, treasured up all the wonderful things that had taken place, both those to which she had been witness to, and what the shepherds had recounted to her, in her heart and pondered over them. She made of them «a sort of interior book which she read again and again with ever increasing tenderness» and which she later transmitted to the Church (no. 65).

The shepherds returned to their flocks, praising God for the things that they had heard and seen.

182. IV. *The Circumcision of Our Lord*, 21. On the eighth day after the birth, the Child was circumcised. In submitting to this ceremony, our Saviour desired «to be made like unto his brethren in all things»³ and bore the marks of sin; for, according to theologians, especially St. Thomas⁴ and Suarez⁵, circumcision, under the Old Law, wiped out original sin. Again Christ wanted to make this the first occasion for the shedding of His blood for our redemption. «As the East catches at sunset the colours of the west, so Bethlehem is a prelude to Calvary, and even the infant's cradle is tinged with a crimson reflection from the Redeemer's cross.»⁶

The meager details which St. Luke affords us on this point leave us in ignorance as to how this ceremony was carried out. It took place in the home of the child, as is shown from the example of John the Baptist — although some maintain that it took place in the synagogue —, in the presence of *at least* ten witnesses. «Two seats were prepared, the one for the witness or sponsor, the other for the prophet Elias who was always thought to be present at this ceremony.» The minister who in this case

¹ Lk. i. 37, 65; Acts x. 37.

² These two verses, 17 and 18, anticipate verse 20.

³ Hebr. ii. 17.

⁴ S. th. 3, q. 70.

⁵ De Sacramentis in genere disp. 4, sect. 1; disp. 5, sect. 1.

⁶ Farrar, Life of Christ 35.

must be other than the sponsor¹, performed the operation, saying: «Blessed be the Lord our God who has sanctified us by His precepts and has given us the circumcision.» The father of the child, whose presence was prescribed, replied: «Who has granted unto us the right to bring our child into the covenant of our father Abraham.» The assisting added the words of the Psalmist: «Long may he endure whom you have chosen for your child.» On this day, a name was given to the newly born, because God, when He instituted the right of circumcision², changed the names of Abraham and Sara. The Son of Mary was called Jesus, even as the angel had ordained.

ART. VIII.

THE GENEALOGY OF JESUS.

(Mt. i. 1—17; Lk. iii. 23—38.)³

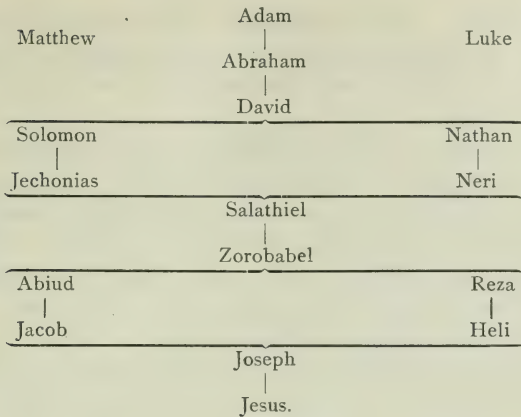
183. I. A Statement of the Difficulties. The first and the third Gospels each contain a genealogy of our Lord, which such Rationalistic critics, as Renan, Reuss, Meyer, A. Réville, Bacon, Loisy, deem so contradictory as to be irreconcilable. St. Matthew follows a descending line tracing the ancestry from Abraham to Jesus, and dividing the generations in three groups of 14 names each, probably to help the memory, and omitting a certain number of generations (Ochozias, Joas, Amasias), in order not to break his artificial arrangement, and also in order to fix the descendance rather than to enumerate all intermediary members. St. Luke, on the other hand, follows an ascending line, and traces from Jesus back to Abraham, thence to Adam, to God; among the patriarchs before the Flood he places the name of Cainan, probably because it is found in the LXX which he ordinarily quoted from, although it is not found in the Hebrew.

The two genealogies are identical from Abraham to David. For the rest of the list they have no names in common except those of Salathiel, Zorobabel und Joseph. It is not even certain that, by the names of Salathiel and Zorobabel, the two writers mean to refer to the same persons; for in St. Matthew the father of Salathiel is Jechonias, and Zorobabel is said to have begotten Abiud, whilst in St. Luke the father of Salathiel is called Neri, and the son of Zorobabel, Reza. As regards St. Joseph, he was, according to St. Matthew, the son of Jacob, and, according to St. Luke, the son of Heli. Lastly, St. Luke enumerates 41 generations from David down to our Lord exclusively, whilst St. Matthew only counts 26.

¹ Gen. xxi. 4; Ex. iv. 25; 2 Macc. vi. 10.

² Gen. xvii. 1—15.

³ On this question see *Fouard*, *The Christ, the Son of God I*, app. III; *Bacon*, art. Genealogy of Jesus Christ, in HDB. II, 137; *Maas*, art. Genealogy of Christ, in the Catholic Encyclopedia VI, 410, and the literature there referred to.



184. II. Solution. General Answer. Leaving aside for the time being the idea of inspiration and arguing from *a priori* grounds, it is very improbable that the genealogies are at fault. It cannot be asserted that the Evangelists invented them, unless we want to descend to the preposterous; for they were not in a position to invent them even if they cared to. If they did not invent them, then they would, as a matter of course, assure themselves of their correctness.

There is good reason to believe that the genealogies are extracts from the public archives. All the Semitic races, especially the Hebrews, have always attached an almost excessive importance to their genealogies. And this scarcely need be wondered at, when it is remembered that among the Jews the inheritance of families, the rights of individuals, and the Messianic hope of the nation rested upon them.

Hence these family records existed in great profusion among this people, as is readily seen by the contents of the Book of Paralipomenon, the Book of Esdras, the Book of Nehemias, and the works of the Jewish historian Josephus who, according to his own word, drew his genealogy from the public archives¹. The genealogical indications in regard to Elizabeth, the prophetess Anna, of St. Paul and others, as found in the Bible, are also supposed to be derived from the same source². At the end of the 1. century, they had the means to establish the Davidic line, since Domitian (81—96), according to Hegesippus, ordered that all the descendants of David be put to death. Those who escaped this order owed it to their lowly condition; for the emperor was told that he had nothing to fear from a few poor peasants³. Julius Africanus, a writer of the 3. century, records that Herod the Idumean realizing that he did not belong to the ancient families of the Israelites, caused all the genealogical lists of the Jews to be burned. But this indication which contradicts all what has been said, was either invented under the influence of the fierce hatred borne against this prince, or Herod's order was carried out only hap-hazardly.

¹ *Jos.*, Vita I, 1; *Contra Ap.* I, 7.

² *Tob.* i. 1; *Jud.* viii. 1; *Lk.* i. 5; ii. 36; *Rom.* xi. 1; *Phil.* iii. 5.

³ *Ens.*, H. E. III, 19, 20; *P. G.* XX, 252, 253.

FIRST OPINION. There are three main theories advanced in explanation of the divergences in the genealogical tables of Christ. None of them is decisive, and the best that can be attained is some degree of probability.

The first opinion may be called that of Julius Africanus which he propounded in his «Letter to Aristides». This writer, whose view has been maintained by a number of critics, asserted that both *Matthew and Luke gave the genealogy of Joseph*, because among the Jews, as among most peoples, the names of women were not included in the genealogical tables. *The differences in the two accounts find their explanation in the Jewish law of the Levirate*. When a woman was widowed and left without issue, she could marry her brother-in-law or one of his near relatives. All the children that were born of this union bore the name of the first husband, and they became his heirs and legal descendants¹. Perhaps Jacob and Heli (the father of Joseph) were brothers. Heli married and died without issue; Jacob married his widow and became the natural father of Joseph, who became the heir and legal son of Heli. If Salathiel and Zorobabel refer to the same persons in the two lists, the divergence that follows the mention of their names, must again be explained by another Levirate marriage. For it would be astonishing indeed if the Levirate law was not adopted twice in a thousand years.

SECOND OPINION. Since the 15. century, there is a theory which contends that *Matthew gives the genealogy of St. Joseph, and Luke gives that of the Blessed Virgin*. Joseph, it is claimed, descended from David through Solomon, or in a direct line, whilst Mary descended through Nathan or in a collateral line.

a) This opinion agrees very well with the *text* of Luke found in several MSS. (iii. 23), which reads Ἰησοῦς ..., ὃν (ὡς ἐνομίζετο υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ), τοῦ Ἡλεΐ ...: «Jesus who is considered the son of Joseph, is in reality of Heli» (the father of Mary). But the great majority of critics of modern times prefer the following reading: Ἰησοῦς ... ὃν υἱὸς (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ Ἡλεΐ, hardly to be reconciled with the present explication which, moreover, is so subtle that it was not known until the 15. century.

b) Moreover, it is very improbable that St. Luke, after having declared in the two first chapters and at the beginning of his genealogy that Jesus was not really the son of Joseph, and that the historical reality ran counter to the popular opinion, would have traced the descent of Joseph. How has he unrolled this long chain, after having broken it in the first link himself?

¹ Deut. xxv. 5—10

But as we have already remarked, the women were not counted in the genealogies, and it would be wrong to suppose that St. Luke made an exception to this rule.

c) According to a very probable tradition found in the Talmud¹ the name of Mary's father was Eli, a name which is identical with Eliachim or Joachim; for, in the Book of Judith, the same high priest is called some-times Joachim (xv. 9) and at others Eliachim (ii. 5, 7, 11). According to the Protevangelium of James, which most of the Fathers followed on this particular point, the Blessed Virgin was the daughter of Joachim. But either the Talmudists and the apocryphal writers depended on the genealogy of Luke, whose interpretation they thus confirm, or they are independent, and then they justify the accuracy of the documents employed by St. Luke. In every case, the translations of the Talmud are so confuse so that it is not even certain that the Talmud has known the Mother of Jesus under the name of Mary.

THIRD OPINION². Since women were not enumerated in the genealogical lists, the two Evangelists must have given the ancestry of Joseph alone. The difference disappears, when it is remembered that they gave their lists from different view-points. The first Evangelist drew up, what might be called a *royal or dynastic table*, and showed in what manner the royal prerogatives were transmitted through David to Jesus by St. Joseph. The third Evangelist furnishes us with a *genealogical tree*, and gives us a list of the actual or legal ancestors which established blood ties between Jesus and David through St. Joseph.

In support of this opinion, it must be remarked that all the persons cited by St. Matthew, from Abraham down to David, are the first-born or oldest sons, or, better, occupy the position as such, and consequently they are the chiefs of the family, and the heirs of the patriarchal rights. From David to Jechonias, St. Matthew gives only the names of kings. We can suppose from this that, for the rest of his list of which verification is impossible, he pursued the same course and wished to express the line of dynasty. Jechonias was cursed by God, and it was predicted that «there shall not be a man of his seed that shall sit upon the throne of David»³. But it is just at this point that Matthew's list meets Luke's.

That it was St. Luke's intention to give a list of the real or legal ancestors of Joseph, is highly probable, since he must have known the royal connection that bound Joseph to David, and yet he fails to cite the name of one king.

¹ Talmud, Chagigah 77, 4; Lightfoot, Horae ... in Lucam III, 23.

² See Durand, The Childhood of Jesus.

³ Jer. xxii. 30.

The only serious difficulty to this theory lies in the word *genuit* as used by St. Matthew. It means here «to transmit the royal rights». Yet, when it is considered that St. Matthew draws up an artificially divided list, in three series of 14 names, and as a consequence omits several names, the word *genuit* cannot have this strict meaning, but must be taken in a wider sense, and be made to mean «to transmit the rights of dynasty». But despite this difficulty, we regard this third opinion as the most probable.

ART. IX.

THE PURIFICATION OF MARY AND THE PRESENTATION OF JESUS IN THE TEMPLE.

(Lk. ii. 22—38.)

185. 1. The Ceremony of the Purification and Presentation, 22—24. According to the Jewish law, every first-born male child was obliged to be separated from that which was profane, and consecrated to God for service in the Tabernacle¹; for God had made the Jewish people His first-born²; and the day on which He struck the first born of the sons of Egypt, He consecrated all the first born of Israel to His service. Later on, by a special ordinance, Levites were substituted for the first born of the family in the ceremonies of public worship. Nevertheless, in order to keep before His people at all times a lively reminder of His right, God fixed that a ransom price of five sicles or shekhels (about four dollars in our money) be paid for every first-born.

The Law³ also commanded that every woman, after the birth of a male child, was legally impure for forty days, during which time she could not touch anything holy, nor present herself at the sanctuary. If the child were a female, the impurity lasted for eighty days. After this period she was supposed to present in the Tabernacle, later in the Temple, «a lamb of a year old for a holocaust, and a young pigeon or turtle for sin⁴. Instead of these victims, the poor could replace them by two turtle doves or two young pigeons.

In accordance with this law, the Holy Family, forty days after the Nativity, presented itself at the Temple, Mary to be purified, and Jesus to be ransomed. The holy group crossed the Court of the Gentiles, went through the Court of the Women, mounted the stairway of fifteen steps, and presented themselves at the Gate of Nicanor, which was situated between the Court of the Women and that of the Israelites (no. 137). There, a priest on service for that

¹ Ex. xiii. 2, 12, 15; Num. viii. 16—18; xviii. 15, 16.² Num. iii. 13.³ Lev. xii.⁴ Lev. xii. 6.

week sprinkled Mary with blood and prayed over her. Then the offering of the doves or pigeons (the offering of the poor) took place, and the payment of the five shekhels (Fig. 24) was also made. These ceremonies were not at all necessary; for Mary had contracted no



Fig. 24. Hebrew Silver-Shekel.

impurity, and Jesus was consecrated to God's service in that He had been sent to redeem the world. But the holy Family, in submitting to the Jewish law, wished to give us a truly noble lesson of humility, obedience and poverty.

186. 2. Simeon, 25—35. Two unexpected incidents marked the ceremony of Purification. «The great contrast of humility and glory which pervaded the whole life of Christ, made itself manifest on this occasion.» There lived at Jerusalem a man named Simeon, whom critics, in the absence of direct proof, have in vain sought to identify with various distinguished persons, with Simeon the Pious, or Simeon the son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel. He was quite an old man at this time; for he was in daily expectancy of death. In character he was a perfect man, just, one who feared the Lord. He lived in expectation of the Messias, who according to the prophets would be the consolation of Israel¹. The Holy Ghost resided in Him permanently². He had been told by a divine oracle that he would not see death until he had seen the Messias sent by God (*Christum Domini*). Drawn by divine inspiration³ he betook himself to the Temple, probably to the Court of the Women, at the very time of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, took the Child in his arms and praised God in his beautiful canticle.

THE CANTICLE. «By the ardour of its intuitiveness», the lyrical character of its phraseology, and «the energetic conciseness of its style», this canticle, despite its brevity, deserves the name of being an echo «of the most beautiful compositions of David». For nineteen hundred years it has endured as the most touching consolation for dying Christians.

In its literary form it may be divided into two strophes. In the first Simeon expresses his joy which the Saviour has brought to him (29, 30); and in the second he predicts what the Saviour would be for men (31, 32).

«Now», he says, «that I have seen the Messias, let Thy servant go in peace». He is now resigned to die; for all his desires have been accomplished. «Thou hast made real, o Lord, all Thy words,

¹ Is. xl. 1; xlix. 13; li. 3; lxi. 2. No. 142.

² «Erat», the imperfect of duration.

³ «In Spiritu», and not in ecstasy.

whereby Thou didst promise to let me see the Messiah before my death.» «Now I am ready to go; for my eyes have seen the Saviour.»¹

In the two succeeding verses (31, 32) the thought runs thus: «My eyes have seen the Saviour whose benefits shall extend to all peoples, irrespective of race and condition, who shall be a light revealing itself to the Gentiles plunged in darkness, and who shall glorify the Jewish nation, His own people.» Simeon, rising superior to the ideas that prevailed among his contemporaries, proclaims, in these few words, the universality of Redemption (no. 142))

The father (for this word see no. 174, 3) and mother of Jesus were in admiration at these words. Nay more, they were astonished either because Simeon had knowledge of the high mission of the Child, or because his revelations confirmed what had been said of their offspring up to that time. In the meantime, the venerable Saint blessed Joseph and Mary, that is, he felicitated them upon their good fortune. But, turning to the mother, he prophesied that this Child would be for many in Israel the occasion of spiritual and moral ruin, and for many also He would be the cause of a moral regeneration; for from henceforth humanity would be divided into two hostile parties, as regards Him and His work. As for Mary, her heart would be pierced by a sword². There is no question here of the so-called doubts of Mary in regard to the mission of Jesus (Origen), nor of her so-called martyrdom (St. Epiphanius), but of the sorrow which would be caused by the rejection of Jesus by the Jews, especially the Crucifixion. We have here an image of the *Mater dolorosa* at the foot of the cross. It was the funeral knell that was to be sounded on Calvary.

All these things would result in bringing out in the minds of men either a favourable or hostile attitude, their hatred or love for Christ.

187. 3. The Prophetess Anne, 36—38. Another witness to the glorious destiny of this Child, another representative of holiness under the old Law, now succeeded Simeon. There was at Jerusalem a woman named Anne (חַנָּה, grace), the daughter of Phanuel of the tribe of Aser. She was very old; for, after being married seven years, she had remained a widow for 84 years. Supposing that she was married at the age of fifteen, she would have been, at this time, 106 years old. This is not at all incredible, but it is likely that the words «she was a widow until fourscore and four years» refers to her actual age. She was a prophetess נְבִיאָה, that is, she knew and revealed the future, or taking the word prophet in a more

¹ «Salutare», the abstract for the concrete.

² *ρομφαία*, a large sword, the classical way of expressing deep sorrow.

customary use, «she vindicated the Law of God in word, repressed vice and encouraged virtue», and hence it was that she visited the Temple faithfully and frequently.

She too came to the Purification ceremony, led there by a divine inspiration. Recognizing in the Babe before her the Liberator of Israel, the Messias, she began to glorify God, but how we do not know; for St. Luke does not tell us. She spoke of Jesus to all who looked for the redemption of Jerusalem; or, according to other texts, to those who, at Jerusalem, looked for redemption of Jerusalem, that is of Israel.

ART. X.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

(Mt. ii. 1—12.)

188. The Time of the Magi's Visit. We are not sure of the exact time of Magi's visit. St. Luke who says nothing of them, probably because he was ignorant of the fact, says explicitly that after the Purification — forty days after the Nativity — the Holy Family returned to Nazareth. The opinion current at the present day, on the contrary, maintains that they returned to Bethlehem, and hence it places the adoration of the Magi after, and not before the Purification, either because Herod ordered the death of all the children of Bethlehem who had reached the age of two years, *secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis*¹, or because the Holy Family retired into Egypt immediately after the visit of the Magi, as St. Matthew tells us, and as the circumstances seem to demand, or because — and this is the great reason — Mary and Joseph would have been guilty of a great lack of prudence, in taking the Child to Jerusalem after the revelations which the angel made to them.

In an attempt to reconcile the account of St. Luke with that of St. Matthew, a few scholars have advanced the view that Joseph, after the Purification, returned to Nazareth and stayed there only long enough to put his affairs in shape for his settlement in Bethlehem, the village sanctified by so many traditions and so many memories of the Davidic family. The existence of a domicile at Bethlehem seems to fit in well with St. Matthew's account²; for, upon coming back from Egypt, St. Joseph goes to Nazareth, because he feared to go into Judea (evidently to Bethlehem). This short trip to Nazareth is not improbable, yet it suffices to say that St. Luke in the fragmentary account that he affords us, omitted the facts which occurred in the time between the Presentation and the final settlement of the Holy Family at Nazareth.

189. 1. The Magi at Jerusalem, 1—8. The divine Infant had called to the shepherds to come and adore Him, on the night of His birth. Now He called again, but this time it was to the most representative and elite of the Gentiles. The word *magus* signifies, in the Pehlvi³, *priest*, and in the Indo-Germanic language

¹ Mt. ii. 16.² Mt. ii. 22.³ Pehlvi was a language spoken in Persia in the time of the Sassanides and was a mixture of Persian idiom and the Babylonian.

it has a meaning akin to *great*. It is borrowed from the religious terminology of the Orientals, and refers directly to a priestly caste which first existed among the Medes and the Persians, and which afterwards spread throughout the whole Orient¹. Sometimes they are referred to as Chaldeans, and as we know from the O. T., they played an important part in the court functions of Nabuchodonosor; for we find Daniel bearing the title of «grand Magus». According to Strabo, they formed one of the two great councils of the Parthian kings and devoted themselves to the practice of a life of virtue². Like all the priests of antiquity, they reserved to themselves the right of studying the sciences and arts almost exclusively. They studied astronomy and natural history in their relation with their theological system (*magos quod genus sapientum ac doctorum habetur in Persis*)³. Later the word came to have a less noble meaning and was synonymous with «magician»⁴. But here the word must be taken in its better sense, for there is nothing to indicate the other.

According to popular tradition, the Magi were all of them kings, although the Gospel and the tradition of the early ages make no mention of this fact; for in early Christian art we find them represented without either sceptre or crown. This belief, however, probably arose from a false interpretation of Ps. lxxi. 10, which reads: *Reges Tharsis et insulae munera offerent*, the kings of Tharsis and the islands shall offer presents, a text which in reality proclaims the universality of the Church. We know nothing of their *names*, nor of their *number*. The oldest traditions on this point are too contradictory to be valuable in approximating to a decision. Some count three, others two, others again four, six, eight, and some testimonies have calculated twelve and even fifteen. The one that reckons their number at three, refers to them under the names: Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, all of whom are honoured as Saints in the Roman martyrology. Their country is also unknown. We know they came from the East, but this generic term refers to all the nations east of Palestine. From their name they should have been natives of Babylon or of Arabia, since the Bible refers to the latter as «the children of the East»⁵.

The Magi came to Jerusalem and asked to know the place where the king of the Jews was born. The designation «king of the Jews» means Messiah here; for the Magi would not have come to offer their homage to an ordinary child, he had to be of royal blood. Besides, Herod in seeking information from the Jewish doctors asked where their expected Messiah was to be born. «We have seen the

¹ Dan. ii. 2, 18, 48; iv. 6 f.; v. 7, 11, 12.

² *Strabo*, Geographica XI, ix, 9; XV, III, 1.

³ *Cic.*, De divin. 1, 23.

⁴ Sap. xvii. 7; Acts viii. 9; xiii. 6

⁵ Job i. 3; Jer. xlix. 28.

star (*stellam eius*) which announced His advent», they said in explanation of their journey, «and we have come to adore Him».

All attempts to explain the nature of this star have proved unsuccessful¹. There is scarcely any reason for asserting that it was a star that shone for a time and then disappeared from view for ever, or that it was a comet, or the conjunction of Mars and Jupiter, which produced a brilliant yet transitory blaze of brightness; for a star of this kind could not and would not have led the Magi from the north to the south, from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, unless we wish to assign an irregular movement to astronomical phenomena. If a natural star, it had its own peculiar evolutions and hence would not have preceded the Magi nor rested exactly over the house where Christ lay. According to the text, it must be admitted that we have here a meteor, miraculous and transitory in nature, created to meet all the exigencies of the circumstances, which re-appeared and disappeared as did the pillar of fire in the desert.

The Magi did not claim that the star conducted them all the way of their journey. The especial mention of its re-appearance after they had left Jerusalem, the great sign of joy that they evinced upon beholding it, the use of the past tense: *quam viderant*, which they had seen, all this is proof that it was not visible to them all the time.

The appearance of a star was well-adapted to the religious ideas of the Magi and the general beliefs of the time. As fire-worshippers and students of the stars, the Magi could accept it into their system without much difficulty. For the world at large at this time believed that celestial phenomena² presided over the great events in the world's history, especially in the case of the birth of great men, and besides it was in full expectancy of the advent of a Saviour who was to rise out of Judea³. All this together with the too literal interpretation of the prophecy of Balaam⁴ and an interior enlightenment, gave the Magi the true meaning of the star's appearance.

190. Upon hearing the statement of the Magi, Herod, king of the Jews by intrigue, usurpation and murder, ever suspicious and extremely jealous, detested by most of his subjects because of his tyrannical and antitheocratical character, became troubled in spirit (no. 132). Visions of losing his throne and of being compelled to compete with a dangerous rival, now loomed before him and rendered him unhappy. And in this sadness he was joined by many of his

¹ Cf. Fouard, *The Christ, the Son of God* (appendix IV) I, 382.

² *Suet.*, Caesar 88; *Jos.*, J. W. VI, v, 14.

³ *Suet.*, Vesp. IV, 4; *Tac.*, Hist. V, 13; *Virg.*, 4. *Ecl.* See also no. 142.

⁴ During the reign of Hadrian, there arose a false Messiah who called himself Barcochebas, that is *son of the star*.

partisans for the very same reasons. As the matter pertained to religion, Herod sought light by calling together the chief priests and scribes¹.

Appealing to a text in the prophecy of Micheas (v. 2), the Sanhedrin indicated Bethlehem as the place where the Messiah was to be born: «And thou, Bethlehem the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes (i. e. principal cities) of Juda; for out of thee shall come forth the captain that shall rule My people Israel.»²

The wily Herod, utterly frightened at what had been told him, wanted to hush up the whole affair in silence. He then called the Magi to him in secret, and carefully inquired how long ago it was since they first saw the star that was supposed to announce the birth of the king, and thus became aware of the age of Jesus approximately. Finally he sent the Magi to Bethlehem, urging them to inform themselves of all they possibly could in regard to the Child, and upon their return to report to him, so that he might also come and adore Him.

191. 2. The Magi at Bethlehem, 9—12. Leaving Herod, the Magi wended their way toward Bethlehem. The star, after disappearing for a time, now re-appeared in order to recompense them for their faith, and fortify it. Its re-appearance filled them with joy (*gavisunt gaudio valde magno*). It preceded them and rested over the place where the Child was. The Magi then entered the «house» — for since the night of the birth, St. Joseph could have easily procured a lodging place more convenient than a stable —, and falling down they adored the Child, rendering Him a truly religious act of homage³.

Opening their treasures, they offered to Jesus gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh⁴. The symbolism of these gifts had been variously explained. The most popular view is that they wished to honour

¹ We do not know whether the ancients of the people were called or not. They were civil judges, rather than theologians. Yet Herod wanted an official declaration, which would mean that all the Sanhedrin would have to meet. It is not rare for the Evangelists to fail to mention the three orders when they had direct reference to a meeting of all the Sanhedrists. Cf. Mt. xxvi. 3; xxvii. 1; also nos. 136, 139.

² In Micheas, this text reads somewhat differently. There we find in the Hebrew text: «And thou, Bethlehem Ephrata, art a little one among the thousands of Juda: out of thee shall he come forth that is to be the ruler in Israel.» Yet the difference between the Hebrew and the Vulgate is not so great; for Micheas in writing «thou art a little one» considered mainly the number of inhabitants of Bethlehem, while St. Matthew who cites this prophecy freely, pictures the future glory of the village.

³ The expression «to adore» as used in the Bible frequently means veneration offered to men. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 29; xxxiii. 3; xlii. 6. But the miraculous star was sufficient proof to the Magi that they were in the presence of an extraordinary Being.

⁴ A kind of gum (*Balsamodendron Myrrha*) which is much used in embalming processes. Cf. Jn. xix. 39.

the royal dignity (gold) of Jesus, together with His divinity or His priestly character (incense), and His humanity (myrrh). In all likelihood they offered these presents in order to show their honour for an important personage, without attaching any precise meaning to them.

After this a divine oracle warned them in a dream not to appear before Herod. They took another way, probably by way of the Dead Sea, and returned directly to their country.

Historical Character of the Account. It is unwarranted to assert that this account is a myth «suggested to the originators of the legend, by a passage of the Book of Numbers (xxiv. 17), in which there is question of a star that shall rise out of Jacob», and much more so to say that it is an adaptation of the visit that Tiridates, king of the Parthians, with magi, paid to Nero, in order to adore him¹.

The general proofs that we have already given in favour of the historical character of the Synoptics, especially the Gospel of the Infancy, are corroborated by the following facts: 1. the universal belief both among Jews and pagans of the 1. century, that an extraordinary personage would appear (no. 142). 2. Magi resided in the Orient who investigated the stars for the announcement of terrestrial happenings. 3. The character of Herod, which was cruel and suspicious, just as the story of St. Matthew depicts him (nos. 132, 193).

If the O. T., especially the prophecy of Balaam, had exercised any influence upon the formation of this story, the author would have, in accordance with his usual custom, furnished the connection between this prediction and the star of the Magi, as also between their presents and several passages of Isaias and the Psalms².

Between this incident and the story of Tiridates there are essential differences. Tiridates went to Nero to appease a tyrant and not to adore a Saviour, and if he did return to his country by a different road as did the Magi, it was not to baffle the designs of Nero.

ART. XI.

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT AND THE MASSACRE OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS.

(Mt. ii. 13—23.)

192. 1. The Flight into Egypt, 13—15. After the departure of the Magi, an angel appeared to St. Joseph in a dream, and bade him take the Child and fly to Egypt, the nearest foreign country to which Herod's power did not extend, and the place where all the persecuted Palestinians of the time sought refuge. «Herod», the angel added, «seeks the child to destroy Him.» Joseph, the faithful guardian of the trust that been bestowed upon him, took the child and His mother by night, and retired into Egypt. The great liberality of the Magi probably contribute to satisfy whatever needs they might

¹ Cf. *Durand*, The Childhood of Jesus 232.

² Is. lx. 6; Ps. lxxi. 10, 11, 15.

have. Most likely all this came to pass the very first night after the departure of the Magi, as might be inferred from *ecce apparuit*¹ and also by the fact that Jerusalem was not far from Bethlehem and Herod would soon become aware of the departure of the Magi, and would not delay very long to put his criminal intentions into execution.

The circumstances of this journey into Egypt are entirely unknown. The apocryphal Gospels have attempted to supply details, and their efforts have resulted in fantastical and even silly inventions. According to a tradition the value of which is rather doubtful, the



Fig. 25. Tree of the Blessed Virgin at Matarieh.

Holy Family took up their abode at Matarieh (Fig. 25), not far from Cairo and the sacerdotal city Heliopolis. Neither can the duration of the stay in Egypt be determined; for, if the Holy Family returned to Palestine after the death of Herod, which took place in the year 750 A. U. C., it tells us nothing; for we are not sure of the year in which our Lord was born (nos. 146, 147), nor are we sure of the time of the visit of the Magi.

St. Matthew, whose Gospel was written to show the Messianic character of Jesus (no. 38) because in Him prophecies had been fulfilled, records this incident just to show that the prediction of Os. xi. 1 (ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum) had been verified. This

¹ *φαίνεται*, the present, according to many of the MSS.

text reads: «I called My son out of Egypt», and in its literal sense has reference to the Jewish people whom God delivered from the tyrannical yoke of Pharaoh, but in its typical sense refers to the Saviour inasmuch as His history would be like theirs.

193. 2. The Massacre of the Holy Innocents, 16—18. Herod, as soon as he found that he had been deceived by the Magi, flew into a violent passion. In order to remove his rival from his path, he immediately dispatched his emissaries to kill all the male infants of two years and below, who lived at Bethlehem and in the surrounding territory. This time was set according to the information that he had received from the Magi. The number of the victims that fell was not so very great. Bethlehem was a town of about 2000 inhabitants, and to every thousand inhabitants there are about thirty births annually which are equally divided between the two sexes.

Then the prophecy of Jer. xxxi. 15 was fulfilled: «A voice in Rama (רָמָה, 'a high place' or perhaps an unknown locality somewhere near Bethlehem) was heard, lamentation and great mourning; Rachel bewailing her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.» In its literal sense this prophecy referred to the deportation of the Jews into Babylon. Jeremias in a pathetic prosopopea supposes that Rachel, who was buried not very far from Bethlehem¹, left her tomb and wept over her dead or captive children. This scene was the figure of that which would take place at the time of the massacre of the Holy Innocents.

The Historical Character of the Narrative. The account of this massacre which, according to the opinion of Rationalists, appears about as historical as the legend of the Magi, especially because of the silence of Josephus and St. Luke, is very highly probable from a consideration of both the customs of the time and the character of Herod. a) The life of an infant was so little respected that we find Tacitus looking upon the Jewish people as very strange in their conduct, because they scrupled in putting their newly born children to death². In order to be revenged upon enemies or to remove dangerous rivals, those politically ambitious had very little regard for human life. Vespasian and Domitian, for example, hunted down all the surviving members of the house of David³ in order to put them out of the way. b) The life of Herod affords a long list of atrocities more frightful than the massacre of the Innocents. He put to death all the members of the family of Mariamne, his second wife, who belonged to the Machabean family. After having put to death Hircan his grandfather, Alexander his father, Antigones his uncle, Aristobulus his brother, Alexandra his mother, he at last killed Mariamne together with her two sons. Towards the end of his life, he gave orders which, however, were never executed, to put to death the principal men of the nation at the very moment that he himself would die. c) St. Luke could have

¹ Gen. xxx.

² *Tacit.*, Hist. V, 5; *Tertull.*, Apol. 9: P. G. I, 317.

³ *Eus.*, H. E. III, 12, 20: P. G. XX, 247, 253.

been ignorant of the massacre, and Josephus could have omitted it because he looked upon it as occupying but a low place in a catalogue of so many atrocious crimes.

194. 3. The Return to Nazareth, 19—23. Herod died at Rome during the month of March in the year 750 A. U. C. practically eaten up alive by a disease which seems to be the curse of many persecutors¹. Then an angel appeared to St. Joseph for the third time, and told him to return to the land of Israel, to Palestine; for those who sought the life of the Child were dead. Joseph obeyed without delay. But being informed that Archelaus was ruler of Judea proper, he was afraid to enter that province². This monarch with his hard, suspicious and cruel character was a worthy successor of his father. His first feat was to put down a revolt and massacre 3000 of his subjects in the Temple³. Antipas, another son of Herod, was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea. He was a prince of a less redoubtable character than Archelaus. Warned by a divine message during his sleep, Joseph retired into Nazareth, a town of Galilee, where the life of the Child was not so much exposed to danger.

Thus was accomplished what had been foretold in prophecy, namely that the Messiah would be called a Nazarene. Although this text is not found in any part of the O. T., St. Matthew desires only to produce a play upon words, and means that, according to the prophets Jesus realized in His person the full meaning of the word Nazareth. This word probably signifies *root* or *branch*. Now the prophets have given this name to the Messiah. Isaias says of Him: Egredietur *virga*, גִּידָר, de *radice Jesse*, and Jeremias calls Him *germe*, זֶרְעָה⁴.

ART. XII.

THE CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF JESUS AT NAZARETH.

195. I. Jesus before the Age of Twelve⁵. — A. The Home of the Holy Family. We put aside the apocryphal Gospels because, as a rule, their accounts are puerile and silly, and are hence not worth considering, and we shall attempt a reconstruction of the life of the Holy Family, by having recourse to archeological discoveries, and by studying modern life at Nazareth. From the exterior, the house of the Holy Family resembled a great cube of an irregular form, even as the houses of the poor and working class at the present time, built with earth or with stone which was white-washed. The roof was flat and built in the form of a terrace, to

¹ For the character of this disease see *Farrar*, Life of Christ 54; *Jos.*, J. A. XVII, vi, 5. ² *Jos.*, J. A. XVII, viii, 1. ³ *Ib.* XVII, ix, 1—13.

⁴ *Is.* xi. 1; *Jer.* xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15; *Zach.* vi. 12; *Ez.* xvii. 22, 23.

⁵ See *Durand*, The childhood of Jesus.

which access was had either by a movable ladder or a stairway erected on the inside, but more often on the outside.

Within the house there was but one apartment. The furnishings of the house were most simple. They consisted of a stove for cooking, a platter of iron upon which the grain was parched and the bread baked, a few stools, a candlestick, an oil lamp, a mill (Fig. 26), a broom, a few cups and goblets, and this was about all. — At Nazareth, the work-shop, at that time as at the present day, was built apart from the house.

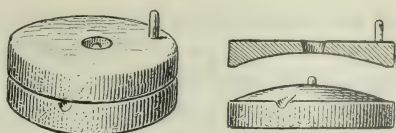


Fig. 26. Hand-mill.

196. B. The Life of the Holy Family. The Holy Family was poor, but their poverty was an honest one, demanding moderation and the spirit of sacrifice, although they always had enough to satisfy their needs. *St. Joseph* who was a carpenter by trade¹, laboured for the support of the family. *Mary* spun and wove, like the strong wife², ground the grain, made garments, prepared the meals, and went to the fountain which still exists at Nazareth, and is called the Fountain of the Virgin (Fig. 27).

Jesus, as is customary with the children of Nazareth of to-day, was weaned at the age of two years. It is not all certain whether



Fig. 27. The Fountain of the Virgin at Nazareth. (Phot. Bonfils.)

¹ Mt. xiii. 55.

² Prov. xxxi. 19.

He attended the public schools or not; for these were not established in all the villages of Palestine until the year 64 A. D., when by the orders of the high priest Jesus ben Gamala their establishment became universal. But it is likely that the *hazzan*, a kind of sacristan charged with the safe-keeping of the synagogue and the Mss. of the Sacred Books and the keeping of good order on the Sabbath days, occupied already the position of school-master.

However, if such were not the case, Joseph and Mary, in conformity with the Law, were obliged to impart both intellectual and moral training to their Child¹. Evidently there is question here merely of the experimental knowledge of Christ. He who took upon Himself our nature in its entirety, desired to increase in age and wisdom, in order to be like us in all things, sin excepted². Not one thing did He do that was not in full accord with his years, as St. Thomas puts it: *nihil fecit quod non congrueret eius aetati*³. Jesus was indeed an infant, but a perfect infant, and it is because He has sanctified childhood's years by Himself living and experiencing them, that He is held up as a model for all children, and in a measure for all men of all ages, because He has taught us to look upon poverty as something honourable and has made us realize that the worth of a man is to be found in his moral make-up and not in any outward circumstances.

We can believe that the Holy Family assembled at the house for meals and at the time of prayer, and they repaired on the Sabbath days to the synagogue. In that small house in which dwelt this earthly Trinity, peace, quiet and happiness reigned, making it a veritable heaven on earth. Yet to a superficial observer there was nothing extraordinary apparent, nothing seemed to be striking, but all had the appearance of the common-place.

197. II. Jesus at the Age of Twelve. The Journey to Jerusalem, Lk. ii. 41—51. Having reached the age of puberty, the young Israelite became a «child of the Law», and from that time on was obliged to fulfil all its prescriptions. He was bound to fast on the days of penance, to carry out the great solemnities of the Pasch, of Pentecost, and of the Tabernacles, by making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem⁴. The parents of Jesus were always faithful to these precepts. If the Evangelist records but one journey to Jerusalem on the occasion of a Paschal celebration, it is because with this one is connected the incident of the finding in the Temple. This precept extended only to the men, and women were not obliged to go,

¹ Deut. iv. 9; vi. 7, 20; xi. 19; Ex. xiii. 8, 14.

² Hebr. ii. 17; iii. 15.

³ S. th. 3, q. 12, a. 3 ad 3.

⁴ Ex. xxiii. 14—17; xxxiv. 23; Deut. xvi. 16.

although through a spirit of piety they generally did go at least for the greatest of their feasts, the Pasch¹.

When Jesus reached the age of twelve, His parents took Him with them to Jerusalem in order to celebrate the Pasch, probably for the first time since the Presentation. After the eight days of celebration², perhaps even after the two days required for the principal sacrifice, they returned to Nazareth, but their Child remained at Jerusalem, attending, as He said afterwards, to His Father's business. Knowing His prudence and His obedience, and having full confidence in Him, Joseph and Mary thought little of this absence. They believed that He was with some of their companions of the journey. But after a day's march, the party halted at one of their stopping-places, and a close search among their friends and relations failed to reveal the whereabouts of their Son. Unable to find Him, they returned to Jerusalem, the same evening; for their affection would not suffer them to delay. Then it was that the sword predicted by Simeon pierced the soul of Mary for the first time.

The third day after their departure they found Him in one of the halls of the Temple, where the Jewish doctors were wont to give their instructions especially on festal days. He was seated in the midst of the doctors, not indeed on one of the chairs, but on a mat or on the ground in truly Oriental fashion, listening to them and asking them questions on religious matters. The rabbinical method was to invite questions and objections from the learned. There is nothing to show that He in turn was made to submit to questions from the doctors, much less, as is recorded in the Arabian Gospel of the Infancy, that He learnedly discoursed on the natural sciences. All that heard Him were astonished at His intelligence and His answers, which were not those of an ordinary child.

When His parents came unto Him, they were seized with amazement, not because of His intelligence, for they knew His divine origin, but in seeing Him seated in the midst of the doctors to whom He was putting questions. With all tenderness and without one bit of reproach His mother said to Him: «My Son, why have You behaved so to us? Behold Your father and I, we have sought You sorrowfully.» And Jesus replied simply, nobly, unreproachfully: «How is it that you sought Me? Did you not know that I must be in the house of My Father», ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου, or better «that I must be about my Father's business?» These are the first words of Jesus recorded in the Gospels, the only ones we have of Him in the thirty years of His hidden life. They express His divine filiation and at the same time mark out the programme of His life, that which was

¹ 1 Kings i. 7; Mt. xxvii. 55; Mk. xv. 41.

² Ex. xii. 15; Lev. xxiii. 3 f.; Deut. xvi. 3 f.

to be from henceforth His constant rule of life¹. Joseph and Mary did not understand His word; they were unable to grasp it in all its meaning. Although His divine nature was known to them, they only gathered the import of the Messianic idea gradually, and they could not, at this time, connect the sojourn of Jesus in the Temple with the affairs of His Father.

Then Jesus descended with them to Nazareth and was subject to them. «His one preoccupation and His one exercise was to obey two of His creatures.»²

198. III. *Jesus from His Twelfth to His Thirtieth Year.* —

1. **The Progress of Jesus.** St. Luke depicts (ii. 40, 52) the childhood and youth of Jesus as a time of moral and physical development; for he tells us that Jesus increased in wisdom (a term more extended in meaning than *science*), in age (rather stature), *ἡλικία*, according to the usual signification of this Greek word³, and in grace before God and before man.

The Knowledge of Jesus. Our Lord in the divine nature which He possessed was susceptible to no progress. As regards His human nature, theologians distinguish three kinds of knowledge: 1) the beatific vision by which He could, like the angels and the blessed in heaven, see God face to face and have full understanding of the divine essence; 2) infused knowledge by which He directly received light from God Himself; 3) experimental knowledge which He acquired by experience, observation, and reasoning. There is no doubt that our Lord possessed from the very first moment of His conception both the beatific vision and infused knowledge; for His dignity as the Word Incarnate demanded these prerogatives. Moreover, there are a number of Gospel facts which suppose that He possessed an interior light, or infused knowledge, if not the beatific vision. Thus He knew that which was secret and hidden, and He read the thoughts of the bystanders. Received at the very instant of the Incarnation, and made proportionate to the dignity and the mission of the Saviour, being as perfect at it was possible to be without being infinite, since infinity belongs to God alone, the beatific vision and the infused knowledge of Christ was susceptible to no increase. Yet sometimes He permitted no more than His experimental knowledge to assert itself.

This experimental science was progressive, as the words of St. Luke (*proficiebat sapientia*) and all the theologians teach, especially St. Thomas⁴, who attributes to Him «an acquired science according to which

¹ Jn. iv. 34; viii. 29; ix. 4; xiv. 31.

² Bossuet, 8. élév. sur les mystères, 20. semaine.

³ Mt. vi. 27; Lk. xix. 3.

⁴ In regard to this question see *St. Thom.*, S. th. 3, q. 12, a. 2 ad 1; about the whole question see ib. 3, q. 9—12; *Pesch*, *Praelectiones dogmaticae*; *Hurter*, *Theol. dogm.* II, 443 f.; *Lepin*, *Christ and the Gospel* 419 f.

He does not know all things from His origin, but gradually with time». Hence He apprehended certain things, admired them, and marvelled at them¹. This is what the state of infancy to which He had levelled Himself, demanded².

Grace and Virtues of Jesus. As regards His grace and His virtues, we must with all theologians make a distinction between His supernatural habits and acts, between the principles and their effects. The works of grace or the acts of virtue increased in Jesus and unceasingly multiplied; but the infused habits of sanctifying grace were always His in virtue of His dignity as God-Man, and hence could not increase³. He possessed all these in their fullest measure; for, as St. John tells us: *Verbum caro factum est . . . plenum gratiae et veritatis*, «He was full of grace and truth.»

199. 2. The Outward Appearance of Jesus⁴. The absence of definite data on this subject has been the cause of long discussions among scholars and theologians. Neither the so-called paintings of St. Luke (no. 56), nor the veil of St. Veronica, nor the winding sheet of Nicodemus, nor the letter of Lentulus, the self-styled friend of Pilate, who wrote to the Roman senate about Christ, affords any positive testimony in regard to the beauty of Christ.

St. Luke assures us that He waxed *in age and wisdom before God and before man*, and from his words we may judge that Christ was not lacking in the physical advantages of His youth. Besides, if we look upon beauty as residing in the habitual expression of the face, rather than in the regularity of features, then Christ must have been of a wondrous beauty; for His pure and exquisite soul must have shone through His countenance.

3. Jesus the Carpenter. Manual labour among the Jews was looked upon with respect. The Talmud ordained «that a father should circumcise his son, instruct him in the Law, and teach him a trade». Even the Rabbis, in order that their instruction might be given gratuitously, followed some trade. Thus it is that the famous

¹ Mt. viii. 10; Mk. ix. 20; xi. 13; Hebr. v. 8.

² On this subject consult *Lepin*, Christ and the Gospel; *A. J. Maas*, art. Knowledge of Christ, in the Cath. Encycl. VIII, 685, and the authorities there referred to. — The Holy Office by a decree, dated July 3, 1907, which was confirmed by the Holy Father on the 4. of the same month, among others, condemned the two following propositions: XXXII. Conciliari nequit sensus naturalis textuum evangelicorum cum eo quod nostri theologi docent de conscientia et scientia infallibili Iesu Christi. XXXIV. Criticus nequit asserere Christo scientiam nullo circumscriptam limite nisi facta hypothesi quae historice haud concipi potest quaeque sensui morali repugnat, nempe Christum uti hominem habuisse scientiam Dei et nihilominus noluisse notitiam tot rerum communicare cum discipulis ac posteritate.

³ *S. Thom.*, S. th. 3, q. 7, a. 12.

⁴ See *Farrar*, The Life of Christ, Excursus VI, Traditional Description of the Appearance of our Lord 694.

Hillel was a wood-cutter. Like His adoptive father, Jesus followed the carpenter's trade¹.

It is very likely that St. Joseph died during the young days of Christ; for the Gospels never mention him when they describe the public life of the Saviour. Again, Jesus would have never confided His mother to St. John, if her husband were still living. At his death, Jesus, «the son of the carpenter», became «the carpenter» and remained the only support of His mother. According to St. Justin, who lived at Nablus in the middle of the 2. century, «He was in the habit of working as a carpenter when among men, making ploughs and yokes, by which He taught the symbols of righteousness and an active life»². In this wise did He wish to enoble manual labour, and set up for the ever large working class a divine workman as their model.

His life, in His youth as in His infancy, presented nothing extraordinary from an exterior point of view. He was always natural, irreproachable and unassuming.

¹ Mk. vi. 3.

² Dial. 88: P. G. VI, 688.

SECTION II.

THE PUBLIC LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PUBLIC LIFE
OF JESUS CHRIST.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

200. Object. The main object in this chapter is to reconstruct as far as possible the chronological order of the life of Jesus, from the data afforded by our four Gospels. However, the miracles, discourses and parables shall be considered more in detail in further chapters and will only be mentioned here in their historical setting.

Division. The Incarnation demands a complete human nature in Christ; for the Messianic work was necessarily human. All human works entail a preparation and organisation, and are necessarily subjected to the laws of progress and development; then, too, they imply opposition to many obstacles and difficulties. In the Christ-life, intensely human as it was, the same phenomena make themselves apparent, and hence we divide His public life into four periods, most representative of the salient features of that life:

1. *The Period of Preparation*, extending from the Baptism of Jesus until the Call of the Apostles.
2. *The Period of Organisation*, during which the Saviour laid the foundation of the Messianic kingdom.
3. *The Period of Progress*, which, humanly speaking, marks the culminating point of Christ's ministry.
4. *The Period of Combat*, which is preparatory to the apparent defeat of Jesus, His Passion and Death, but in reality marks His triumph and the salvation of mankind.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THIS DIVISION. We have already shown that the facts narrated by the Evangelists are undeniable (nos. 82 f.), but it is impossible to trace their order with any degree of certainty. The best attempts have only resulted in probable conjectures. The reason, no doubt, is that on the one hand the Gospels whilst comprising a great

many facts and discourses give no precise date for their occurrence, and, on the other hand, each Evangelist follows an individual plan, regardless of chronology, not even attempting to indicate any time whatsoever. The words: *tunc, ecce, postea, statim, in illis diebus, in illo die* (then, behold, afterwards, immediately, in those days, in that day), are the ordinary modes of transition, and their vagueness renders any chronological connection and succession of facts an impossibility. Moreover, there are many facts related by the Synoptics which resemble each other more or less, and yet differ in such details that it is uncertain whether the writers have the same object in view, or whether they really intend to narrate the same fact¹. In view of these facts, it is easy to understand why the Gospel harmonists differ so much in their arrangements.

It is not easy to decide which of the Evangelists has the best chronological order. St. John affords us the necessary data for a determination of the duration of Christ's public life, but he embodies very little of the Galilean ministry. Of the three Synoptics, most scholars favour St. Luke, because he appears to be familiar with the method of writing history, and makes the claim that he will write his account «in order» (καθ' ἑξῆς)². Yet the long section ix. 20—xix. 28 is out of place and apparently not detailed in chronological sequence.

ART. I.

THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION.

Scene: Principally in Judea, partly in Galilee.

Time: From autumn to spring (a few weeks after the Pasch).

Sources: Mt. iii—iv. 11; Mk. i. 1—13; Lk. iii—iv. 13; Jn. i. 19—iv. 42.

I. THE PREACHING OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

(Mt. iii. 1—10; Mk. i. 1—6; iii. 1—14.)

201. 1. *The Advent of the Forerunner.* The expectation of the Messiah who was to found the kingdom of God, which in reality would be the kingdom of Israel, had in the 1. century reached its highest point³. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius (26 or 28 A. D., Fig. 28) there came a prophet named John, who, under the influence of God and in conformity to the prophecies⁴, had prepared himself for his mission in the desert of Judea⁵, to an-

¹ For examples see the incident of the washing of the feet: Mt. xxvi. 6; Lk. vii. 36; Jn. xii. 1; the Call of the Apostles: Mt. iv. 18; Mk. i. 16; the casting of the sellers out of the Temple: Jn. ii. 13; Mt. xxi. 12; the Sermon on the Mount: Mt. v—vii; Lk. vi. 17; the cure of the blind man: Mk. x. 46; Lk. xviii. 35, etc.

² Lk. i. 3.

³ Acts i. 6; see no. 142.

⁴ Mal. iii. 1; Is. xl. 1, 3—5.

⁵ By this term is to be understood the wild hill-country which reaches from Hebron to Jerusalem, being no more than a series of steep ranges, cleft and broken into by a number of parched and arid valleys; a patch of dry underbrush, here and there, is all that varies the monotony of those chalky stretches, whose glare so wears one's eyes. Even this dreary undergrowth disappears as you near the Death Sea; the desolation now comes to be complete, an absolute waste; the sight can descry nothing but an undulating moorland, as it were, made up of gray fields of ashes; while in the distance the attainted lake exhales its noisome breath, recalling the memory of Sodom's awful condemnation (*Fouard, The Christ* 106, 107).

nounce the near advent of the kingdom of God, urging the necessity of preparing for it by penance.

On beholding him, the people began to connect him with the greatest of their prophets, Elias. Nor was this so wonderful; for in many details he resembled the Thesbite. His dress and his food proclaimed him an ascetic. It was not surprising, therefore, that the people in their excitement and under the stress of the great Messianic expectation, flocked to him from all quarters and permitted themselves to be baptized in the Jordan¹. John instituted no new rite, for the Mosaic Law prescribed like immersions for different circumstances².

We know too that it occupies a prominent position in the religious practices of the

Essenes (no. 135). But as John made it *the distinctive mark* of his mission, he won the surname of «the Baptist», i. e. «he who baptized» (ὁ βαπτιστής)³.

2. The Preaching of the Forerunner. He exhorted the people to perform acts of justice and charity; he severely lashed the hypocrisy of the Pharisees and the Sadducees who sought by the reception of the Baptismal rite to evade the ordeal of doing penance. In particular, he recommended to the publicans, that they demand nothing over and above the fixed tax. Certain soldiers, attracted by his preaching, he advised that they do no violence nor any fraud, and that they be content with their pay. Although austerity itself in his own life, he did not impose the hardships of his life upon any of his penitents.



Fig. 28. The 'Gemma Tiberiana'. (Paris, Bibl. Nat.)

¹ Mt. iii. 16.

² Cf. Num. xix. 7 f.

³ Cf. Fouard l. c. 111, 112.

II. THE BAPTISM AND TEMPTATION OF JESUS.

(Mt. iii. 13—iv. 11; Mk. i. 9—13; Lk. iii. 21—iv. 13.)

202. 1. *The Baptism*¹. The time had now come for Jesus to begin His mission. He left His home in Galilee, repaired to the river Jordan (Fig. 29) with the intention of being baptized by John, and thus appear before the world as a penitent. John, enlightened by a heavenly illumination, immediately recognized the dignity of this Penitent and refused to grant His request. This refusal, however, was retracted when Jesus gently told him that it should be; «for so

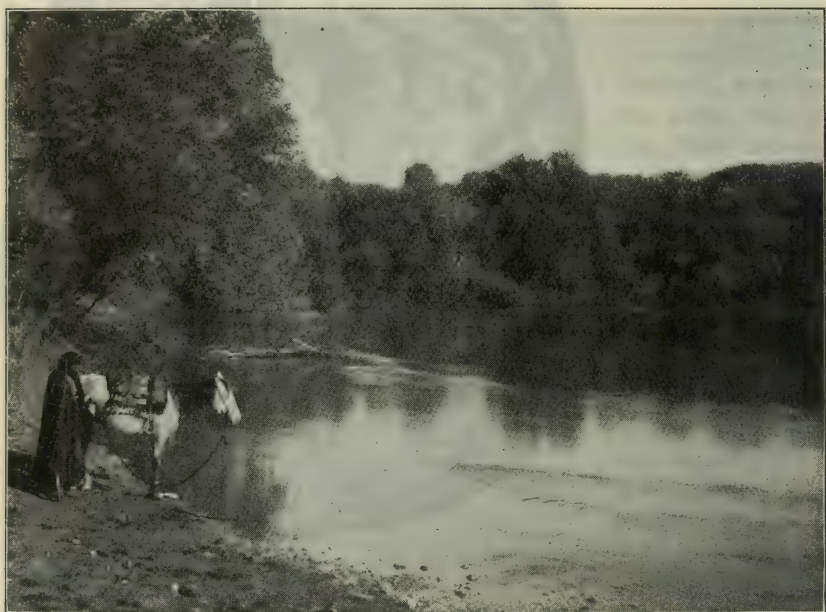


Fig. 29. On the bank of the Jordan.

it becometh us to fulfil all justice»², and forthwith he baptized his Master. At the moment Jesus rose from the water, the heavens were opened, and the Holy Ghost descended upon Him in the form of a dove³ and rested over Him. A voice spoke from on high, saying: «This is My well-beloved Son, in whom I am well-pleased.»⁴ The words marked the official proclamation of Christ as the Messiah.

Rationalists are unanimous in rejecting the strictly historical character of this narrative, and regard it as «a vision marking the awakening of Christ's belief in His Messianic character»⁵. «The consciousness

¹ *S. Thom.*, S. th. 3, q. 39, 1—8.² Mt. v. 6, 10, 20; vi. 1; 1 Pet. iii. 14.³ The symbol of simplicity, sweetness, and holiness.⁴ Ps. ii. 7; Is. xlii. 1.⁵ *O. Holtzmann*, *Leben Jesu* 105—107.

of His divine filiation took possession of Him with an intensity stronger than ever before, so that it would never be lost». Tradition, claims Loisy¹, transformed an interior experience into outward occurrence, and reduced it to a material fact.

This rejection is due to philosophical prejudices (no. 14) with which these critics are imbued, to the historical character of every event which involves the miraculous and the supernatural. «These recitals are given by the Synoptics. They are written in a way that is most natural, circumstantially exact, and in full agreement with the entire context. If we consider, in particular, the Synoptic accounts of the Baptism of Jesus, we shall perceive that they square exactly with the somewhat parallel though independent accounts found in the Fourth Gospel². On the other hand, they are fully confirmed in the Discourses of the Apostles in the first chapters of the Acts³. For these Discourses reflect the genuine primitive belief of the first days after the Ascension of Jesus. Now, we find that not only is His Baptism placed in relief as marking a decisive moment in His career, but St. Peter even seems to formally connect with His Baptism the solemn anointing which inaugurated Jesus' Messianic career and His investiture by the Holy Spirit. Nor is there aught to prevent us from admitting that this descent of the Holy Spirit was rendered perceptible by an outward manifestation such as is described by our sacred writers.»⁴ If Christ be God, and we know He is, He must have been conscious of His dignity and His Mission from the very moment of His existence.

2. *The Fast of Jesus.* Immediately after His Baptism, Jesus retired into the desert. By this name, local traditions which are traceable to the Middle Ages, understand the barren and lonely hill, which now bears the name of Quarantania (Fig. 30), lying to the west of Jericho.

In retiring hither, He acted under the influence of the Spirit of God⁵. He went there to combat Satan, the author of sin, whose empire He came to destroy. But over and above this, His immediate object was to prepare Himself for His ministry, as the prophets of old were wont to do, by meditation, prayer and mortification⁶. Here He fasted forty days and forty nights, even as Moses had done before publishing the Law, and Elias also before conversing with the Lord⁷.

¹ Les Évang. synopt. I, 408, 409; also Le Quatrième Évangile 229.

² Jn. i. 33. ³ Acts i. 21, 22; x. 37, 38.

⁴ *Lepin*, Christ and the Gospel 141. ⁵ Mt. iv. 1; Mk. i. 12; Lev. xvi. 20, 21.

⁶ Acts i. 4, 5, 14; *S. Thom.*, S. th. 3, q. 41, a. 3 ad 1.

⁷ Cf. Ex. xxiv. 18; Deut. ix. 9; 3 Kings xix. 8; *S. Leo*, Serm. 40, 2: P. L. LIV, 267 f. This fact, rejected by Rationalists as incredible, is confirmed by a great number of facts of a similar nature in the lives of the Saints.

All this time, He abode alone with wild beasts, living the life of the Spirit, occupied with God and the things of God, deeply meditating upon His word and opposing the maxims of heaven to the suggestions of the Tempter.

3. *The Temptation of Jesus.* During the whole period, He was tormented incessantly by the temptations of Satan¹. Three of this unknown number are known to us. In the last two, the devil



Fig. 30. Place of temptation on Mount Quarantania.

(Phot. Bonfils.)

successively puts into play presumption and desire for riches. He proposes to the hungry Christ that He change stones into bread; he transports Him to the pinnacle of the Temple and tells Him to cast Himself down, «for it is written that He has given command to His angels to watch over thee»; finally he transports Him to a high mountain and offers Him the kingdoms of the world, if in return adoration be given him. Jesus firmly re-

jects each temptation in turn. Defeated, the devil retires, and angels draw nigh to Jesus and serve Him, which probably means, brought Him nourishment. St. Matthew and St. Luke disagree as to the order of the last two temptations. Attempts at reconciliation have been made, but it is impossible to determine the chronological sequence.

203. 4. *The Nature of the Temptation of Jesus.* To make the temptations of the Saviour wholly interior and spontaneous, as

¹ The adversary (יָצָן) according to Mk. i. 13; Lk. iv. 13.

those which befall us, would be to totally misunderstand the obvious sense of the Gospel texts and to accept an interpretation not at all in harmony with the Fathers and the common belief. Such an interpretation would be an insult to the dignity and the sanctity of the Son of God¹; for it would imply that like us He had to combat the promptings and inclinations of passion, an experience which was never His; for Sacred Scripture is clear in telling us that He had complete control over them². Christ, therefore, was assailed by outward suggestion. Three reasons have been assigned for Christ's submission to this experience. First, because He wished to warn us of the trials to which our condition exposed us; secondly, He wished to show us by His own example what means to employ to overcome this peril; thirdly, He wished to merit grace for us and gain benefit for us even from the attacks of the devil.

In regard to the historical value of the recital which is rejected by Rationalists, we need but remark that the three Synoptics are in agreement as regards the three temptations, and the Epistle to the Hebrews seemingly makes illusion to the fact (ii. 18; iv. 15). Besides, «there exists no theological motive or moral interest which would actuate the first Christian generation, spiritualistic in a marked degree, to invent these trials accentuating as they do the human side of the Person of the Saviour»³.

However, some exegetes, following the interpretation of several ecclesiastical writers⁴, are of the opinion that, although the immediate author of the temptation, Satan remained invisible. «The encounter of the two adversaries took place solely in the battle of spirit against spirit; Satan placed Jesus on the Temple on the mountain, in imagination, and called up before His spirit the kingdoms of the world.»⁵ Catholic commentators agree that the reasons alleged are not decisive.

III. THE TESTIMONY OF THE PRECURSOR. THE FIRST DISCIPLES OF JESUS. THE WEDDING FEAST AT CANA.

(Mt. iii. 11, 12; Mk. i. 7, 8; Lk. iii. 15—18; Jn. i. 19—51; ii. 1—12.)

204. I. *The Testimony of the Precursor.* John continued his ministry beyond the Jordan, at Bethany⁶. He enkindled enthusiasm on all sides, and the Sanhedrin, aroused by the rumours

¹ Lk. i. 35; Hebr. vii. 26.

² Cf. Jn. xi. 33; xiv. 30.

³ *Rose*, Évang. selon S. Matthieu 23.

⁴ *Orig.*, De princip. IV, 16: P. G. XI, 378; *Theod. Mops.* V, in *Münter*, Fragm. Patr. I, 107; *Arnold Bonav.*, Sermo de ieiunio et tentat. Christi: P. L. CLXXXIX, 1637.

⁵ *Le Camus*, The Life of Christ. From the French by W. Hickey.

⁶ Not at Bethabara, according to the correction of Origen and some authors of a more recent date. Cf. *Revue biblique* 1895, 502—512.

circulated about him, sent a delegation of Pharisees to ask who he was and why he baptized. To these inquiries the Baptist replied by appealing to the prophecy of Is. xl. 3: «I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness: Make straight the way of the Lord, . . . I baptize with water; but there hath stood one in the midst of you, whom you know not.» According to the Synoptics, John bore the same testimony before the common people.

The next day, Jesus having finished His fast, came near the spot where John was. The sight moved John to exclaim to the assembled crowd: «Behold the Lamb of God, it is He who taketh away the sins of the world.» And he added: «As I passed my youth in the desert, I knew Him not before His Baptism; but God said to me, He upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, He it is that baptizes with the Holy Gost and who will communicate the Holy Ghost to the souls of men.»¹ Three explanations have been given for the term «Lamb of God», as used here. Some claim that John had reference to the Paschal Lamb; others say, to the daily victims of the Temple; and others again argue a reference to the Servant of God portrayed in Isaías under the figure of a lamb.

2. *The First Disciples of Jesus.* The next day, in the presence of Andrew and another disciple whose name is not known, but who, because of the lively and detailed character of the recital in the fourth Gospel, has been identified with John the Apostle, John repeated that Jesus was the Lamb of God. Both disciples yielded to the prompting which these words elicited and attached themselves to Jesus. Later, Andrew brought his brother Simon to Jesus. Upon seeing him the Master declared that from henceforth he should be known as Cephas (כֵּפָא) or Peter. He indicated that Peter would be the immovable rock upon which He would build His Church. A change of name always indicated a change of life and of position, as the examples of Abraham and Jacob² prove. Here the promise was given which two years later was fulfilled. But this was only a promise; two years later, the Saviour said to Simon: Tu es Petrus . . .³

On the following day, Jesus went forth into Galilee. On His way He met Philip. Philip in turn brought Nathanael (נְתַנְאֵל, gift of God) who is, in all probability, indentical with Bartholomew⁴. Thus the nucleus of the Apostolic college was established.

¹ Lk. i. 80; Jn. i. 33.

² Gen. xvii. 5; xxxii. 28; xxxv. 10; xli. 45; 4 Kings xxiii. 34; Dan. i. 6, 7.

³ Mt. xvi. 17, 18.

⁴ Those who maintain this opinion base their conclusion on the following arguments: 1. Bartholomew is not a surname, but a qualifying name like Barjonas. It signifies «son of Talmai». Nathanael is a proper name which is mentioned in several of the O. T. books and corresponds to Theodore and Matthew. 2. St. John (xxi. 2)

3. *The Marriage Feast at Cana.* Three days after the call of Philip, Jesus assisted as a guest in company with His disciples, His mother and His brethren (no. 176) at the wedding festivities at Cana¹. At the request of Mary, He performed His first miracle, changing water into wine. After being manifested by the Baptist and revealing Himself to His disciples, He wished to show forth His glory and strengthen the faith of His own people.

After this event He descended to Capharnaum, with His mother, His brethren and His disciples and remained with them a short time. Capharnaum was situated on the western banks of the Sea of Tiberias². Its exact site is not known and it has been variously identified with Khan Miniyeh, Aïn Tabigha, and more probably with Tell-Hum.

IV. JESUS IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA.

(Jn. ii. 13—iv. 42.)

205. 1. *The Traders driven from the Temple.* Jesus soon withdrew from Capharnaum, and the Pasch being near at hand He went up to Jerusalem, whither the great feast drew a large number of pilgrims, in order to make His public appearance. In the Court of the Gentiles (no. 137) He found the place filled with the animals destined for the sacrifices, and the merchants and money-changers, who changed foreign money into the Temple coinage with which the Jews were compelled to pay the Temple tax³. Aroused to a high pitch of indignation at this profanation of the sacred place, He drove out the traders with their animals and their wares, and over-

places Nathanael among the Apostles when he mentions that they were fishing together: Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, James and John and two other disciples. 3. The Synoptics who mention Bartholomew never speak of Nathanael, and St. John never mentions Bartholomew and always mentions Nathanael. 4. Bartholomew is always found in company with Philip in the Synoptics, while in St. John (i. 45) it is Nathanael that occupies this position. 5. «The circumstances under which Nathanael was called (Jn. i. 35—51), are in no way different in solemnity from those connected with the most illustrious Apostle.» 6. If Nathanael was not an Apostle before the Resurrection, he ought to have come forward with St. Matthias as a candidate for the Apostolate after the Ascension of the Saviour. 7. Finally, if Bartholomew is not Nathanael, we can see, in no way, in the Gospel, that our Saviour called him to the Apostolate.

Nevertheless, a certain number of commentators regard Bartholomew and Nathanael as two distinct persons. Their reasons are: 1. The name Bartholomew is found in the four lists of the Apostles (Mt. v. 3; Mk. iii. 18; Lk. vi. 14; Acts i. 13), whilst Nathanael is mentioned in none. 2. None of the Evangelists tells us that Nathanael or Bartholomew has a second name, while they inform us of the fact in the case of St. Peter, St. Matthew and St. Jude.

¹ *Kefr Kenna* to the north-east of Nazareth, because of recent discoveries, and not *Kana el Djelil*, to the north. Cf. *Thomson*, *The Land and the Book* II, 303—306. See also no. 361.

² Mt. iv. 13; Jn. vi. 24.

³ Ex. xxx. 13.

turned the tables of the money-changers. Two years later, He repeated this performance on the occasion of the celebration of the last Paschal feast before His death (no. 254).

The Sanhedrin who tolerated these abuses, and drew a nice income from them, were furious at this authoritative interference and demanded what sign the young Prophet could show as a warrant for His conduct. «Overthrow this Temple (meaning His body), Jesus answered, and in three days I will raise it up.»

2. *The First Believers. Nicodemus.* Jesus now began His preaching in earnest, and, by His word and because of His miracles, attracted many towards Him. Yet He refused to be intimately associated with these listeners; for He clearly recognized that their belief was not deep-rooted, but superficial. Among this number, however, there came a Pharisee, Nicodemus (*Νικόδημος*, «conqueror of the people») by name, and a member of the Sanhedrin (no. 139), sought the Lord under cover of night, not daring to compromise himself before his colleagues. To him, our Lord, declared that membership in the kingdom of God (The Church) demanded a rebirth, that is, he must «be born again of water and the Holy Ghost»¹. He must be regenerated by Baptism of which water is material condition and the Holy Ghost the invisible agent. Nicodemus objects that this language is mysterious. «Wonder not», Jesus replies, «that I said to thee, thou must be born again. The Spirit breatheth where He will; and thou hearest His voice, but thou knowest not whence He cometh and whither He goeth.» Such is the case of every man born of the Spirit. He is regenerated, but knows not how; for the new life is only revealed in its effects.

Nicodemus again objected: «How can these things be done?» And then Jesus tells him that as Moses lifted up the brazen serpent in the desert so that the Jews, in looking upon it, could be healed from the serpents' bites, so, according to the divine decrees², the Son of Man (the Messiah) would be lifted upon the cross in order that all believing in Him might have life everlasting. Henceforth mankind shall be divided into two classes: the believers who will be saved, and the unbelievers who will be condemned.

3. *Jesus in the Country of Judea. The Forerunner's Last Testimony.* Shortly after Jesus left Jerusalem and went into «the land of Judea» where His disciples baptized the people in His name and under His authority³. John was also baptizing at this time, at Ennon near Salim, two places whose sites cannot now be determined. His disciples were scandalized because Christ assumed a rôle not His in permitting His disciples to baptize. They

¹ Conc. Trid. sess. VII, de Baptismo, can. 2.

² Mt. xvi. 21; Lk. xxiv. 36.

³ Jn. iv. 2.

ask the Baptist the reason for this conduct. «My rôle», replied the Baptist, «is subordinate. He is the bridegroom; I am but the friend of the bridegroom, and hence I am His servant and His herald. He must increase, but I must decrease; for He is my superior, because of His heavenly origin¹, because of the perfection of His teaching², and because of His dignity as Son of God and His absolute sovereignty.»³ One cannot help but notice the humility, the honesty, the generosity and the sterling devotion to the Master's cause, that characterized this testimony. This example is unparalleled, even the Apostles failing to equal it.

206. 4. *The Imprisonment of the Precursor.* Herod Antipas⁴, king or rather

tetrarch of Galilee, after repudiating his lawful wife, the daughter of Aretas, the king of Arabia, married Herodias, the wife of his brother, Philip, and hence his niece and his sister-in-law⁵.

The sainted Precursor fearlessly reproached him for the incestuous and adulterous union that he had contracted with Herodias, and also for all the evil deeds committed by him. This

daring censure caused the Baptist's arrest, and, as Josephus informs us, he was cast into the fortress of Macheronte which lay to the west of the Dead Sea⁶.



Fig. 31. Well of Jacob at Sichem. (Phot. Vester, Jerusalem.)

¹ Jn. iii. 31. ² Jn. iii. 32—34. ³ Jn. iii. 35. ⁴ Lk. iii. 19, 20. See no. 133.

⁵ Lk. iii. 19. Herodias was the daughter of Aristobulus, and the grand daughter of Herod the Great and Mariamne, the Asmonean, and niece of both Herod Philip and Herod Antipas. This Philip must not be confounded with Philip, tetrarch of Iturea (Lk. iii. 1). This latter was the son of Herod the Great by Cleopatra, and the former was the son of Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, the High Priest, and exercised no political authority, merely living in Rome as a private citizen.

⁶ *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, v, 1, 2; J. W. VII, vi, 1, 2.

5. *The Samaritan Woman.* In the meanwhile, Jesus being made aware that John the Baptist had been imprisoned, perhaps at the instigation of the priests, and also that the Pharisees knew of the great number of His disciples, quitted Judea and retired into Galilee, passing on His way the province of Samaria. At the well of Jacob (Fig. 31), near Mt. Garizim and Sichar (probably the present Aschar), the episode of Jesus and the Samaritan woman took place. He revealed Himself to her as the Messiah (Jn. iv. 25, 26), the source of the graces which satisfies, vivifies and purifies (iv. 10), the source of all true happiness (iv. 14), and the One in whom all hopes have been realized and all desires fulfilled (iv. 25, 42). He added that worship altogether interior, definitive and universal would be substituted for the existing figurative cult, whether localized at Jerusalem or on Mt. Garizim (Jn. iv. 21—24). Among the people of this province, a great many believed in Jesus, as the Samaritan woman did.

The result of the first period of Christ's ministry may be summed up in three phases: 1. the incredulity of the masses: 2. the faith produced in a few; 3. public attention excited to a great degree.

ART. II.

THE PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION OR FOUNDATION OF THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM.

Scene: Principally in Galilee, partly in Judea.

Time: From Pentecost to the autumn of the following year.

Sources: Mt. iv. 12—xiii; Mk. i. 14—vi. 13; Lk. iv. 14—ix. 6;

Jn. iv. 43—v.

I. THE FIRST MISSION OF JESUS IN GALILEE.

207. 1. *Jesus at Cana* (Jn. iv. 43—54). After passing two days at Sichar, Jesus came unto Galilee. He betook Himself first to Cana where the inhabitants were well-disposed towards Him because of the miracle which He had wrought in their midst. There He healed the officer's son of Capharnaum (nos. 372 f.), and prepared Himself for the early evangelization of Capharnaum.

This return into Galilee was marked by an extraordinary activity on the part of Jesus; for He taught in all the synagogues. The Galileans, struck by the excellence of His doctrine and the splendour of His miraculous works, both in Jerusalem at the feast of the Pasch and in Galilee, gave Him a cordial reception. As a consequence His fame spread in all the country round about.

208. 2. *Jesus at Capharnaum and its Environs. The Preaching of the Kingdom of God* (Mt. iv. 13—17; Mk. i. 14, 15). The Saviour took up His abode in Capharnaum, preaching

the Gospel of the kingdom of God in the city itself and in the surrounding country. And thus the Messianic era began. The burden of His remarks was: «The time fixed from all eternity for the redemption of the human race has arrived; the kingdom of God is at hand; make yourselves worthy of entering it, believe and do penance.» These few words sum up His whole program. In order to convert the worldly and uneducated Galileans, He placed Himself for the time being, at the same point of view as John the Baptist (no. 201). It was not long, however, before His teaching began to have a distinct and more precise object.

The Call of Four Disciples. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes¹ (Mt. iv.

18—22; Mk. i. 16 to 20; Lk. v. 1—11). In order to found a new society and a new religion, Jesus felt the need of collaborators. After attaching themselves to their Master on the banks of the Jordan (no. 204), Peter, Andrew and John returned to their occupation of fishermen. One day, when the crowd pressed around Him closely, Jesus went into Peter's ship (Fig. 32), and seating Himself, addressed the multitude. The sermon over, He bade



Fig. 32. Fisher-boat on the Lake of Genesareth.
(Phot. Bruno Hentschel, Leipsic.)

Peter sail out into the deep and cast over his nets. Peter obeyed. The draught of fishes that was taken, was so great that the nets broke. After this miracle Jesus definitely attached Peter, Andrew, James (the Greater) and John to Himself, and made them His permanent disciples. This miraculous draught was symbolical of the fruitful effects of their Apostolate; for Christ promised them that from henceforth they would be fishers of men (nos. 362, 363).

¹ Several distinguish, without sufficient reason, the draught of fishes recorded by St. Luke, from that of St. Matthew, so that those disciples would have been called three times: Jn. i. 35—42; Mt. iv. 18—22; Lk. v. 1—11; *S. Thom.*, In Mt. IV, 18 to 22; *S. Aug.*, De cons. evang. II, xvii, 41: P. L. XXXIV, 1096, 1097.

The Preaching and Miracles of Jesus (Mt. viii. 14—17; iv. 23—25; ix. 1—8; Mk. i. 21—39; ii. 1—12; Lk. iv. 31—44; v. 17—26). On the Sabbath day, the Saviour who had returned to Capharnaum entered the synagogue of that place and preached to the by-standers. All were in admiration of His word; for it was simple, practical, profoundly religious, and «unlike the arid commentaries or the minute distinctions of doctors of the synagogue.»¹

This admiration increased through the miracles which he performed, namely: the cure of the man possessed by the devil, the healing of the mother-in-law of Peter, and the cure of other sick people. All this tended to excite the people to a high pitch of enthusiasm, and Christ was made the idol of popular favour.

However, opposition began to make itself felt even at this time in Galilee. The Scribes and Pharisees whose attention was arrested by the outburst of such zeal, came from Galilee, from Judea and Jerusalem in order to spy upon the young teacher, hoping to ensnare Him in His words. They were shocked to hear Jesus say to the *paralytic*: «Thy sins are forgiven thee», and they were further shocked when Jesus, in order to show that He had the power to remit sin, cured the man of his malady.

The Call of Matthew (Mt. ix. 9—17; Mk. ii. 13—22; Lk. v. 27—39). Jesus notably widened the narrow limitations of Judaism. They had seen that He threw open the gates of the Church to the Samaritans, and that He associated with publicans and sinners. In fact he made Levi, the son of Alphaeus, surnamed afterwards Matthew (no. 27), one of his Apostles, and he was a publican².

In order to celebrate his call to the Apostolate, Levi, either on the day of his call or some time after, gave a great feast to which the Master and His disciples came, together with many publicans and sinners. The scandalized Scribes and Pharisees murmured at seeing a teacher of Israel partaking of a repast in such company.

II. THE MINISTRY OF JESUS IN JERUSALEM.

(Jn. v.)

209. In spite of the growing opposition, Christ's enthusiasm still held sway in Galilee; but it was not the same in Judea. From this moment the hate of the Sanhedrin gave Christ not one moment's peace. Between them and Him there always was an irreconcilable breach.

¹ *Le Camus*, The Life of Christ, by W. Hickey. See also nos. 436 f.

² Mt. xviii. 17; Lk. xv. 1. For the ignominy connected with this profession see the Talmuds or the Jewish Doctors in *Lightfoot*, *Chronica Temporum* XXIII; also *Stapfer*, Palestine in Time of Christ 212—214; *Schürer*, HJP I, 476 f.; *Edersheim*, Sketches of Jewish Social Life.

In the meantime the Saviour went up to Jerusalem to celebrate «a feast», probably the Pasch (no. 148). Casting aside all the silly prescriptions of the Jewish doctors in regard to the Sabbatical rest, He cured on the Sabbath day a paralytic at the Pool of Probatika or Bethesda¹. The religious leaders of the nation showed their irritation and plainly told Christ that they were surprised that He should break the Sabbath in this manner. He replied by affirming His own divinity, that He was the Lord of the Sabbath. Instead of allaying their irritation, this only tended to increase it. They went so far as to attempt to put Him to death because He violated the Sabbath and made Himself the Son of God (nos. 469, 470).

III. THE SECOND MISSION OF JESUS IN GALILEE.

210. 1. *Discussions in regard to the Sabbath.* — The **Plucking of the Ears of Corn** (Mt. xii. 1—8; Mk. ii. 23—28; Lk. vi. 1—5). After the celebration of the Pasch, Jesus returned to Galilee. There, as in Judea, he aroused the Pharisaic discussions, anent the Sabbath. On the Sabbath day indeed the disciples, pressed for hunger, took some ears of corn (it was the time of the harvest, between the Pasch and the Feast of Pentecost, April—May). In eating the grain, of course they violated some of the Pharisaic prescriptions. The Pharisees were scandalized at this conduct, and they reported to Jesus that His Apostles had broken the Sabbath. But the Master in His heart, despising this miserable casuistry, took up the defence of His Apostles.

The Cure of the Man with the Withered Hand. The Retreat of Jesus to the Shores of the Sea of Galilee (Mt. xii. 9—21; Mk. iii. 1—12; Lk. vi. 6—11). On another Sabbath while in the synagogue, Jesus cured a man whose hand was withered. If it is lawful, He argued, to draw out, on a Sabbath day, a sheep that has fallen into the pit, it ought to be lawful on the same day to do good to one's fellow-men. The Pharisees, non-plussed at this argument, were driven in their hatred to form an alliance with their political enemies, the Herodians, that is the servants and partisans of Herod, and sought the means of putting Jesus to death. In order to spare their sensitive feelings any further shock, Jesus withdrew and retired towards the lake country. A large crowd followed Him thither. He cured many sick people, but upon all He imposed the promise of silence.

211. 2. *The Election of the Apostles* (Mt. x. 1—4; Mk. iii. 13—19; Lk. vi. 12—16).

The Circumstances of the Call. At the end of a certain period, Jesus left His retreat and resumed His mission in Galilee.

¹ See art. Bethesda, HDB. I, 279.

Hitherto, He had merely striven to arouse and stir up the souls of men. His first act, now, was to organize the company of His disciples, to create «His staff» in order to give greater development to His labours and to offset the increasing hostility of His enemies. The work being of great moment, He retired to «the mountain», the Mountain of the Beatitudes (Fig. 33), which a local tradition, since the time of the Crusades, has identified with the Horns of Hattin between Tabor and Capharnaum — passing the entire night there in prayer to His Father so that heaven's blessing might rest on those chosen. The next day, from out the floating group of disciples that followed Him, He chose twelve, in order that the Christians, like the

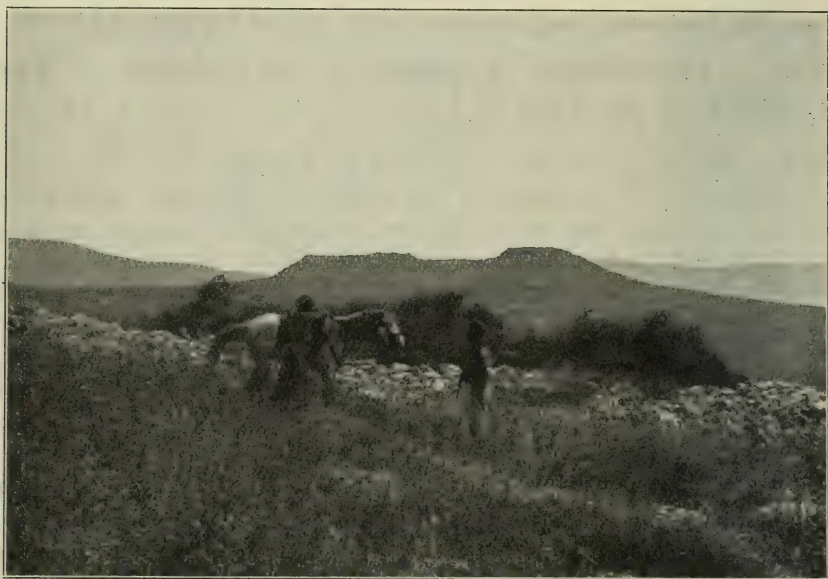


Fig. 33. The Mountain of the Beatitudes.

Jews, might have their twelve patriarchs, and raised them to the dignity of Apostles (*ἀπόστολος*, i. e. he whom Jesus sends), thus distinguishing them from mere disciples (*μαθητής*, i. e. he who is learning). Seven had been chosen already, but they were united to Him by closer and more definite ties in this hour, than they had been before.

212. The Chosen Ones. The *twelve Apostles* are: Peter, always occupying the first place¹, although he was not the first one chosen; Andrew²; James the Greater³, son of Zebedee, put to death by Herod

¹ «Non primus inter pares», says *Cornelius a Lapide*, «sed primus ante omnes». Cf. Mt. x. 2; xvi. 16; xvii. 1; xxvi. 37; Mk. iii. 16; v. 37; ix. 1; Lk. vi. 14; vii. 51; ix. 28; Acts i. 13, 15; ii. 14.

² No. 204.

³ Lk. v. 10.

Agrippa¹; John, the brother of James²; Philip of Bethsaida, like Peter and Andrew³; Bartholomew⁴; Thomas⁵; Matthew⁶; James, the son of Alphaeus, whom several identify with James the Less, ὁ μικρότης, author of the First Catholic Epistle⁷, one of the «Columns of the Church», like Peter and John⁸; Jude, the brother of James⁹; Simon of Cana, the Zealot¹⁰; and Judas Iscarioth, who is always found on this last place, as one who made defection and did not receive the spirit of the Apostolate¹¹.

Our Saviour was fully aware that the last-named would betray Him¹². Yet He chose to treat this disciple with regard, even as He acts towards us. Finding Judas at this particular time worthy of His trust and friendship, He chose him among the others, despite the fact that He plainly foresaw this Apostle's future defection.

Several of the Apostles were bound to each other by ties of affection and even by parentage. Andrew and Philip were close friends, as were also Philip and Bartholomew. Peter and Andrew were brothers, like James the Greater and John, and James the Less and Jude. The two last named were, according to many critics, relatives of our Saviour. Most of them bore two names, thus Bartholomew was called also Nathanael; Thomas, Didymus; Simon, the Zealot; James and John, Boanerges. Peter and Jude were known under the synonymes: Simon, Peter, and Cephas; and: Jude, Thaddæus, and Lebbeus¹³. In both the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts, the twelve Apostles are enumerated in sets of twos in an order almost unvaried, probably because it was in this manner that they were sent on their first mission. It was on the occasion of this first missionary activity that they received the names of «Apostles»¹⁴.

All of them were Israelites; none were foreigners or proselytes, because the race of Abraham was to be the means of bringing the blessing of heaven to the Gentile nations¹⁵. All were Galileans, except Judas, and none were of the family of Aaron or even of the tribe of Levi, because it was the Master's purpose to institute a new priesthood.

That our Lord failed to select, as members of His Apostolic band, men rich, brilliant, influential and well-versed in the affairs of mankind, was because these latter were not suited for a work in which the hand of God alone should be seen¹⁶. Those whom He did chose to found His Church were men of the people, without authority, without education, untalented¹⁷, yet virtuous and sincere. Everyone knows how great their faith was from the beginning, and their self-abnegation, their simplicity of heart, and the docility¹⁸ which characterized their lives while with Christ, and also the zeal, the constancy, and the intrepidity¹⁹ which marked their lives after they had received the Holy Ghost. These were the instruments that Christ had chosen to instruct and to convert, aye even to overcome the world. *Non per oratores docuit piscatores*, writes St. Gregory the Great, «sed mira potentia per piscatores subegit oratores»²⁰.

¹ Acts xii. 2. ² Jn. i. 37. ³ Jn. i. 44. ⁴ Jn. i. 45. ⁵ Jn. xi. 16.

⁶ Mt. ix. 9. ⁷ Lk. vi. 15. ⁸ Gal. ii. 9. ⁹ Mt. xiii. 55. ¹⁰ Lk. vi. 15, 16.

¹¹ Ὁ παραδιδούς, Mt. xxvii. 3; διάβολος, adversarius, Jn. vi. 71; cf. xiii. 2, 27.

¹² Jn. ii. 25. ¹³ Lk. vi. 15; Mt. x. 3. ¹⁴ Mk. vi. 7; Lk. vi. 13.

¹⁵ Is. ii. 3; Jn. iv. 21, 22; Rom. ix. 4, 5. ¹⁶ 1 Cor. i. 17, 19. ¹⁷ Acts iv. 13.

¹⁸ Mt. iv. 19, 20; ix. 9; xiv. 28; Jn. i. 49; xi. 16; xx. 28; xxi. 7, 17.

¹⁹ Acts ii. 14; iv. 13, 24; viii. 1, etc. ²⁰ Moral. XXXIII, 18.

213.¹ 3. *The Sermon on the Mount*¹ (Mt. v—vii; Lk. vi. 17—49). The youthful Church being organized, Jesus set Himself the task of instructing, and for this purpose He promulgated a part of His doctrine and His law. Seated on the mountain where He had prayed for His Apostles, He addressed a large crowd that had come from the country of Galilee, from Judea, from Jerusalem, from the Decapolis, from Perea and even from the country of the Gentiles, and spoke wholly or partly that magnificent discourse which has been called the «*Charter of the Messianic kingdom*».

214. 4. *Miracles* (Mt. viii. 5—13; xii. 22—45; ix. 18—34; viii. 2—4; Mk. iii. 20—30; v. 21—43; i. 40—45; Lk. vii. 1—18; viii. 40—55). In all probability these various instructions required several journeys. Afterwards our Saviour returned to Capharnaum. The main feature of this period was the working of many miracles, which increased the admiration of the multitude and spread the fame of the Wonder-Worker². He cured the *servant of a centurion* who was in the service of Herod Antipas or under Roman authority; He raised to life the *only son of the widow of Naim*, and a few weeks later did the same for the *daughter of Jairus*; He also healed the *woman with the issue of blood*, *two blind men*, *a mute possessed by the devil*, and *a leper*³.

Yet in spite of all this, the opposition of the Pharisees and the Scribes became more pronounced. They reproached Christ with the fact that He consorted with and welcomed sinners, and the Sermon on the Mount in particular rankled in their minds, and they set it down as revolutionary. On a certain day, at Capharnaum⁴, when He had effected the cure of a *blind and dumb man possessed by the devil*, they openly charged Him with being in league with Beelzebub (or rather Beelzebul, *בְּעֶזְבֵּל*) claiming that it was in his name that He cast out devils⁵. «Satan cannot be divided against Satan», is the reply that Jesus makes to this calumny. If He rescues the victims from the infernal powers, then He can be no minister of Satan. Then He upbraids them for their perverse spirit. Abashed, the Scribes and Pharisees demand a sign in witness of His mission. «As Jonas was in the belly of a sea-monster three days and three nights, so the Son of Man would be in the bosom of earth three days and three nights», was the only satisfaction He gave them.

¹ Nos. 445—453. ² Lk. vii. 16, 17; Mt. xii. 23.

³ About these miracles see nos. 354 ff.

⁴ Mk. iii. 20.

⁵ The etymology of Beelzebub is disputed. According to some it signifies «the Lord of Zebub»; according to others, it means «the Lord of the Dunghill» or «the Lord of the flies», or of «the household». Cf. *Lightfoot*, *Horae synopticae* in Mt. XII, 24.

215. 5. John the Baptist's Message (Mt. xi. 2—19; Lk. vii. 19—35). Confined in his prison cell, John followed the course of Him for whom he had prepared the way, and this he could do; for his disciples were allowed to visit him and they kept informed of the doings of Christ. At this juncture, he sent two of his disciples to Christ with this message: «Art thou he that art to come, or look we for another?» Was John, in the sufferings of his captivity, beginning to falter and to doubt? Many Protestant scholars, following the lead of Tertullian¹, have given this interpretation to the message. Yet it is very improbable because of its inconsistency with what we know of John. Could he who saw the Holy Ghost descend upon Jesus, and who himself characterized Him, at several times, as the Lamb of God, have the least hesitation in regard to His mission and His divinity? But why did he send so strange a message? His design was to bring his disciples in personal contact with Jesus so that they might bear witness to His teaching and be convinced that He really and truly wrought the works which only the Messiah could perform: *opera Christi*². He longed for the accomplishment of the divine decree, which he himself had enunciated: *Illum oportere crescere, me autem minui*, «He must increase, but I must decrease.»³

216. Answer of Jesus. «In that same hour» Jesus wrought a number of miracles, which Isaias⁴ has predicted would mark the coming of the Messiah: «Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen: the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are made clean, the deaf hear; the dead rise again, to the poor the gospel is preached.» Although indirect, this reply was the most prudent, the most modest and the most convincing that He could give; for it embodied an affirmation of His Messianic character and a proof of this affirmation⁵.

When John's messengers had gone, Jesus eulogized the Forerunner in order to excite the Apostles to a greater degree of perfection, and to confirm in their souls the testimony of the Baptist concerning Him. He praised his firmness of character, the austerity of his life and the dignity of his mission⁶. «Amongst those that are born of women, there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist.» Yet the least in the kingdom of heaven, be he a simple Christian or a minister of God, is superior to him in dignity. Such is the superiority of the Church over the Synagogue, the N. T. over the O., that the lowest place by the Saviour's side is to be preferred to the highest place among the disciples of Moses, because the followers of Christ have received more abundant light and have enjoyed grater favours.

¹ De bapt. X; Contra Marc. IV, xviii: P. L. I, 1211; II, 402.

² Mt. xi. 2. ³ Jn. iii. 30. ⁴ xxxv. 5; lxi. 1.

⁵ S. Aug., Sermon. LXVI, 4: P. L. XXXVIII, 432; S. Thom., S. th. 2, 2, q. 2, a. 7 ad 2. ⁶ Mal. iii. 1.

With John the Baptist the Messianic era began. The kingdom of heaven suffers violence and is persecuted (*βιάζεται*) in the persons of the Messias and of His Forerunner. The violent (*βιασταί*) impede and retard the work of conquest¹. We can understand how these remarks scandalized the Pharisees and the Scribes, and we can realize how they were further scandalized and affronted when Jesus charged them with cherishing childish caprices and with bending everything to suit their humours, at one time complaining that John's life was too austere, and at another finding fault with Jesus because He came eating and drinking and made Himself the friend of sinners and publicans.

217. 6. *The Sinner Woman at the Feast of Simon* (Lk. vii. 36—50)². A Pharisee named Simon, in a city the name of which



Fig. 34. Roman banquet. Mural painting of Pompeii.
(From Niccolini.)

is not known, invited the Saviour to a banquet. Touched by divine grace, a woman and a public sinner, whom many commentators identify with Mary Magdalen, and with Mary, the sister of Martha

and Lazarus³, entered the banquet hall, cast herself weeping at the feet of Jesus, kissed them, dried them with her hair, and, breaking an alabaster box filled with ointment, anointed them. At this particular period, meals were taken in a reclining position upon couches (Fig. 34); with the body held erect by leaning on the left arm, and the feet extending to the outer circle (no. 263).

218. 7. *The Parables* (Mt. xiii. 1—52; Mk. iv. 1—34; Lk. viii. 4—18). A reversal of affairs was produced in Galilee during this second mission, as is evidenced by the insults of the Scribes and the

¹ See the Commentators, especially *Knabenbauer*, Comm. in Mt. xi. 12. Many of the Commentators, in another manner, interpret this passage: since the Precursor has begun his ministry, «every one makes energetic efforts in order to enter into the Christian kingdom»; in order to enter, moral energy is necessary: «the ardent and generous souls only can succeed in taking it violently.» *Filion*, S. Matthieu h. 1.

² This feast and anointing should not be confounded with feast and anointing that took place at Bethania, in the house of Simon (Mt. xxvi. 6; Jn. xii. 3 f.); for the points of contact are few, and the differences are notable.

³ No. 238.

Pharisees, by the efforts of Jesus to instruct the multitude, and by the uneasiness of His relatives¹. The Scribes and the Pharisees plucked up new courage, and the enemies of Jesus were increasing daily. The Saviour could not any more speak openly. This is why He, among other reasons, propounded His teaching under the veiled form of the parable², reserving the explanation of His thought for His own followers³, and leaving His enemies the burden of seeking His meaning with the risk of not discovering it at all.

219. 8. *Jesus at Gerasa* (Mt. viii. 18—34; Mk. v. 1—20; Lk. viii. 26—38).

The Tempest. At night on one of these missionary journeys, Christ and His Apostles crossed over the Sea of Galilee, in order to gain a little needful rest. While crossing over, a violent tempest broke upon them and endangered the lives of the boat's passengers. A word uttered in a tone of authority by Jesus calmed the stormy waves.

The Possessed Gerasenians. Arriving on the opposite banks⁴, they came to a country, which is sometimes called Gerasa, at others Gadara, and again Gergesa by the MSS. and versions⁵.

There, two men possessed (Matthew) by the devil met Jesus, and He cured them. With His permission, the devils entered into a herd of swine, and they «were carried headlong into the lake, and were stifled with the sea-waters to the number of nearly two thousand»⁶.

The natives, frightened by this supernatural manifestation, besought Jesus to leave their shores. Jesus granted their wishes, but only after He had made one of the cured (Mark, Luke) men an Apostle in his own house-hold and among his relatives, and thus the demoniac evangelized the Decapolis.

9. *Jesus at Nazareth* (Mt. xiii. 54—58; Mk. vi. 1—6; Lk. iv. 16—31). According to St. Matthew and St. Mark, at this particular period, our Lord paid a visit to the inhabitants of Nazareth. He went into their Synagogue, preaching to them and made the announcement that He was the Messiah; for He did not wish to afford them any pretext for their incredulous attitude. His hearers, first seized by admiration for Him, were scandalized in Him and were shocked at His presumption. Christ rebuked this manner of acting, and He told them plainly that, if they were obdurate, there were others who

¹ Mt. xii. 46—50; Mk. iii. 31—35; Lk. viii. 19—21. ² No. 292.

³ Mt. xiii. 10 f.; Mk. iv. 10; Lk. viii. 9. ⁴ Mk. v. 1; Lk. viii. 26.

⁵ Its site is probably identical with Kersa or better Kalaat el Hasen on the eastern side of the sea. Cf. art. Gerasenes, HDB. II, 159, 160; *Thomson*, The Land and the Book II, 353—356; *Fouard*, The Christ, the Son of God I, 310; *Lagrange*, St. Marc 131, 132.

⁶ See nos. 357.

would profit by the Messianic benefits. This rebuke angered the Nazareans, and they rose up, and taking Jesus to the brow of the hill upon which the city was built, wanted to cast Him down.

At the beginning of the public life, Luke speaks of a visit of Jesus to the inhabitants of Nazareth. It seems that it can be identified with the visit recorded later in Matthew and Mark. It is very probable that the chronology of Matthew and Mark is to be preferred here to that of Luke; for the latter implies in iv. 23, that the sojourn and the miracles of Jesus at Capharnaum had already taken place.

220. 10. *The Mission of the Apostles* (Mt. ix. 36—38; x. 5 to 42; xi. 1; Mk. vi. 7—13; Lk. ix. 1—6). Jesus returned to Capharnaum, having on his way preached the Gospel of the Kingdom and worked many miracles¹. He called His disciples to Himself; for He now intended to associate them intimately in His work, and also to give greater scope to the religious movement which He had set on foot. He had given them dominion over the demons and had endowed them with the power of healing diseases, and had sent them out two by two to preach to the Jews the proximity of the kingdom of God, and the necessity of performing penance. Before entrusting them with so great a mission He laid down particular rules². It is probable that St. Matthew, according to his custom, has grouped here instructions which belong to different periods; some of these instructions must have been formulated at several times.

The Apostles departed on their mission, announcing the glad tidings, casting out devils, and anointing with oil³ many that were sick, healed them. They appealed to all to perform penance, and expelled devils in great number. This mission was not fruitless; for it furnished the nascent Church with a number of new recruits.

IV. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION.

221. In general, the preaching of the Saviour, so very similar to that of John, took, as time went on, its own distinctive features, and had for its object the foundation of a kingdom. This kingdom, open to all, was inaugurated by the election of the Apostles and by the promulgation of the Sermon on the Mount.

A great many Galileans, full of enthusiasm, hailed Jesus as the Messiah and expressed their belief in Him. Yet the battle which

¹ Mt. ix. 18—34; Mk. v. 21—43; Lk. viii. 40—56.

² Nos. 454—460.

³ Anointing was a frequent specific in ordinary medical treatment (*Gould*, Comm. on Mark 108). Some have seen in Mk. vi. 13 a figure of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, *Maldonatus*, Comm. in Marc. vi. 13, even going so far as to say that it is the Sacrament itself that is meant here. The Council of Trent (sess. XIV, c. 1) says of this Sacrament: «Apud Marcum quidem insinuat, per Iacobum promulgatum».

waged between our Lord and the Sanhedrin was warm, and the latter left no stone unturned to put an end to the career of the young Prophet. Even in Galilee, the Pharisaic opposition made itself felt and increased in strength each day. Nevertheless, the Messianic work made great progress.

It must be remarked that Jesus, although speaking and acting as the Messiah in all things, was loth to employ this title in Galilee. This same is not true for Judea, and the reason was that conditions were vastly different in the two countries. He forbade the demons who recognized Him and those whom He miraculously cured, to reveal to any man what they knew and what they felt¹. The title that He assumed most was «Son of Man»², which was synonymous (no. 397) with Messiah, but was less clear and perhaps less used. He was probably led to adopt this attitude in order to prevent the thoughtless and inopportune enthusiasm which His direct announcement would excite among a people who waited impatiently for a political and warlike Messiah (no. 142). He could not see any advantage in offering an insult to the constituted authorities.

ART. III.

THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST.

Scene: Galilee and its environs to the east and north.

Time: From spring (some weeks before the third Pasch) until the Feast of Tabernacles (October).

Sources: Mt. xiv—xvii. 20; Mk. vi. 14—ix. 28; Lk. ix. 7—44; Jn. vi.

I. JESUS IN THE DESERT OF BETHSAIDA.

222. 1. *The Desire of Herod Antipas to see Jesus* (Mt. xiv. 1—12; Mk. vi. 14—29; Lk. ix. 7—9). Herod Antipas, at the celebration of his birth day or the day when he came into power, had John beheaded³ in his prison-cell at the request of Herodias, his illegitimate wife. Some time after this event, stories of the success and of the miracles of Jesus, whose name was in everybody's mouth since the mission of the Apostles, reached his ears. Always superstitious, and doubly so now that he had put the Baptist to death, Herod became frightened and was possessed of the belief that Jesus was none other than John risen from the dead. Impatient to set his fears at rest, he desired to see the young Prophet. But Christ wished to avoid a popular uprising in His favour, and so, suspending His ministry in Galilee, He resolved to retire into the land of Philip the Tetrarch. The danger for Him was greater now, because the Herodians took part in the hostility of the Pharisees.

¹ Mk. i. 32—34; iii. 12; Mt. ix. 30; xii. 16; Mk. i. 44.

² Mt. viii. 20; x. 23; xi. 19; xii. 8, 32, 40; xiii. 41; Mk. ii. 10, 28; viii. 31, 38; Lk. v. 24; vi. 5, 22; vii. 34; ix. 22.

³ *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, v, 2.

2. *Jesus in the Desert of Bethsaida* (Mt. xiv. 13, 14; Mk. vi. 30—32; Lk. ix. 10; Jn. vi. 1). A short time before the Pasch — probably the third of the public life —, the Apostles who had finished their mission came to their Master and reported the things they had done and taught. He then invited them to come aside with Him in some desert place to seek needed repose.

The small band set sail towards the north of the sea of Galilee, and came to the desert of Bethsaida¹.

3. *The First Multiplication of Loaves* (Mt. xiv. 13—23; Mk. vi. 33—46; Lk. ix. 11—17; Jn. vi. 1—15). The multitude which had divined the purpose of the Apostolic band, followed after them, along the sea coast and joined the Saviour in His retreat.

As this was the time of the Paschal celebration², many pilgrims to the Holy City were present, because they wanted to see for themselves Him, who was being spoken of on all sides. Jesus had compassion upon the multitude, welcomed them cordially, spoke to them of the kingdom of God, and cured their sick.

In the evening He fed them, with five loaves and two fishes, to the number of 5000 men not counting the women and children.

The immense crowd, filled with admiration on beholding such a prodigy, was disposed to declare Him king, and so determined were the people that they attempted to force Christ to accept. They wanted Him as the leader of a national movement which would put an end to the pagan domination.

In order to prevent an uprising which He knew would be ruinous to His work, Jesus, whose royalty was not of this earth, gave orders to His disciples to set sail for Capharnaum³ and to head for Bethsaida⁴.

Accordingly, He dismissed the crowd and retired alone to the mountain there to pray to His heavenly Father.

4. *The Perilous Sail on the Sea of Galilee* (Mt. xiv. 24 to 33; Mk. vi. 47—52; Jn. vi. 16—21). In the meantime a violent storm broke over the Sea of Galilee, and the Apostles were put out of their course and were not able to land at the appointed place. When a part of the night had passed, at the fourth watch (from three to six o'clock), the Master joined them by walking on the waves. It was during this incident that Peter also walked on the waters. Jesus entered the ship, and immediately they made towards the beach of Genesareth⁵ where they desired to land. This miracle

¹ Scholars in general maintain that there were two places known as Bethsaida, the one to the east, the other to the west of the Jordan. But this is doubtful. The exact side of Bethsaida is not known with certainty. Cf. *Lightfoot*, *Centuria chographica* Matthaeo praemissa chap. XCIII; and *Horae* in Matth. XIV, 13; art. Bethsaida, HDB, I, 282.

² Jn. vi. 4, 10.

³ Jn. vi. 17.

⁴ Mk. vi. 45.

⁵ Mt. xiv. 34.

made a deeper impression upon the Apostles than the multiplication of loaves. In their wonder and amazement they cried out: «Thou art truly the Son of God.» In this wise their faith was beaten into a definite shape and became stronger little by little.

II. THE PROMISE OF THE EUCHARIST.

(Jn. vi. 22—72; Mt. xiv. 34—36; Mk. 53—56.)

223. Scarcely had Jesus left the ship when He was recognized. The news of His arrival sped rapidly throughout the country. Everywhere He went, they brought to Him many sick people who were healed by simply touching His garment. Then He returned to Capharnaum.

Now, the day after the miracle of the multiplication of loaves, the multitude, having remained near Bethsaida, and not having found Jesus, set out to search for Him and pressing several craft hailing from Tiberias into service, went back to Capharnaum. Jesus explains to them that they must not seek material bread, but the bread of eternal life, namely the truth which He taught, and His own Body and His own Blood which He would one day give them as nourishment. This explanation was revolting to the Jewish mind. In place of a Messiah who would make their dreams of a material kingdom real and secure for their race a universal sovereignty, they were told of a Messiah whose kingdom was spiritual, one who would give Himself as food and drink. This idea was inconceivable to them. Quite a number of them refused any longer to be disciples of a Master who did not conform to their ideals. Forced to decide as to their course, the Apostles remained loyal to Him.

In the meantime the Paschal feast was near at hand. St. John seems to imply that Jesus did not go up to Jerusalem for its celebration. After these things Jesus walked in Galilee; for *He would not walk in Judea*, because the Jews sought to kill Him» (vii. 1).

III. DISPUTES WITH THE SCRIBES AND PHARISEES. — CERTAIN DISCOURSES.

(Mt. xv. 1—20; Mk. vii. 1—23.)

224. The Pharisees and Scribes came from Jerusalem into Galilee, perhaps after the Paschal celebration. They were scandalized to note that the disciples of Christ took their meals without having first made the customary ablutions, and they expressed their surprise to their Master. «Jesus would not allow these hypocrites to practise upon the simplicity of the Apostles. He straightway took up the defence of His own, and withstood them, meeting reproof with reproof.» «And you», He said, «Why do you transgress the Law of God in order to follow those traditions of yours? God has said: Honour thy father and thy mother, and yet you say: If a man says to his

parents, I have vowed to God that which I might have bestowed on you; the word *Corban* once uttered, the vow is irrevocable, and you no longer permit the son to do anything for his father and his mother. Thus you set the Law of God at naught by your tradition»¹. He brands them as hypocrites and boldly accuses them of honouring God with their lips and not with their hearts. And in ending the discussion, He declares that true purity is that of the heart.

IV. JESUS IN PHENICIA, THE DECAPOLIS, AND THE TETRARCHY OF PHILIP.

225. 1. *Jesus in Phenicia* (Mt. xv. 21—28; Mk. vii. 24—30). Confronted by this open hostility, Jesus left the country of the Jews and retired for a time into a pagan country. His object in doing this was not so much to evangelize the inhabitants as to escape the attacks of His enemies, and, by keeping Himself aloof, to let the agitation He had aroused in Galilee, subside. He went first into Phenicia, towards Tyre and Sidon, and manifested the intention of remaining there unknown. But, as St. Mark puts it, «He could not be hid». A Chanaanitish woman came to Him and besought Him «to cast forth a devil out of her daughter».

2. *Jesus in the Decapolis* (Mt. xv. 29—38; Mk. vii. 31—37; viii. 1—9). Jesus afterwards descended to the Decapolis (*ἡ Δεκάπολις*). As its name implies, this was a confederation of ten cities nearly all situated to the east of the Jordan. There He cured a deaf and dumb man, and, as He desired to remain unknown, enjoined silence upon all. But His command was in vain. All the people round about brought the dumb, the blind, the lame and the maimed, and Jesus healed all of them. The enthusiasm which He evoked was as great as that which He had excited a few weeks before in the desert of Bethsaida, and during His first Galilean missions.

Then our Saviour for the second time miraculously multiplied the loaves and fishes.

3. *Jesus at Dalmanutha* (Mt. xv. 39; xvi. 1—12; Mk. viii. 10—21). When the multitude had dispersed, Jesus walked down to the shore, where a bark bore Him across to the territory of Dalmanutha (Mark) on the confines of Magedan (Matthew). Nothing definite in regard to this place is known. Some place it on the west, and others on the east of the Sea of Tiberias. It is probable that Dalmanutha was situated on the south of this sea, to the east of the Jordan, toward El-Delhamieh.

Despite the care that Jesus took to conceal His presence, the Pharisees and Sadducees succeeded in locating Him. As heretofore

¹ Fouard, *The Christ, the Son of God* II, 6.

they attacked Him, but their attack took a new turn. They demanded again (no. 214) a sign as proof of His Divine Mission, and Jesus clearly alluding to His death and resurrection, plainly told them that no other sign than the sign of Jonas the prophet would be given them. After they had left Him, he boarded a barque and passed to the other side of the lake.

226. 4. *Jesus in the Tetrarchy of Philip* (Mt. xvi. 13—28; Mk. viii. 22—39; Lk. ix. 18—27). **Confession of Peter.** The next day, with His disciples, He landed at Bethsaida. Just outside the city He gave sight to a blind man, with the injunction to tell



Fig. 35. Old town-gate of Cæsarea Philippi (Baniyas of to-day). (Phot. Bonfils.)

no one in the town. After this miracle, Jesus turned toward the north of Palestine, where the Jordan had its source, in the region of Cæsarea Philippi (the Baniyas of to-day, Fig. 35), the capital of Philip's country. He passed on without evangelizing this city.

One day while in prayer He broke off suddenly and desiring to test the faith of His disciples, and at the same time to see what impression His teaching and His miracles had made upon them regarding His personality, he asked them: «Who, do they say, that I am, I, the Son of Man?» The Apostles confessed that in spite of the prophecies which had been fulfilled in Him, and in spite of the striking miracles He had performed, there was no one in Israel that acknowledged Him as the Messias. «And you, who do you say

that I am?» He continued. Peter, speaking in the name of the others, answered: «Thou art the Christ (Mark, Luke), the Son of the living God» (Matthew).

At last the disciples believed in His Messianic character and in His divinity. They saw in Him not the purely human Christ, but the Christ in a special relation with the Godhead, sharing in His attributes, although as yet they had not a clear idea of this divine filiation.

These words «Son of the living God» are rejected by H. Holtzmann, Schmidt, Loisy, because they claim they did not form a part of the primitive text. Yet the expression «the Christ» in the minds of the Apostles meant something more than a purely human Christ, whilst the words «Son of the living God» sound perfectly natural on the lips of the Apostle. Their faith in the divinity of Jesus originated in the deeds to which they were witness. «Thus, the disciples had witnessed the fact that He forgave the sins of the paralytic and of the sinful woman, and, like the Scribes, had undoubtedly wondered: 'None can forgive sins but God alone. . . . Who then is this man that He forgiveth sins?' They had seen Him suddenly calm the storm and had exclaimed: 'Who is this that He can command the wind and the sea?' They had beheld Him walk upon the waters, and, falling down at His feet had said: 'Thou art truly the Son of God.'

They had heard also, no doubt, the unusual testimony of the demoniacs, although the Saviour had promptly checked them: 'I know that Thou art the Holy one of God', 'the Son of God', 'the Son of the Most High'. Perhaps, too, they were aware of the solemn revelation of the Baptism and of the mysterious words pronounced by the heavenly Father: 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well-pleased'. And, indeed, they were to hear soon afterwards this very same voice at the Transfiguration; nor did this latter manifestation apparently modify, in any important degree, their previously formed notion of Jesus the Messiah and Son of God.»¹

The Primacy of Peter. Christ confirmed the declaration of Peter, by showing its extraordinary importance and exceptional significance, and by praising the faith of Peter in the solemn words: «Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, because neither flesh nor blood has revealed this unto thee, but My Father who is in Heaven.» And then He conferred the Primacy upon the Son of Jonas.

«I say to thee: That thou art Peter (a rock); and upon this rock I will build My Church.» In Greek and Latin the word «rock» is feminine, and hence the play upon the words is not so noticeable as it is in Aramaic where the word is of double gender.²

In order to rob this text of its value, Protestants have contended that the words «upon this rock» refers to the faith of Simon or of those who believe like him. However subtle this explanation may

¹ *Lepin*, Christ and the Gospel 322, 323. The whole section from 320—327 is worth reading.

² The French exhibits this phenomenon thus: «Je te dis que tu es Pierre, et sur cette pierre je bâtirai mon Église.»

appear, it nevertheless does violence to the text and on that account cannot be satisfactory. The words of Jesus, as they stand, mean that Peter is to be the irrefragable rock upon which the Church shall be built. These words are absolute, not conditional, nor do they express either a promise or a prediction. Peter is now (*Thou art*), at the very moment Christ was speaking, the real and perpetual foundation of the Church.

And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. According to common use of the O. T. «hell» means death, and hence Christ affirms that the gates (the power) of death shall not prevail against His Church¹. There is no direct allusion to the power of the devil here, it is only inferred inasmuch as it is closely associated with death. Death which held sway in the world, would have no power over the Church; for it would last for all times.

And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The office of Simon prefigured in the metaphor of the rock, is now represented under the figure of the keys. «The keys figure the authority of the major-domo² who has the important function of watching over, according, and refusing access to the royal residence.» They represent therefore the power which was delegated to Peter. He was supreme in the kingdom of heaven, i. e. the Church. He had power to receive all who desired to enter, and he likewise had power to exclude from it. In a general sense, there is an allusion here to ecclesiastical authority in its dealings with mankind.

And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall also be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven. In the rabbinical terminology «to bind» and «to loose» are technical terms which express the sentence of a doctor of the law when he pronounced upon what the Law allowed and what it forbade³. In a word, Peter was granted the power of imposing rules and laws, to pardon and refuse pardon for sin, and no matter what his course of action was, God would ratify it in heaven.

Rationalistic critics admit «that Catholic tradition has, not without reason, based the dogma of Roman primacy upon this text. The consciousness of this primacy is what inspired all the development of St. Matthew, who had in view not only the historical personality of Simon, but also the traditional succession of Simon-Peter»⁴.

It is true that all the Apostles are the foundation of the Church, and all of them have received like power. But these powers belong in a special sense to Peter; for Peter is the foundation upon which *all* rests, the Apostles as well as the believing faithful.

¹ Job x. 20—22; Jon. ii. 7.

² Is. xxii. 22; Apoc. iii. 7.

³ Cf. *Dalman*, *The Words of Jesus* 214, 215.

⁴ *Loisy*, *Les Évangiles syn.* II, 13.

Historical Character. This passage is rejected by these same critics, on the ground that it is the product of Christian faith: «Its contents and its character as a clear interpolation in the recital of Mark fail to mark it as an authentic discourse of Jesus. Jesus preached nothing more than the kingdom, and the near approach of the kingdom. . . . It is the Church that has taken the place of the kingdom whose advent was expected, and the idea of the Church was, by the force of circumstances, substituted for the idea of the kingdom.»¹

Answer. It is quite possible that these verses were inserted by St. Matthew in a text which originally did not contain them²; and



Fig. 36. Mount Tabor. (Phot. Bonfils.)

moreover, it must be granted that their suppression does not interrupt the order of ideas. But it does not follow that the words cannot and must not be attributed to our Lord; for St. Matthew could have taken them from an authoritative source. Thus the difficulty lies principally in their contents. Now there are many texts which tend to show that our Lord did not preach the near advent of the kingdom, and those which seem to imply that He did are susceptible of a different explanation (see nos. 390 ff.).

The Announcement of the Passion. Jesus, however, forbade His disciples to tell anyone that He was the Christ. Afterwards He told

¹ *Loisy*, Les Évangiles syn. II, 8, 9, 13—15.

² This hypothesis would be probable, if it could be shown that St. Mark used the source of S. Matthew.

them that His enemies would soon put Him to death. This was the first time He made such a clear declaration in regard to His Passion. In order not to discourage the disciples, He added that after three days He would rise again.

5. *The Transfiguration* (Mt. xvii. 1—20; Mk. ix. 1—28; Lk. ix. 28—44)¹. The Twelve, especially Peter, could not grasp the idea of a suffering and dying Messiah. Six days (according to Luke: *fere dies octo*) after the confession of Peter or after the discourse on the necessity of bearing the cross, our Saviour, in order to strengthen their faith and revive their courage, took three of their number, Peter, James and John, up into a mountain (Fig. 36), and there revealed His eternal glory in the mystery of the Transfiguration. He commanded them, however, to tell no man what they had seen until after the Resurrection.

The next day He came down from the mountain and cured a *lunatic possessed* by the devil whom the disciples could not cure because of their unbelief.

V. THE RESERVE OF JESUS IN REVEALING HIMSELF AS THE MESSIAS AND AS GOD.

227. *The Facts.* We have seen that, during His public ministry, our Lord exercised a certain reserve in revealing His Messianic dignity and His divine character. Upon the devils, those He miraculously cured, and the Apostles who recognized these characters He imposed a strict silence. He Himself as a general rule adopted the title «Son of Man».

Interpretation of the Facts. From these facts Wrede and Guignebert have concluded that our Lord did not claim to be the Messiah, and that the Apostles only considered Him as such after His Resurrection; in order to harmonize this new belief with the Gospel narrative, they perpetrated a pious fraud. If Christ was the Messiah after His Resurrection, then He must have been the Messiah before this event. And to make matters appear in this light the Apostles imagined that Christ's revelation as the Messiah was unknown except to those most intimate with Him, and these were bound to secrecy until after the Resurrection.

This explanation is a flat denial of the sincerity of the Evangelists, which is neither contestable nor contested (no. 87). If Jesus never pretended to be the Messiah, it is impossible to account for the origin of this idea in the minds of the Apostles after the Resurrection, which moreover, would not have been real. Nor can it explain why Jesus was persecuted by the Jewish authorities, and in the end

¹ See nos. 369 ff.

brought before Pilate and put to death. How could the Apostles have created the spiritual Messiah of the Gospels in direct opposition to what their training and education had taught them? (Nos. 87 and 142.) The tragic death of Jesus could not have given rise to these notions, unless Jesus Himself had prepared their minds for this by His teaching.

The true explanation of the facts is very simple. Thus, the idea of the Messiah as portrayed by Jesus was in contradiction with the apocalyptic visions of the Jews who expected a Messiah whose appearance would be sudden and glorious, or a national king who would restore the kingdom of Israel. In the light of these beliefs it is easy to conceive why our Lord concealed His Messianic dignity. He held Himself in check for a time in order to correct popular misconceptions and prevent the ebullition of an enthusiasm which would only hurt His cause among those who were mistaken about His true mission.

VI. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST.

228. Considered from a human point of view, this period of six months' activity is the culminating point of the ministry of Jesus in Galilee. The climax is marked by the enthusiasm of the multitudes, who, after the miracle of the first multiplication of loaves, wanted to make Him king. Yet anyone could see that the final catastrophe was beginning to loom up in the distance. A few weeks later they deserted Him in large numbers, becoming incredulous and even hostile, especially after the discourse on the bread of life; but they followed Him anew some weeks later. They regarded Him as Elias, John the Baptist, a prophet, but not as the Messiah, at least, not as the spiritual Messiah which Jesus wished to be.

All Judea was hostile to Him. He avoided going there in order not to precipitate the murderous hatred of His enemies¹. In Galilee, He was harassed by the redoubled attacks of the Scribes and Pharisees, who had come down from Jerusalem.

The Apostles alone remained faithful. Their faith, becoming more and more explicit as time went on, was vastly strengthened at Cæsarea Philippi. For those who witnessed the Transfiguration, it was further confirmed in their hearts. Yet the others who had not been witnesses of the Transfiguration, had not sufficient faith to heal the lunatic brought to them, and, moreover, among their number was reckoned «a devil», Judas², who a few months later betrayed His master.

¹ Jn. vii. 1.

² Jn. vi. 70.

ART. IV.

THE PERIOD OF COMBAT.

Scene: Galilee, Judea, and Perea.

Time: From the Feast of Tabernacles (Sept., Oct.) to the last Pasch (probably the fourth).

Sources: Mt. xvii. 21—xx; Mk. ix. 29—x; Lk. ix. 45—xix. 28; Jn. vii—xii. 11.

I. JESUS AT JERUSALEM ON THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

(Jn. vii—x. 21.)

229. 1. *The Departure for Jerusalem* (vii. 1—10). In all probability, Christ had neither observed the celebration of the Paschal feast nor that of the Feast of Pentecost. But as the Feast of the Tabernacles (no. 140) approached, His brethren (no. 176) invited Him to go into Judea. They desired that He should show Himself in public and by a great show of His miraculous power re-establish His position in the popular favour. But Christ did not wish to depart with them; for His hour (the time for His solemn manifestation) had not yet come. «Do you go up to the feast», He said to them; «as for Me, I do not go thither, because My time is not yet accomplished.»

After His brethren had departed, Jesus with His disciples went up to Jerusalem privately. This detail co-incides with the notice of Mk. ix. 29: Jesus passed through Galilee, and no man knew it. There were only six months until the Passion.

2. *Discourses in the Temple* (vii. 11—53). Our Lord arrived at Jerusalem in the middle of the celebration, about the third or fourth day of the octave. His person like His work were diversely appreciated. He went immediately to the Temple and began to discourse in the outer courts and under the porticos. Even the arrogant ministers were astonished at the wisdom of this Teacher who was not a product of their schools. Jesus who knew their thoughts, told them plainly that the doctrine He taught was not His, but His heavenly Father's, and that His conduct was in line with His Teaching. They had accused Him of violating the Sabbath in effecting the cure of the paralytic of Bethesda¹, and for this reason they wished to put Him to death. In reply, He told them that, if circumcision were allowed on this day, why was it not lawful to heal on this day? The chief priests of the Sanhedrin had no reply for this argument (vii. 11—24).

At Jerusalem there remained a certain hesitation in accepting Him as the Christ, because the belief that the Messias would be of an unknown origin, precluded this acceptance as it was well-known that

¹ Jn. v. 5—16; nos. 209, 372 f.

He was of Nazareth. Yet many believed in Him because of His miracles. At this particular time the Sanhedrists joined with the Pharisees and commissioned their agents to seize Him. This attempt failed. As a last remark, Jesus clearly alluding to His death, told His hearers that He was going to leave them, and whither He went they could not follow (vii. 25—36).

He continued these discourses until the eighth or last day of the feast. The agents of the Sanhedrin, sent to arrest Him, were held in abeyance by the sublimity of His teaching, and He remained untouched¹. In order to repress the tokens of belief and homage which were daily increasing, the Pharisees treated the multitude as an ignorant and accursed rabble, and made a great ado about the fact that not a single magistrate or Pharisee believed in Him. Nicodemus took up His defence, and for his pains was looked upon as a Galilean. They shut him up with the argument that, according to the Scriptures, «no prophet ever came out of Galilee» (vii. 37—53).

3. *The Adultrous* (viii. 1—11)². On the last day of the feast, after finishing His discourses, Jesus directed His steps toward the Mount of Olives, where He passed the night. The next morning, at the break of day, He again went into the Temple to teach, and the people gathered around Him. Resolved to compromise Him in the eyes of the people, the Scribes and Pharisees dragged a woman taken in adultery before Him and asked Him to judge her³. To release her would be to set Himself in opposition to the Law of Moses, which commanded that this crime be punished by stoning to death⁴; to condemn her to death would be to deny His past conduct, lose His fame for clemency and mercy, and expose Himself to the vengeance of the Roman authority which reserved to itself the right of life and death⁵.

Jesus easily saw through the ruse of His enemies. He began to write upon the ground. Perhaps He traced the names of the accusers and indicated their principal sins, although of this we cannot be certain. Then He said to them: «He that is without sin among you, let him first cast the stone.» One after the other the woman's accusers slunk away.

230. 4. *Discourses of Jesus in the Gazophylacium*⁶ (viii. 12—59). Probably on the same day, after the incident of the adultrous, the Saviour gave several discourses in the *gazophylacium* (no. 138). His hearers seized stones to stone Him to death as a

¹ Mk. i. 22; Lk. iv. 22, 32.

² For the authenticity of this passage see no. 108.

³ On occasions of festivities in the Holy City, acts of disorder and immorality were by no means rare. ⁴ Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 20, 23, 24; Ex. xvi. 38—40.

⁵ Jn. xviii. 31.

⁶ See these discourses nos. 478 ff.

blasphemer; for He declared that He existed before Abraham, and that He was eternal with God Himself. But Jesus hid Himself and departed from the Temple.

5. *The Man Born Blind* (ix). After the escape, while walking in the town, Jesus met a man born blind begging by the wayside. He spat upon the earth, made clay of the spittle, anointed the eyes of the man therewith and sent Him to wash in the Pool of Siloe (Fig. 37; שִׁלּוֹחַ, sent; Christ is the Sent *par excellence*) which was situated on the southeast of the city, between Mt. Ophel

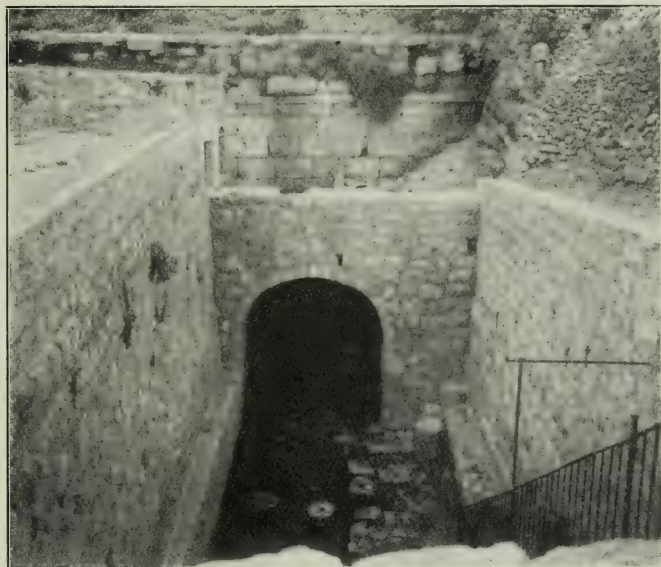


Fig. 37. Entrance to the Pool of Siloe at Jerusalem. (Phot. Brassac.)

and Mt. Sion. The blind man was immediately cured. The Pharisees were divided in regard to this miracle. An inquiry was made, but it failed to influence these sectarians.

6. *New Discourses of Jesus* (x. 1—21). During this same sojourn at Jerusalem, Christ continued His teaching. He drew the portrait of the good and bad shepherd making Himself the good Shepherd and portraying the chiefs of the theocratic nation as the hirelings. This discourse divided the Jews anew, some declaring themselves inimical to the young Prophet, while others favoured Him.

II. THE LAST MISSION OF JESUS IN GALILEE.

(Mt. xvii. 21—26; xviii. 1—5; Mk. ix. 30—40; Lk. ix. 44, 45.)

231. During the three months that intervened between the Feast of the Tabernacles and the Feast of the Dedication, Jesus could not

remain at Jerusalem harassed as He was by the menacing hatred of the Sanhedrin. It is most likely that He retired to a lonely spot, there to complete His training of His Apostles, or rather that He took up again for some months His ministry in Galilee. From the fact that St. John places the two feasts side by side, with no interruption, it cannot be concluded that Jesus did not leave Jerusalem in the interim. The argument «ex silentio» is precarious when applied to any part of the fourth Gospel, because there are quite a number of facts that the author fails to record¹.



Fig. 38.
Archaic Stater from
Metapontion.

It was at this time that He foretold once more *His Passion and His Resurrection*. Then it was also that He paid, probably at Capharnaum, the «didrachma tax» with a stater (Fig. 38) miraculously taken from the mouth of a fish. According to the Talmud this was due on the 15. of Adar (February), but we are not sure how far these regulations were carried out in the 1. century. Besides, according to the same authority, they could collect the tax earlier, in localities outside of Jerusalem. This didrachma was the contribution of half a shekel or of two drachmas which the Jewish families gave for the support of the Temple².

III. JESUS LEAVES GALILEE FOR THE LAST TIME. — THE JOURNEY TOWARD JERUSALEM.

232. 1. *The Intolerance of the Samaritans* (Lk. ix. 51—56). «And it came to pass, when the days of his assumption were accomplishing, that he steadfastly set his face (took the resolution) to go to Jerusalem.» These remarkable words bring out the irrevocable determination which actuated our Saviour, although He knew it would end disastrously for Himself. He first of all sent two messengers to a Samaritan village to make ready for His reception. But the Samaritans, because of their hatred of those coming from and going to Jerusalem, refused to receive them. The Apostolic band was therefore compelled to journey from the east to the west, passing through the territory of Galilee.

2. *New Disciples. The Mission of the Seventy-Two* (Lk. ix. 57—62; x. 1—12, 17—20). On His journey, Jesus attached more disciples to His following. From the number that followed Him, He chose seventy-two and sent them two by two before Him into every place «whither He was to come», and gave them counsels

¹ For example between the chapt. IV and V, V and VI, VI and VII.

² Ex. xxx. 11—13; 2 Par. xxiv. 5; 2 Esdr. x. 32; Jos., J. A. XVIII, ix, 1. Cf. no. 364.

like those that the Apostles had formerly received. There is nothing by which this mission can be identified with that of the Apostles, of which we have already spoken.

The list of the 72 disciples has not come down to us. Only a few are known¹. They were chosen from among those who habitually followed the Saviour, and we know that our Lord associated them with the Apostles that they might assist in instructing the people. It is certain that they were lower in rank than the Twelve, since Matthias, one of their number, was raised to the Apostolate in the place of Judas. St. Ignatius likens them to the deacons, and St. Jerome to the priests. Their ministry was transitory and purely personal; for they could not transmit to any one the powers they had received.

A good many Greek MSS. limit the number to 70, but it is most likely that this expresses the 72 in round number. We find a like incident in Gen. xlv. 27 and its quotations in Acts vii. 14.

3. *Farewell to the Coast Cities of Genesareth* (Lk. x. 13—16, 21—24; Mt. xi. 20—24)². It appears that the lowly folk received the glad tidings, whilst cities like Corozain, Bethsaida and Capharnaum remained incredulous. Hence it was that our Lord, in leaving Galilee, cursed them. These curses were afterwards realized, some thirty years later when the Roman legions laid waste Galilee³. To-day only ruins of these cities remain, and the exact site of the last two localities is very much disputed.

233. 4. *Jesus with Martha and Mary* (Lk. x. 38—42). On His way, Jesus stopped with Martha and Mary, the sisters of Lazarus, at Bethany (to-day *El-Azariéh*). St. Luke does not give the name of their village, and for this knowledge we are indebted to St. John⁴. There are many scholars who maintain that they had a home in Galilee where they received the Saviour. After this visit, they followed Him into Judea and received Him a second time, before His passion, at Bethany, their habitual domicile (Fig. 39). There is, however, no sufficient proof for this position because, according to the probable reconstitution of this period of this public ministry, Christ went up to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of the Dedication, and on His journey had to pass through Bethany.

234. 5. *Discourses and Miracles of Jesus*. Jesus continued His discourses both to His disciples and to the multitude. These shall be considered later.

Christ also wrought many miracles. It was at this time that He healed a *dumb demoniac*, and had to defend Himself against the

¹ *Eusebius* (H. E. I, 12: P. G. XX, 117) mentions five of them: Barnabas, Sosthenes, Matthias, Thaddeus, Cephas. The whole list can be seen in the *Chronique paschale*: Migne XCII, 521—524, 543—545, 1061—1065.

² This is a more natural position for this section, than in the first part of the Galilean ministry; for this latter was a period of success.

³ *Jos.*, J. W. III.

⁴ Jn. xi. 1.

Pharisees who accused Him of casting out devils in the name of Beelzebub¹. On a Sabbath day, He effected the cure of a *woman* who had been possessed by a spirit of infirmity for *eighteen years*. This angered the ruler of the synagogue, because Christ violated the Sabbath. The Lord answered him by pointing out to him if an ox and an ass can be loosed from their mangers and led to water, without a violation of the Law, with much greater reason is it lawful to heal this woman on the Sabbath². His rebuke put His adversaries to shame. The cure of the *dropsical man*, on another Sabbath, brought forth another dispute. Christ justified His conduct

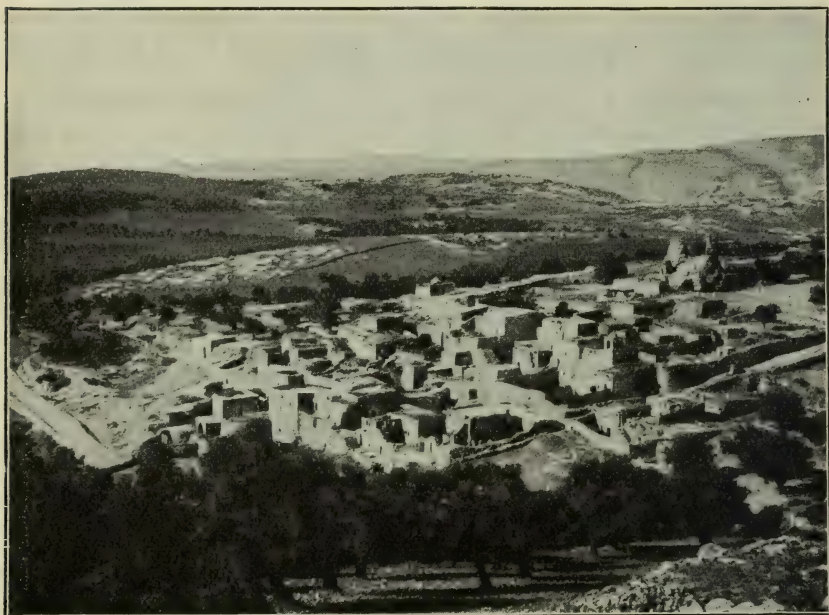


Fig. 39. Bethany. (Phot. Bonfils.)

by pointing out to the Scribes and the Pharisees that they would not let the Sabbath interfere with the drawing out of an ass or an ox that had fallen into a pit³. St. Luke depicts also in this period the cure of the *ten lepers*⁴.

IV. JESUS AT JERUSALEM ON THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION.

(Jn x. 22—39.)

235. In the meantime, Jesus arrived at Jerusalem in time for the celebration of the Feast of the Dedication (no. 140), and He betook

¹ Lk. xi. 14—28. St. Matthew places, at an earlier time, this miracle: xii. 22—30, 43—45. ² Lk. xiii. 10—17. ³ Lk. xiv. 1—6. ⁴ Lk. xvii. 11—19.

Himself to the Temple. The rulers of the sacerdotal party pressed Him to openly declare that He was the Christ. «My works bear testimony of Me», was His reply. «I and the Father are one. But you do not believe because you are not of My sheep.»

The Sanhedrists who never let slip an opportunity to carry out their hatred by violence, took up stones again¹ to stone Him², because He had blasphemed. «But», Jesus objected: «is it not written in your Law: You judges of Israel, you are gods» (you have a certain unity of nature with God)?³ This was an «argumentum ad hominem» designed to prove to the Jews that even, if Christ were not God, they should not be scandalized at His language. Then coming back to the point again, He affirms for the second time His unity with the Father. Angered beyond all bounds they sought again to seize Him, and again He passed through their hands, either by an act of His omnipotence or by the intervention of His friends (no. 230).

V. JESUS IN PEREA.

(Mt. xix. 1—30; xx. 1—16; Mk. x. 1—31; Lk. xviii. 15—30; Jn. v. 40—42.)

236. After the Feast of the Dedication, the Saviour retired, according to St. John, to the land of Perea, beyond the Jordan, the place where the Precursor had first baptized⁴, and He remained there. St. Matthew and St. Mark also note this sojourn⁵. There He repeated His *teaching* and wrought new *miracles* in the presence of the multitudes that had followed Him, and the effect was that many attached themselves to His Person⁶. The Pharisees also followed Him thither and renewed their attacks especially on the subject of *divorce*. In reply our Lord repeated His affirmations on the indissolubility of marriage⁷. The length of this sojourn in Perea is unknown. His ministry, even though short, prepared these countries for future evangelization.

VI. THE RESURRECTION OF LAZARUS⁸.

(Jn. xi. 1—54.)

237. The Saviour was already in the region beyond the Jordan, when Martha and Mary sent from Bethany to tell Him of the sickness of their brother Lazarus. But two days elapsed before He left Perea and wended His way towards Bethany. His friend had died in the meantime, but by a stupendous miracle He brought him back to life.

It was performed in circumstances of unusual publicity. A large number of Jews had come to extend their condolence to Martha

¹ Jn. xiii. 59.

² Lev. xxiv. 10—16.

³ Ps lxxxi (Hebr. lxxxii). 6.

⁴ Jn. i. 28 ff.

⁵ Mt. xix. 1; Mk. x. 1.

⁶ Jn. x. 42.

⁷ Lk. xvi. 18; nos. 461 f.

⁸ Nos. 376—378.

and Mary; for Bethany was about three quarters of an hour's walk from Jerusalem. All of them were witnesses of the miracle, and because of it many professed their belief in Jesus.

Some others hurriedly went to seek the Pharisees and acquaint them with what had taken place. This miracle forced the enemies of Jesus to a decisive step, and hastened the final crisis. The high priests and Pharisees went into session. They formally decided that the entire nation, their official position and their authority were endangered by this man, and they determined not to delay in compassing His death. In the face of this opposition and in the expectancy of the approaching hour of His Passion, Jesus withdrew to the country bordering on the desert of Juda, to a city of the mountains of Judea called Ephrem (Tayebeh of to-day), not far from Bethel, and there He sojourned with His disciples.

VII. THE LAST JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM.

238. 1. *Jesus at Jericho* (Jn. xi. 55, 56; Mt. xx. 17—34; Mk. x. 32—52; Lk. xviii. 31—43; xix. 1—28). The sojourn of Jesus at Ephrem had to be short; for the Paschal feast was not far off. The crowds had already gathered in Jerusalem in order to undergo the legal purification preliminary to the feast, and they were surprised that the Saviour had not as yet come. The priests and the Pharisees had taken measures to be immediately apprised of His arrival, and were ready to seize Him.

Jesus on leaving Ephrem betook Himself to Jericho. He was accompanied by His disciples to whom He announced His Passion and Resurrection, for the third time. They, however, did not grasp His meaning. Yet they believed that the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom was at hand; for Salome, the mother of John and James the Greater, sought the first places in the kingdom for her sons. The two disciples joined in the request of their mother. Such ambition provoked the indignation of the Apostles. On this occasion, the Master gave the whole Apostolic assembly this lesson of humility: «Whosoever will be first among you, shall be the servant of all.» While at Jericho, the Saviour cured *two blind men*¹.

2. *Jesus at Bethany* (Mt. xxvi. 6—13; Mk. xiv. 3—9; Jn. xii. 1—11). The Apostolic band continued their journey to Jerusalem

¹ According to Lk. xviii, 35—43 and xix. 1, our Lord cured one blind man before entering Jericho; according to Mt. xx. 29, 30, two, when going out of Jericho; according to Mk. x. 46, one blind man named Bartimæus was cured also in going out of Jericho (see no. 88). It is probable that St. Luke and St. Mark have in mind two different miracles, and St. Matthew has united two analogous facts in one recital. It is possible, too, that the two blind men of St. Matthew are connected with the narrative of Mark and Luke, and that the latter only tells of one, because the other was unknown. Cf. *Schanz* h. 1.

and arrived at Bethany six days before the Pasch, probably on the eve of the Sabbath¹. Simon the leper about whom little is known, invited Jesus and His disciples to a banquet. During the repast, Mary, the sister of Martha, broke an alabaster vessel of perfume and let its contents flow over the head of Jesus. This holy prodigality drew murmurs from the Apostles (Matthew, Mark), especially Judas (John). But Jesus gave the pious woman His full approbation for her act.

The Jews of Jerusalem, apprised by the pilgrims that Jesus was at Bethany, came in great numbers to see Jesus and more especially the risen Lazarus. They saw and were satisfied, returning to Jerusalem convinced and believing. The Sanhedrin then decided to put Lazarus to death; for it was because of him that a great many Jews abandoned the Pharisaic party and believed in Jesus.

The Sinner-Woman Mary Magdalen, and Mary the sister of Martha. It is doubtful if the sinner-woman who anointed the feet of the Saviour in Galilee (Lk. vii. 36—50), Mary Magdalen, and Mary the sister of Martha, are one and the same person or two distinct persons. The ancient ecclesiastical authors and modern commentators are divided on this point. The Scripture arguments leave the problem unsolved. On the one hand, the Evangelists appear to designate two distinct persons²; at least they never explicitly state their identity. On the other hand, St. John represents Mary the sister of Martha as the woman who anointed the Saviour (ἡ ἀλείψασα)³. This cannot be referred to the text of St. Luke who is alone in recording the former anointing by a sinner-woman. It is true that this phrase may be parenthetical designed to reveal this identity by an action which St. John records later⁴, but which belongs at this very moment to the history of the past. Hence the parenthesis in St. John need not necessarily be related to the text of St. Luke.

VIII. CHRONOLOGY AND GENERAL FEATURES OF THIS PERIOD.

239. 1. Chronology⁵. St. John and St. Luke furnish us with the main information in regard to these six months. The latter describes, in detail, the journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, ix. 51—xix. 28. It is quite difficult to determine whether these facts and these discourses belong to this period, or whether Luke has not grouped in this place materials derived from various sources, which he knew not where to place. The first hypothesis appears the more favourable; for St. Luke declares in the preface of His Gospel, i. 1—3, that he intended to give an orderly account of the life of our Lord.

2. General Features of this Period. In Galilee and Perea, the ministry of Jesus was actuated by the same purpose as characterized

¹ Jn. xii. 1. ² Lk. vii. 2, 37; Jn. xi. 1, 45; xii. 3; xix. 25; xx. 1—8.

³ Jn. xi. 2. ⁴ Jn. xii. 1—3.

⁵ Cf. *Fouard*, *The Christ, the Son of God*, II, app. IX; *Sanday*, art. Jesus Christ, in *HDB*, II, 630; *Plummer*, St. Luke 260.

it during the preceding periods, namely to instruct and to work miracles. New believers were made, and the ranks of the Church were swelled. Yet the people were unenthusiastic. Nay more, Capharnaum, Bethsaida and Corozain incurred terrible curses because of their unbelief. The Saviour declared that the multitude would be condemned on the day of judgment by the queen of Saba and by the Ninivites. The opposition of the Pharisees had increased, and manifested itself especially on the occasion of the cures wrought on the Sabbath days.

In Judea, Jesus clearly stated that He was the source of living water, the light of the world, the resurrection and the life, and even God Himself¹. All this He proved by His works. He was the great preoccupation of the public opinion. The people and their leaders were divided as regards Him and His personality². Yet there were more at enmity with Him than friendly towards Him. The final catastrophe was imminent. The betrayal of Judas precipitates the *dénoûment* which the prudence of the Sanhedrin wished to postpone until after the Paschal celebration. Our Saviour also predicted His coming Passion on several occasions, always adding, however, that He would rise three days after His death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

240. Besides the various lives of Christ, see *Cornely*, *Introductio specialis*, and *Pasquier*, *Les temps évangéliques et la vie du Sauveur*.

¹ Jn. vii. 37 ff.; viii. 12; ix. 5; x. 25, 30, 33, 38; xi. 25.

² Jn. vii. 15; viii. 12, 13, 30; ix. 16, 22; x. 21; xi. 45.

CHAPTER II. CHRIST'S MANNER OF LIVING.

ART. I. THE RELATIVES OF JESUS.

I. JESUS AND HIS PARENTS.

241. 1. Jesus and His Mother Mary. A. MARY IN THE GENERAL GOSPEL HISTORY. The Gospels record very little of Mary, and then only incidentally in the record of the facts of her Son's life. Her words appear in seven different places in the N. T.¹ Though meagre, they are nevertheless sufficient for the formation of a very high estimate of her prerogatives and her sanctity. We see here her dignity as the Mother of God², the Mother of the Redeemer³, with all her virtues, namely: her perpetual chastity⁴, her faith⁵, her hope⁶, her charity⁷, her religion⁸, her humility⁹, her gentleness to others¹⁰, her prudence¹¹, her courage¹², her generosity and the efficacy of her intercession¹³. There is nothing among all the writings of the ecclesiastical authors which breathes more reverence and admiration for her person than the charming narrative of the Annunciation and Visitation traced by St. Luke¹⁴.

B. MARY IN THE PUBLIC MINISTRY OF JESUS. We first meet her at the marriage feast at Cana¹⁵. The wine having failed, Mary in order to save the bridegroom from embarrassment, informed her divine Son of this fact, knowing full well that He could by His omnipotence provide a remedy. To this appeal, Jesus apparently was cold and even harsh: «Woman, what is there between Me and thee? My hour is not yet come.» The term «woman» loses its harshness in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and is rather a term of respect and affection. He employs the same address when He seeks to console her on Mt. Calvary¹⁶, and also when He speaks to Magdalen after the Resurrection¹⁷. The expression implies no breach of filial tenderness, but suggests the independence which the Saviour's work demanded.

¹ Lk. i. 34, 38, 40, 46; ii. 48; Jn. ii. 3, 5.

² Lk. i. 43.

³ Jn. xix. 25. The title of *Mother of Jesus* is repeated 25 times in the Gospel.

⁴ Mt. i. 20, 25; Lk. i. 35; cf. Gal. iv. 4.

⁵ Lk. i. 38, 45.

⁶ Jn. ii. 5.

⁷ Lk. i. 39, 56; ii. 7; Jn. ii. 3; xix. 25, 26.

⁸ Lk. i. 46, 47; ii. 42.

⁹ Lk. i. 38, 48.

¹⁰ Jn. ii. 3.

¹¹ Lk. ii. 19.

¹² Jn. xix. 24.

¹³ Jn. ii. 3, 5.

¹⁴ Lk. i. 26—56.

¹⁵ Jn. ii. 1—12.

¹⁶ Jn. xix. 26.

¹⁷ Jn. xx. 15.

The expression «what is it to Me and thee?» (Hebrew: מַה־לִּי וְלָךְ), found so often in the Bible¹, does not necessarily imply a reproach or a refusal, and must be explained in the light of the circumstances. Thus the devil when he asked Jesus not to torment him, said to Him: «What have I to do with Thee? Do not torment me» (Lk. viii. 28). In this particular passage, we can translate with the Protestant critic Reuss: «Let Me alone for that, My mother²; the precise moment for working My first miracle and inaugurating My public ministry has not come; in a few seconds it will be here³. If the Saviour does wait before complying with the request, Mary is the very first to understand the reasons for this delay. She does not doubt that her request will be granted; for she says to the servants: «What He shall say to you, do ye.»

On a certain day, in Galilee, probably in Capharnaum, while Jesus was preaching to the people, He was told that His mother and brethren were without and wished to speak to Him. Someone said to Him: «Behold Thy mother and Thy brethren stand without seeking Thee.» Christ answered: «Who is My mother, and who are My brethren?» Pointing to His disciples, He continued: «Behold My mother and My brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of My Father, that is in heaven, he is My brother, and sister, and mother» (Mt. xii. 46—50). The very same day, as Jesus was replying to the Pharisaic charge that He cast out devils by Beelzebub, a woman from the crowd lifted up her voice, crying: «Blessed is the womb that bore Thee, and the paps that gave Thee suck.» Jesus replied: «Yea, rather, blessed are they who hear the word of God, and keep it» (Lk. xi. 27, 28).

These words are not intended to express any want of esteem which the Saviour showed towards His mother, but rather to make it known whence His dignity came, and, at the same time, to teach His disciples the heights to which God raises those who are united to His Son and become His children. Our Lord insists that the source of true good for all creatures, and for Mary especially, is fidelity to God, love of His word, and submission to His will.

No other mention is made of Mary in the Gospels during the public ministry, even in circumstances where one would expect she would play a part. It is probable, nevertheless, that she accompanied Him on His journeys with His disciples and the holy women⁴, and also that she followed Him to Jerusalem for the celebration of the different feasts.

242. 2. St. Joseph. Regarding this saint, the Gospel tells us much of his life in a very few words. We are told that he was of the family of David, like the Blessed Virgin⁵, that he was an artisan by profession⁶, that he lived at Nazareth⁷, that he was just, exemplary, of irreproachable virtue⁸, well-worthy of being the husband of the Queen of Virgins⁹, and of fulfilling the duties of protector and father of the Saviour¹⁰. All tradition testifies and all Christianity is persuaded that he was a virgin. St. Peter

¹ 2 Kings xvi. 10; 3 Kings xvii. 18; 2 Par. xxxv. 21; Mt. viii. 29; xxvii. 19; Mk. i. 24. ² Reuss, *La théologie johannique* 132.

³ Knabenbauer prefers to give the Greek the interrogative form: «Woman, what is there between Me and thee? Is My hour not yet come? And it is observed that, in the Greek of the N. T., the interrogative particles are often omitted: Mt. vi. 25; viii. 29; xvii. 24; xxiv. 2; Mk. vii. 18; Lk. xiii. 2; Jn. vi. 14; vii. 23.

⁴ Lk. viii. 1—3.

⁵ Mt. i. 20; Lk. i. 27; ii. 4.

⁶ Mt. xiii. 55.

⁷ Lk. i. 26, 27; ii. 4, 39; Mt. ii. 23.

⁸ Mt. i. 19.

⁹ Mt. i. 16.

¹⁰ Lk. ii. 22, 48; iii. 23.

Damian goes so far as to say that it is the belief of the Church¹. He made journeys to Bethlehem², to Jerusalem³, to Egypt⁴, and the details of each, given by the Evangelists, make us admire his virtues, especially his docility to the commands of God⁵ and his tenderness for our Lord⁶. His prudence is shown everywhere⁷. His humility, like that of Mary, corresponded with his dignity. He never applied directly to the Saviour, but always by mediation of His Holy Mother, Mary⁸. He lived by the work of his hands, as an ordinary labourer⁹. The fatigues which he suffered in supplying the needs of the Holy Family, especially in Egypt, make it very probable that he was not as old as painters would have us believe.

However, there is hardly a doubt that he died before Christ began to preach. After the incident of the finding of Christ in the Temple, he disappears entirely from the Gospel history. Mary appears alone at the wedding feast at Cana¹⁰ and also on Calvary¹¹, nor is there mention made of anyone being with her on her journeys with her son¹². The Nazareans always referred to Jesus as the «Son of Mary»¹³, which is an implication that St. Joseph was dead for some time. Here again we see the hand of Providence working. For under these circumstances Christ need have no fear of shocking the minds of His compatriots when, in affirming His divine nature, He made mention of His heavenly Father.

3. **Jesus and «His Brothers and His Sisters».** Christ had relatives (cousins; no. 176) at Nazareth whom the Evangelists refer to as «His brothers and His sisters». We know the names of four: James the Less, Joseph or Josue, Simon, and Jude¹⁴. When Christ's life was threatened at Nazareth, they failed to take up His defence¹⁵. On another occasion, at Capharnaum, when the crowd that surrounded Jesus was so dense that He and His disciples found it difficult to eat their meal, His brethren came and wanted so seize Him, because as they said: «He is become mad.»¹⁶ Evidently they were either jealous of His popularity, or they feared to be identified with Him and thus earn the hatred of the Sanhedrin. The passage is, however, susceptible of other interpretations. They might have believed the Pharisees when they accused Christ of working by Beelzebub, and desired to see for themselves whether Christ were possessed or not. Again if «friends» be translated in the sense of «partisans», the phrase may mean that they wished to get Him from the crowd, thinking that His life was in danger.

Although they had no faith in Him, yet they ironically insisted that He accompany them to the Holy City for the Feast of Tabernacles; yet, despite its generality, this text as contained in Jn. vii. 1--5 makes exception in the case of those who were Apostles. It appears likely that, at the beginning of His public ministry, many of them were His disciples¹⁷, but getting a false impression of His mission some left Him; others abandoned Him after the discourse on the «Bread of Life»¹⁸.

II. JESUS AND HIS APOSTLES.

243. 1. **Jesus and Peter.** Christ delayed the investiture of St. Peter with the authority of the Church until He was about to leave this world¹⁹.

¹ Ecclesiae fides est ut virgo fuerit et is qui simulatus est Pater Filii Dei.

² Lk. ii. 41. ³ Lk. ii. 22, 42. ⁴ Mt. ii. 13, 19. ⁵ Mt. i. 24; ii. 14, 19--24;

Lk. ii. 22, 41. ⁶ Mt. ii. 22; Lk. ii. 44, 48. ⁷ Mt. i. 19--23.

⁸ Lk. ii. 48. ⁹ Mt. xiii. 55; Mk. vi. 3. ¹⁰ Jn. ii. 1. ¹¹ Jn. xix. 25.

¹² Lk. viii. 20. ¹³ Mk. vi. 3. ¹⁴ Mt. xiii. 55, 56; Mk. vi. 3. ¹⁵ Lk. iv. 28, 29.

¹⁶ Mk. iii. 20, 21. ¹⁷ Jn. ii. 12. ¹⁸ Jn. vi. 67. ¹⁹ Jn. xxi. 15--17.

Before this, He prepared him in order to make him worthy of wielding it. Peter was a man of great qualities. It is impossible not to admire his faith¹, his humility², his generosity³, and his love for his Master⁴. Our Lord encouraged, confirmed, and enlivened him in the practice of these virtues⁵. Yet He did not pass over his faults⁶ and left nothing undone to correct them⁷. Even his denial, his great fall, as the holy Doctors say, contributed to his sanctification and fitted him for his ministry.

244. 2. Jesus and the Apostolic Band. Christ's first care was to instil into the minds and hearts of His Apostles the understanding, the virtues, and the habits which were necessary for their work.

a) *He laboured for their instruction.* For more than three years they were very close to Him. They were present at His discourses and heard His preaching⁸. If they found any difficulty in His public teaching, He explained it away especially⁹. It was here, too, that He added special instructions for their ministry and their obligations¹⁰. He taught them gradually, and in view of their prejudices and feebleness, very discreetly¹¹. Nevertheless He delayed very little in reshaping their opinions and in correcting their ideas in regard to the kingdom which He came to establish¹², also in regard to the dignity that was to be theirs¹³, and the reward which they would receive for their sacrifices¹⁴. He made them understand little by little that no one was to be excluded from the kingdom, neither the Gentiles¹⁵, nor the Samaritans¹⁶, nor sinners¹⁷; that the aim and fruit of His reign is the sanctification of souls here below¹⁸, and eternal happiness in heaven¹⁹. Lastly, He communicated the Holy Spirit to them, with all the lights that they had need of in the exercise of their ministry and for the success of their mission²⁰.

b) *He laboured for their sanctification.* He took them from their own little world²¹, and placed them near Him, where their own eyes beheld the example that He set them²², making them realize that perfection must have its source and seat in the inward man²³, depending more on the intention rather than on the literal observation of exterior practices, relatively only important²⁴. He instilled into them a lively faith²⁵, taught them detachment²⁶ from the things of this world, obedience²⁷, sacrifice²⁸, humility²⁹, trust in

¹ Mt. xiv. 28; xvi. 16; Jn. vi. 69. ² Lk. v. 8; xxii. 61, 62; Jn. xiii. 6.

³ Mt. iv. 20; xix. 27; Jn. xiii. 37.

⁴ Mt. xvi. 22; xxvi. 58; Lk. xxii. 33; xxiii. 12.

⁵ Mt. xiv. 29; xvi. 18; xix. 28. ⁶ Mt. xiv. 31; xxvi. 40.

⁷ Mt. xvi. 23; xxiv. 34, 40; Mk. viii. 33; Lk. xxii. 61.

⁸ Jn. xv. 15, 16.

⁹ Mt. xiii. 10—12, 18, 36; xv. 15; xvi. 15, 16; Mk. iv. 34; Lk. viii. 9.

¹⁰ Mt. x. 5—42; xvi. 20; xvii. 9; xviii. 22; Lk. ix. 1—6; x. 2—24; Jn. xiv. xv. xvi. xxi. 15—17; Acts i. 3.

¹¹ Jn. xvi. 12. ¹² Mt. v. 3, 10; Lk. xii. 31; xx. 25, 26.

¹³ Mt. x. 16; xx. 23, 25, 26; Mk. ix. 34, 35.

¹⁴ Mt. xxv. 34; Lk. x. 20; xii. 32.

¹⁵ Mt. viii. 11; Lk. xiii. 29, 30; Jn. x. 16

¹⁶ Lk. ix. 55; Jn. iv. 21.

¹⁷ Mt. xiii. 29, 30.

¹⁸ Lk. xii. 31; xvii. 21.

¹⁹ Mt. xxvi. 29; Lk. xxii. 29, 30.

²⁰ Jn. xiv. 15.

²¹ Mt. iv. 19; x. 9; Jn. i. 43.

²² Jn. xiii. 14.

²³ Mt. v. 20; Lk. xvii. 21.

²⁴ Mt. vi. 22; xv. 18.

²⁵ Mt. xii. 7, 8; Lk. xviii. 12—14.

²⁶ Mt. viii. 26; xvii. 20; xxi. 21; Mk. iv. 40; xi. 22; Lk. xvii. 5, 6.

²⁷ Mt. viii. 22; x. 37; Lk. v. 11.

²⁸ Lk. ix. 62; Mt. xx. 33.

²⁹ Mt. xx. 26—28; Mk. x. 43; Lk. x. 20; xxii. 24; Jn. xiii. 12.

God¹, zeal², prayer³, and the practice of all virtues. He made them partake of His laborious life and all His privations⁴. He pointed out their faults⁵, and told them to hate and avoid the vices of the Pharisees⁶. He praises greatly all virtues of which He is witness⁷; He told them of the trials that were to be theirs⁸, and He always prayed for them in a very special manner⁹.

c) *He formed them for their ministry.* During the first year, He exercised His ministry alone, but in their presence¹⁰; the second year, He sent them two by two, to preach the kingdom of heaven in various places of Judea¹¹; the third, He formed them into a band of seventy-two disciples. He also showed by His life and by the fulfilment of His duties that He was really the Master of the Apostles¹².

Nothing is more admirable than the love which He bestowed on them. He calls them His friends¹³, His brothers¹⁴, His dear children¹⁵; He could not see them in suffering without alleviating their anguish¹⁶. He made them seek repose when they were in need of it¹⁷, and insured their safety, even at the expense of His own¹⁸. He consoled them in their sorrows¹⁹, He took up their defence against the Pharisees²⁰, recommended them to love one another²¹, gave them all sorts of encouragement²², and made them all kinds of promises²³, and He made them the recipients of His most intimate confidence²⁴.

On the other hand, there is nothing more edifying than the docility with which the Apostles received His word²⁵, and the devotion which they manifested towards Him²⁶.

Finally, after His Resurrection, the Saviour manifested Himself to them in His glory, gave them their final mission, and invested them with all His powers²⁷.

III. JESUS AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITIES.

245. 1. *Jesus and the Civil Authorities.* With the exception of the time of His Passion, it appears that our Lord had no direct relations with

¹ Mt. xiv. 31; xvi. 9, 10; xxi. 21; Mk. xi. 23. ² Lk. x. 1 f.; Jn. ix. 32—38.

³ Mt. xiv. 23; xxvi. 41; Lk. x. 2; xi. 2. ⁴ Mk. vi. 31; Jn. iv. 8; vi. 9.

⁵ Mt. viii. 26; xiv. 31; xv. 16; xvi. 8, 23; xvii. 16; xviii. 3; Mk. ix. 32—36; x. 14; Lk. ix. 46—55; xxiv. 25; Jn. xii. 7; xiv. 9.

⁶ Mt. xvi. 6—12. ⁷ Mt. viii. 10; Mk. xii. 43; Lk. vii. 44; Jn. xii. 7.

⁸ Mt. x. 16—26; Jn. xv. 20—24; xvi. 1—5.

⁹ Lk. vi. 12, 13; xxii. 32; Jn. xvii. 9. ¹⁰ Lk. viii. 1.

¹¹ Mt. x. 5, 6; Mk. vi. 7; Lk. ix. 1, 2.

¹² Mt. xvii. 23; xxiii. 8, 10; Mk. iv. 38; ix. 37; Lk. viii. 24; ix. 33, 49; xxi. 7; Jn. xiii. 13, 14.

¹³ Mt. xxvi. 50; Jn. xv. 14, 15. ¹⁴ Mt. xxviii. 10; Jn. xx. 17.

¹⁵ Jn. xiii. 33; xxi. 5. ¹⁶ Jn. xvi. 6, 22; xx. 16, 20. ¹⁷ Mk. vi. 31.

¹⁸ Mt. xxvi. 52; Jn. xviii. 8. ¹⁹ Mt. xxviii. 10; Lk. xvi. 17; Jn. xvi. 22.

²⁰ Lk. vi. 2. ²¹ Mt. x. 40, 41.

²² Mt. v. 12—14; xi. 11; xiii. 16, 17; Lk. xii. 32.

²³ Mt. x. 19, 20; xix. 28; Lk. x. 24; xii. 32; Jn. xiv. 1, 2; xv. 7.

²⁴ Mt. xiii. 16, 17; xvi. 21; Jn. xiii. 26; xv. 15.

²⁵ Mt. xiv. 28; Mk. iv. 10; Lk. xi. 1; Jn. vi. 69; xiii. 9; xvi. 29, 30.

²⁶ Mt. xix. 13; xxvi. 35; Mk. ix. 37; xiv. 37; Lk. ix. 54; xviii. 15; Jn. iv. 31; xi. 8, 16; xviii. 10; xx. 3, 4, 28; xxi. 7, 17 etc.

²⁷ Mt. xxviii. 18—20; Jn. xxi. 15—17.

either Herod Antipas the tetrarch of Galilee, or Pilate the procurator of Judea, who were the political rulers of Palestine. To the Jews who chafed



Fig. 40. Praying Jew with Phylacteries.

(Phot. Bruno Hentschel, Leipsic.)

under the Roman domination and were continually disposed to organize a revolt, He taught respect for the authorities, in the interest of peace and the common good. Yet on one occasion in Galilee, when the Pharisees told Him that Herod wished to kill Him, He referred to him as «the fox»¹. Some time before this, He was told that Herod desired to see Him, and as He feared to trust Himself to this treacherous prince He retired to the land of Philip².

Jesus did not disapprove of the payment of tribute of Cæsar³. He did not raise the question whether the Jews should renounce their autonomy and definitely accept the Roman yoke. It was one of the great questions of the day, and Christ restricted Himself with a practical observation. When He was asked directly (Mt. xxii. 16 to 22), He replied by an argu-

ment «ad hominem». If they accepted Cæsar's money, then they accepted Cæsar's authority, and hence they should give to him what belonged to him, and He added to this, that God must be given what is His. «To Cæsar you owe the coin which you have admitted as the symbol of his authority, and which bears his image and superscription; to God you owe yourselves.»⁴

Finally, we know that Christ recognized the authority of Pilate, and although He was accused of sedition, He was declared innocent by the procurator⁵.

2. Jesus and the Religious Authorities. The religious authority was in the hands of the High priests, the Scribes, and the Ancients of the people, who were allied with the Pharisees or the Sadducees (nos. 134—136). Christ who was an innovator and a reformer, wounded their feelings and the prejudices by His strange doctrine. He sought to complete and correct the Mosaic Law and the traditions of their fathers⁶; He foretold the ruin of the Temple⁷; He did not fast, nor did His Apostles⁸; He openly violated the rabbinical prescriptions regarding the sabbath and the puri-

¹ Lk. xiii. 31—35.

² Lk. ix. 7—10.

³ Mt. xxii. 16—22; Mk. xii. 13—17; Lk. xx. 20—26.

⁴ *Farrar*, Life of Christ c. 51, p. 527. — Ut Caesari quidem pecuniam reddas, Deo temetipsum (*Tertull.*, De idololatria 15).

⁵ Lk. xxiii. 2, 4, 5; Jn. xviii. 38; xix. 11.

⁶ Mt. v. 21 f.

⁷ Lk. xxi. 5, 6.

⁸ Lk. v. 33 ff.

fications¹; He received publicans, sinners and Gentiles gladly, and even announced that they would have membership in His Church.

Against Him the religious rulers, despite His many miracles, waged a violent opposition. The Pharisees sent their emissaries to trap Him in His speech, overwhelmed Him with insidious questions, accused Him of Epicureanism, said that He was possessed by the devil, and that He cast out devils by the authority of the prince of devils, and finally, by their intrigues, they crucified Him². On his side, Jesus refuted them on every occasion, unmasked them before the people, condemned their practices, and although He did not question their right to teach, He recommended that their example should not be followed³. The week of the Passion, He denounced them before the people as blind leaders and deceivers, declared that they were evil, and even cursed them⁴.

He lashed their hypocrisy and their arrogance⁵, and reproached them for wearing their wide fringes and phylacteries (Fig. 40)⁶.

This conduct of Jesus may appear harsh, but it must be remembered that He was not only the Lamb of God, but He was also the living God, in whose hands it was terrible to fall. He also thought it necessary to warn the Apostles and the faithful against the opposition of sectarians who formed the chief obstacle to the progress of the Gospel.

IV. JESUS AND THE UNFORTUNATE, SINNERS, CHILDREN, WOMEN, AND MULTITUDES.

246. 1. Jesus and the Unfortunate. Jesus tenderly loved all men. «Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these My least brethren, you did it to Me» (Mt. xxv. 40). But He bore a special love toward those who were unfortunate. He called to Him all who suffered⁷, cured the sick, delivered the possessed, and gave life to the dead, consolation to the bereaved. The resurrection of the son of the widow of Naim⁸ and the double multiplication of loaves⁹ are sufficient proof of this. His heart heard the voice of the misery which touched Him, and, at the same time, He moved His arm in order to console.

2. Jesus and the Sinners. He also loved sinners. The Pharisees give this name to all Gentiles, the publicans, and in general to those who did

¹ Mt. xiii. 1 ff.; xv. 1 ff.; Mk. vii. 4, 8; Lk. vi. 1 ff.

² Lk. vii. 36—50; xi. 37; xiv. 1—24. ³ Mt. xxvii. 18—20; Mk. xv. 10, 11.

⁴ Mt. xii. 24 ff.; xv. 1—20; Mk. vii. 1—23; Lk. xi. 37—54; xvi. 14 ff.

⁵ Mt. xxiii. 1—36.

⁶ «By a merely external interpretation of Ex. xiii. 9, 16, and Deut. vi. 8; xi. 18, the practice of wearing Phylacteries or, as they were called, *Thephillin*, 'prayer-fillets', was introduced. These were square capsules, covered with leather, containing on small scrolls of parchment these four sections of the Law: Ex. xiii. 1—16; Deut. vi. 4—9; xi. 13—22. The Phylacteries were fastened by long leather straps to the forehead, and round the left arm, near the heart. Most superstitious reverence was shown to them, and in later times they were even used as amulets. Nevertheless, the Talmud itself gives confirmation that the practice of constantly wearing the Phylacteries — or, it might be, making them broad and enlarging the borders of the garments, was intended 'for to be seen of men'. The Rabbis had in so many words to lay it down as a principle, that the Phylacteries were not to be worn for show» (*Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* II, 408). Cf. also *Driver*, Comm. on Deuteronomy, and *Edersheim*, Sketches of Jewish Social Life 271—275.

⁷ Mt. xi. 28.

⁸ Lk. vii. 11—17.

⁹ Mk. vi. 30—44; viii. 1—9.

not adopt their form of life. Christ was generous and merciful towards them, as is proved by the narratives of the Samaritan woman¹, of the son of the centurion of Capharnaum², of the publican Matthew³, of the Sinner-Woman⁴, of the Adulteress⁵, of the publican Zacheus⁶, of Peter's denial⁷, of His executioners for whom He prayed⁸, of the good thief to whom He promised Paradise⁹.

When the Pharisees, scandalized at His conduct, reproached Him for this condescension, He replied He was not come for those who were well, but for those who were sick¹⁰. He likened Himself to the good shepherd who seeks the wandering sheep¹¹, and He assured them that there is great joy in heaven over one sinner doing penance¹².

3. **Jesus and the Children.** Our Lord showed Himself particularly fond of children. He took them under His protection, forbade that they be taken from Him¹³, embraced them and laid His hands upon them¹⁴. He threatened those who should scandalize¹⁵ them with very severe punishments, and He held them up as models to His Apostles, and declared that they who received them, received Him and Him also who sent Him¹⁶.

247. 4. **Jesus and the Women.** Jesus converted the Samaritan¹⁷ woman, forgave the Adulteress¹⁸, permitted the sinner-woman and Mary, the sister of Martha, to anoint Him¹⁹. He praised the piety of the poor widow who cast her mite into the treasury coffers²⁰; He praised the faith of the Chanaanitish woman, who asked and was granted the cure of her daughter²¹, as He did that of the woman who was cured of the issue of blood²². He consoled with the widow of Naim in her sorrow and raised her son to life again²³, and He showed His sympathy and affection for Martha and Mary by bringing Lazarus back to life again²⁴.

On several occasions, He rebuked them more or less severely. On a certain day, a woman, in addressing Jesus, cried out: «Blessed is the womb that bore Thee and the paps that gave Thee suck.» «Yea, rather», He replied, «blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it.»²⁵ Some time later, Salome, the mother of James and John, asked that her sons be given the first places in the Messianic kingdom. Jesus reproachfully said: «You know not what you ask.»²⁶ On another occasion, while in the house of Lazarus, Mary sat at the feet of Jesus and listened to His word. Martha who was busying herself in preparing the meal, complained of Mary. «Martha, Martha», He said to her, «thou art mindful of many things when only one thing is necessary. Mary has chosen the better part which shall not be taken away from her.»²⁷

The conduct of our Lord in regard to women was so reserved that His enemies, usually evil-minded, could find no cause for reproach on this score.

5. **Jesus and the Multitudes.** From Galilee, Judea, Perea, and even from pagan countries²⁸, crowds gathered in large numbers around Him.

¹ Jn. iv. ² Mt. viii. 5—13. ³ Mt. ix. 9, 10. ⁴ Lk. vii. 36—50.

⁵ Jn. viii. 3—11. ⁶ Lk. xix. 1—10. ⁷ Lk. xxii. 61; Jn. xxi. 1—17.

⁸ Lk. xxiii. 34. ⁹ Lk. xxiii. 42, 43. ¹⁰ Mt. ix. 12; xv. 24.

¹¹ Mt. xvii. 11—14. ¹² Lk. xv. 7, 10. ¹³ Mt. ix. 13—15.

¹⁴ Mt. xix. 15; Mk. x. 13—16. ¹⁵ Mt. xviii. 2—9.

¹⁶ Mk. ix. 34—41; Lk. ix. 47, 48; xviii. 15—17. ¹⁷ Jn. iv.

¹⁸ Jn. viii. 3—11. ¹⁹ Lk. vii. 36—38; Jn. xii. 1—4. ²⁰ Mk. xii. 41—44.

²¹ Mt. xv. 21—28. ²² Mt. ix. 18—22. ²³ Lk. vii. 11—17. ²⁴ Jn. xii.

²⁵ Lk. xi. 27, 28. ²⁶ Mt. xx. 20—23; Mk. x. 35—40.

²⁷ Lk. x. 38—42. ²⁸ Mt. iv. 25; Mk. iii. 7; Lk. vi. 17.

They pressed upon Him¹ so greatly that they scarcely allowed Him time to eat and sleep². Always kind and patient, He never complained of these importunities. He had pity on them³, cured their sick, delivered their demoniacs, and even fed them miraculously on two occasions. Yet the enthusiasm, during the last months, diminished visibly, and during His Passion no one had the courage to defend Him against the Scribes, the Priests and the populace of Jerusalem.

ART. II.

JESUS AS HE LIVED IN GALILEE.

248. 1. His Home. During His public ministry, Christ did not live at Nazareth, although He had been brought up in the home of His parents. As a rule He made His home in Capharnaum, from which fact St. Matthew calls it «his own city» (ἡ ἰδία πόλις)⁴. He sojourned here during the winter season, probably in the house of Simon Peter⁵, who had a home here⁶, although he was a native of Bethsaida⁷. Here Christ wrought most of His miracles⁸. Commerce drew a large number of Jews and Gentiles to this city, and He profited by this fact in discoursing to them whenever He could. During the good weather, He made excursions into the surrounding towns and villages, and occasionally went as far as the Holy City, and even to the confines of Tyre and Sidon⁹, or the Decapolis beyond the Jordan¹⁰. On these journeys He always received hospitality from the people He visited.

He delayed very little in Judea. Although He was born in Bethlehem, almost at the doors of Jerusalem, He seldom was seen in that province. To the Gentiles He went to preach His Gospel; to Jerusalem He went to die.

2. His Dress. Naturally Christ was clothed as most Galileans. He avoided the affected style and elegance which the Pharisees and Scribes adopted to attract attention¹¹. From certain allusions in the Gospel, the data of the Talmud and the contemporary customs of Palestine, essentially of a traditional character as throughout the whole Orient (Fig. 41); we can draw



Fig. 41. Bedouin-costumes of Damascus.

(Phot. Bonfils.)

¹ Mk. v. 31; Lk. v. 1; viii. 54.² Mk. ii. 14; iii. 20; ix. 24; Lk. viii. 19, 42; Mt. vii. 28; ix. 33; xv. 31.³ Mt. xiv. 14; xv. 32.⁴ Mt. ix. 1; xiii. 54.⁵ Mt. xvii. 24; ix. 10, 28.⁶ Mk. i. 29.⁷ Jn. i. 44.⁸ Mt. ix. 2; Mk. i. 34; ii. 4; Lk. iv. 33—41.⁹ Mt. xv. 21.¹⁰ Mk. v. 20; vii. 31.¹¹ Mt. xi. 8; xxiii. 5.

a fair picture of the Jewish dress of the 1. century. For a head-covering, Christ wore a «cuffieh», i. e. a piece of cotton or linen which fell to the neck and shoulders, held in its place by a cord, coiled around the head. It was intended to protect the wearer from the bright rays of the Palestinian sun. His hair was long¹, and His beard full². His principal dress consisted of a long tunic of linen, with sleeves, which covered the whole body, leaving nothing uncovered but the hands and feet. Over this He wore a mantle, a little larger than the tunic, on the corners of which the fringes which the Law required, were worn³. A girdle gathered the folds of the tunic around the waist, in order to allow freedom in walking and travelling⁴. In the girdle the traveller generally carried his money⁵.



Fig. 42. Sandals.

The feet of the Saviour were encased in sandals (Fig. 42) which were fastened with straps⁶. They were simple soles, protecting the under part of the foot from the damp moisture in winter, and from pebbles at all times, but they afforded no protection against the dust and mud. Hence the custom arose, to remove the shoes and wash the feet, when coming from without⁷.

Lastly, there was a staff, used as a support while journeying and also as a weapon of defence against wild beasts⁸.

249. 3. His Food. There was a common fund held by Judas which supplied the wants of the Apostolic band⁹. Sometimes the Apostles went to buy provisions¹⁰, or they brought them with them when it was necessary¹¹. Yet, most likely the holy women who accompanied the Apostolic band provided for their material wants¹². We know that our Lord did not practise the extraordinary mortifications of John the Baptist, and as a consequence He scandalized the narrow-minded, for they called Him «a glutton and a wine-drinker»¹³. He was content with the food most common in the 1. century among the Jews, which was very simple and consisted largely of vegetables.

The principal food was bread; hence the expression «to eat bread» was equivalent to taking a meal¹⁴. The bread was round or oval, very thin and made of barley¹⁵. It was never cut, but always broken¹⁶. Besides bread there was milk, butter, cheese, eggs, fresh and dried fish, honey, roasted grain, vegetables, and, in their season, fruit, especially raisins and figs. The poor people rarely ate meat, because it was too dear. Those who could afford it ate veal, mutton, or goat's meat¹⁷. The meat of a number of animals was prohibited by the Mosaic Law¹⁸. Thus camel's meat, donkey's flesh, pork, and hare's flesh were prohibited. In poor families, then as now, the locust formed one of the principal kinds of food¹⁹. The locusts were served up in various forms, sometimes ground and

¹ Cant. v. 11; Dan. xiv. 35. ² Lev. xix. 27.

³ Lk. vi. 29; Mt. v. 40; ix. 20; xiv. 36; Deut. xxii. 12.

⁴ Tob. v. 5; Jer. xiii. 10; Mt. iii. 4; Lk. xii. 35, 37; Jn. xiii. 4, 5; Acts xii. 8.

⁵ Mt. x. 9; Mk. vi. 8. ⁶ Mt. iii. 11; Mk. i. 7; Jn. i. 27.

⁷ Lk. vii. 38, 44. ⁸ Mt. x. 10; Mk. vi. 8, 9; Lk. ix. 3.

⁹ Jn. xiii. 29. ¹⁰ Jn. iv. 8. ¹¹ Mk. viii. 14. ¹² Lk. viii. 3.

¹³ Mt. xi. 19; Lk. vii. 34. ¹⁴ Mt. xv. 2; Mk. iii. 20; vii. 5.

¹⁵ 4 Kings iv. 42; Jn. vi. 9, 13.

¹⁶ Mt. xiv. 19; xv. 36; Lk. xxiv. 35.

¹⁷ Lk. xv. 29.

¹⁸ Lev. xi.

¹⁹ Lev. xi. 22; Mt. iii. 4; Mk. i. 6.

mixed with meal and served as cakes, sometimes salted or smoked, sometimes roasted, sometimes dressed with butter.

As a beverage water, wine¹, water and wine mixed and *sicera*² were used.

4. **A day's work of Jesus.** The Gospel³ shows us the Saviour during a day's work on the Sabbath to Capharnaum, from morning till evening, and even till day-break of the following day. We can regard this day's work as a figure of His whole life. We find there: Public and private instruction, intense and solitary prayer, works of mercy. In the morning, indeed, Jesus assisted at the religious service of the synagogue (no. 138). After prayer, He instructs the assembly, as he had done at Nazareth⁴. Before going out, He cured a demoniac.

At noon, according to the custom of the period⁵, He entered the house of Peter in order to dine and to rest. Here He cured the mother-in-law of the Apostle. Probably the rest of this day's work passed in this hospitable house. The Apostles, after their habitude⁶, listened to the explication of the discourse in the synagogue. By sunset, when the rest of the Sabbath ceased, the sick and demoniac were brought to Jesus that He might heal them. St. Mark (i. 34, 35) insinuates that the last of the sick did not leave the house before the day-break. Without any rest, Jesus retired Himself to a solitary place in order to pray. Ordinarily, in the evening Jesus went up to a hill to strengthen anew His soul, and to put all His strength in a long prayer.

¹ Mt. xi. 19; Lk. vii. 33, 34; Jn. ii. 3—10.

² *Sicera* was a sort of beer prepared from wheat and fruit, and corresponds to-day to what is known as *shechar*. Cf. Lk. i. 15.

³ Mt. viii. 14—17; Mk. i. 21—38; Lk. iv. 31—43.

⁴ Lk. iv. 16 ff.

⁵ *Jos.*, Vita 54.

⁶ Mt. xiii. 10 ff., 36 ff.

SECTION III.

THE SUFFERING AND GLORIOUS LIFE
OF JESUS CHRIST.

DIVISION OF THIS SECTION.

250. The mysteries of the Passion and the Resurrection of the Saviour shall receive a more profound study than was accorded to the public life, because of their importance, the instructions which they embody, and the difficulties which are connected with them. Our study is made up of seven chapters:

1. The Manifestation of Jesus in the Temple.
2. The Last Supper.
3. Jesus in Gethsemane.
4. The Religious Trial of Jesus.
5. The Civil Trial of Jesus.
6. The Crucifixion.
7. The Triumph of Jesus.

The discourses, the parables, and the prophecies shall be merely alluded to in their historical setting (see nos. 354 f., 395 f.).

CHAPTER I.

THE MANIFESTATION OF JESUS IN THE TEMPLE.

I. THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF JESUS INTO THE CITY
OF JERUSALEM.

251. 1. *The Triumphal Procession of Jesus* (Mt. xxi. 1—9; Mk. xi. 1—10; Lk. xix. 29—38; Jn. xii. 12—18). Knowing that His hour had at last come, the Saviour made preparations to show Himself openly at Jerusalem as the Messiah and to be the object of a popular demonstration. On the day after the banquet given by Simon (no. 238), and therefore probably on the day after the Sabbath, He left Bethany and with His disciples turned His face towards Jerusalem. Having come near Bethphage (בֵּית-פֶּגֶז, *house of figs*), a village which the great majority of exegetes place between Bethany and the Mount of Olives, He despatched two of His disciples

ahead, with orders the procure «an ass tied, and a colt with her» on which no man had ever yet mounted. St. Matthew and St. John remark that all this was done that the prophecy of Zachary might be fulfilled: «Say the daughter of Sion (Jerusalem), Behold, thy King will come to thee, the Just and Saviour: he is poor and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass.»¹

The disciples found things as Jesus had described them, and they found an ass tied outside a gateway. They unfastened the animal, and, in order to make it more docile, took its mother with them. As the Master had told them, no one offered any objection to these proceedings. The disciples cast their mantles upon the colt (Mark, Luke) and upon the ass (Matthew), forming a sort of royal saddle, and they made Jesus sit thereon. St. Matthew appears to say that the disciples made Jesus sit on both animals. The Greek, however, may signify that they made Him sit on the vestments, ἐπάνω αὐτῶν, sc. ἱμάτια. Yet if the text must be understood in the first and extraordinary meaning, then it must be supposed that here the copyists altered the text.

This was not an ordinary procession; for in the East the ass served as the equipage of the highest and most honourable in the land². It was a procession of peace, since the ass was the emblem of peace, just as the horse was the emblem of war.

252. Many of the pilgrims who had gathered at Jerusalem for the Paschal celebration, hearing that Jesus was marching toward it, came out to meet Him. They joined in the retinue. Some cast their garments on the ground, forming a carpet, before the approaching band. Others tore branches from the fig and olive trees and fell in line with the rest. Slowly they advanced toward the Holy City, up over the crest of the Mount of Olives, down the passage from whence Jerusalem appears in all its splendour³. Those who preceded and those who followed the Central Figure, began to praise God in a loud voice, for all the miracles they had witnessed, especially the resurrection of Lazarus. They hailed Jesus as the Messiah, and sang over and again the solemn hymns of the Psalter, which they were accustomed to sing only on festal occasions, such as the Feast of Tabernacles and the Pasch. The burden of their cry was: «Hosanna (Grant salvation) to the Son of David, to the King who comes in the name of the Lord! Glory in the highest.»⁴ Others in the valley and in the city hearing these cries came out and met the procession.

253. 2. *The Attitude of the Pharisees* (Jn. xii. 19; xix. 39, 40). Maddened at this popular demonstration, the Pharisees reproached

¹ Zach. ix. 9.² Jud. x. 4; xii. 14.³ Jos., J. W. V, v, 1—6.⁴ Ps. cxvii. 25, 26.

themselves for their tardiness and began to say one to the other: «You see, you are gaining nothing», and in excited exaggeration, they added: «All the world is running after Him, and deserting our cause.» Many of them even went so far as to bid Jesus restrain His disciples. His reply was: «If they hold their peace, the very stones will cry out.»

3. *Jesus weeps over Jerusalem and predicts its Ruin* (Lk. xix. 41—44). In the midst of these joyous acclamations, the soul of the Saviour was oppressed by gloomy thoughts. As He approached the city, He wept over it in a loud voice (ἐκλαυσεν) because of the blindness of the majority of its inhabitants. Then He sadly predicted that in punishment for its obduracy, the city would be besieged, captured and completely destroyed. This prediction was fulfilled a few years later (no. 384 f.).

4. *Jesus at Jerusalem and in the Temple* (Mt. xxi. 10 to 17; Mk. xi. 11). As Jesus made His triumphal entry into the city, the crowds surrounded Him, and in the excitement one began to ask the other: «Who is this?» and the crowd that came with Him replied: «It is Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth in Galilee.» The blind and the halt came to Him in the Temple and were healed. Even the children around Him took up the cry of the crowd, and were shouting: «Hosanna to the Son of David.» This was too much for the chief priests and Scribes. Moved to indignation they demanded that Jesus make the children hush. In reply, He appealed to the Sacred Text: «(O God) out of the mouth of infants and sucklings, Thou hast perfected praise.»¹

The Sanhedrists made no further attempt at opposition, for they were powerless in the face of such strong popular enthusiasm.

In the Temple, Jesus looked around Him on all sides, but as night had already come, He did nothing further on this day² and accordingly He left the city and retired into Bethany.

He did not pass this and the following nights in the house of Lazarus, because it was marked by the Jews. Where He dwelt at this time we do not know. He may have made His home on the neighbouring hills of Bethany, perhaps as St. Luke (xxi. 37) implies, on the Mount of Olives.

St. Luke places the incident of the expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the Temple on the same day as the triumphant entry, whilst Mark places it on the next day. Mark's order appears the better³.

¹ Ps. viii. 3.

² From this it is gathered that the manifestation of Jesus took place in the afternoon.

³ Cf. Mk. xi. 12, 15 with Lk. xxi. 34.

II. THE MALEDICTION OF THE FIG-TREE. THE EXPULSION OF THE SELLERS. THE INTERVIEW WITH THE GREEKS.

254. 1. *The Malediction of the Fig-Tree* (Mt. xxi. 18, 19; Mk. xi. 12—14). On the morning of the next day, Jesus departed from Bethany with His disciples and turned His steps toward Jerusalem. On His way He cursed a fig-tree, which, though full of leaves, bore no fruit (no. 368).

2. *The Expulsion of the Sellers* (Mt. xxi. 12, 13; Mk. xi. 15—19; Lk. xix. 45, 46). Upon arriving in Jerusalem, Jesus entered into the Temple. The Court of the Gentiles was blocked by the merchants who sold the objects and the animals destined for the sacrifices. There, too, the bankers who changed foreign money into Jewish¹, so that the Israelites could pay the Temple tax, held forth. The Court of the Gentiles, by an abused tolerance of the religious authorities, had become both a market and a bank. Perhaps the priests received a certain percentage from this traffic; for they called the tables «haniyoth» (חַנִּיּוֹת) or «booths of Hanan» or «Annas», the deposed high-priest.

Aroused to a great pitch of holy indignation, Our Lord drove them out, as He had done once before in the early part of His public ministry. He cast out the merchants, the buyers, the money-changers, overturned the stands of the dove-venders, and suffered no man to pass through the Temple with an unhallowed vessel. «Is it not written», He cried, «My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations? But you have made it a den of thieves.»² The Sanhedrists were still more angered at this conduct, and were the more determined to put Him to death³.

255. 3. *The Interview of Jesus with the Greeks* (Jn. xii. 20—36). On this same day or on the day before, Jesus had His interview with the Greeks, who had come to Jerusalem to adore Jehovah, during the Paschal feast. They were not Hellenistic or Greek-speaking Jews (*Ἑλληνισταί*), but were proselytes from paganism (*Ἑλληνες*), affiliated in some measure with Judaism⁴. There is a legend which represents them as envoys from Abgar, king of Edessa who, aware that Jesus was being persecuted, offered Him an asylum in his territory⁵.

¹ Ex. xxx. 13. ² Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11.

³ The great majority of Catholic critics distinguish this incident of the Synoptics from the one recorded by St. John (ii. 13—17) in the early ministry, and this because of the difference in time and the differences of circumstances. Rationalists, Protestants generally, and some Catholics identify the two incidents, because the Synoptics, seldom bothered by a chronological order, have made it fit in with their general plan, without assigning it any date whatsoever.

⁴ Acts ii. 5; vii. 27. ⁵ *Eus.*, H. E. I, xiii: P. G. XX, 121.

Our Lord welcomed them and told them that the hour had come wherein the Son of Man was about to be glorified, that is to say, that His Kingdom was soon to be extended over the whole earth. But, he added, alluding to His approaching death, the grain of wheat, falling into the earth, must die before it can bring forth fruit. One can triumph only under condition of immolating oneself. At the thought of death the soul of Jesus was troubled, and He prayed His Father to save Him from this hour. St. John who records nothing of Christ's agony, here affords us a glimpse of the emotions which flooded the soul of Christ at Gethsemane.

«But for this cause I came unto this hour. Father, glorify Thy name.» Then a voice was heard from on high saying: «I have glorified it (by the miracles), and will glorify it again» (by Christ's Passion, Resurrection, and the fruits of the Gospel). The multitude that heard these words, imagined that it thundered while others claimed that an angel had spoken. Jesus explained that the voice did not come for Him, but for their sakes, and added that the prince of this world, the devil, would be cast out, and that the Son of Man would be lifted up (i. e. crucified) even as the serpent in the desert, and then He would draw all men unto Himself. Thus in condemning Jesus to death, the devil lost the right and power which he possessed over fallen humanity, and in dying for us, our Lord won for us a new sovereignty. The spectacle of His immolation draws men to Him, and by the ties of His grace He united them intimately in one grand moral body of which He is the head¹.

III. DISCOURSES OF JESUS IN THE TEMPLE.

256. 1. *The Withered Fig-tree* (Mt. xxi. 20—22; Mk. xi. 20 to 27^a). Early on Tuesday morning, Jesus returned to the Temple by the same way as on the preceding day. The disciples remarked that the fig-tree which He had cursed was already withered to the roots, and were much astonished. Christ took advantage of this opportunity to inculcate the efficacy of *faith* and the efficacy of *prayer*, accompanied by an indulgent *charity*. If any one have faith unshakable, he can command a mountain to cast itself into the sea, and the miracle shall be accomplished.

This journey, like those preceding and following it, was taken up mostly with instructions for the people in the Temple, and disputes with the Sanhedrists. Yet it is impossible to assign an exact date for all these incidents. St. Mark seems to place them all on Tuesday, St. Matthew on Monday, and St. Luke is content with the statement that «He was teaching daily in the Temple (*docens quotidie in templo*: xix. 47; xxii. 53).

¹ Eph. ii. 15; iv. 12, 13; Col. i. 20.

2. *The Origin of the Power of Jesus* (Mt. xxi. 23—27; Mk. xi. 27^b—33; Lk. xx. 1—8). Whilst the Saviour was teaching in the Temple, the chief priests and ancients came to Him and demanded in whose name and by what authority He taught His doctrine, ruled in the Temple, and cast out the marketers whose presence in the Court of the Gentiles they had authorized. Before replying, Christ asked them in the presence of the multitude whether the Baptism of John was from heaven or from men. The question was disconcerting. If they answered that it was from heaven, Jesus would reply: «Why did you not believe him when he showed you the Messias?» If they answered that it was from men, they were in danger of being stoned by the people who looked upon John as a true prophet. In order not to compromise themselves, they answered that they knew not whence came the Baptism of John. This admission was humiliating for professed doctors of the Law to make in regard to a point so important. Christ answered them in kind and refused to tell them what they asked.

3. *Three Parables* (Mt. xxi. 28—xxii. 14; Mk. xii. 1—12; Lk. xx. 9—19). Then our Lord addressing the people according to Luke, or the Sanhedrists, according to Mark and Matthew, unfolded the parables of the two sons sent into the vineyard, of the wicked husbandman, and of the wedding-feast (nos. 410, 414, 415).

257. 4. *Cæsar's Denarius* (Mt. xxii. 15—22; Mk. xii. 13—17; Lk. xx. 20—26). Defeated so far in every attempt, the Pharisees took counsel and resolved to compromise Jesus in His relations with the civil power. To attain this object, they sent the Pharisees and the Herodians (probably the courtiers and partisans of Herod, who were favourable to the Romans). The emissaries asked Christ if it were lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar. The question was insidious. To condemn the payment of tribute would be to place Himself in opposition to the Roman authority. To maintain that it was legitimate would be to infuriate the Jews who refused to accept the Roman yoke. Jesus asked to be shown a denarius (Fig. 43). The piece that was handed Him bore the inscription of Cæsar. Now, according to the interpretation of the most illustrious Rabbis, to accept the money of a sovereign was to acknowledge his authority. To them Jesus replied: «Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.»



Fig. 43.

Denarius of the Roman Republic.

Head of the *Roma* with the literal number X; the *Dioscuri* with the sign of the mintmaster.

5. *Jesus and the Sadducees* (Mt. xxii. 23—33; Mk. xii. 18—27; Lk. xx. 27—40). In their turn, the Sadducees (no. 135) presented an objection which

they believed unanswerable. A woman married seven brothers successively. Whose wife would she be on the day of resurrection? But Jesus, rising above the subtleties of the Rabbis, replied: «After the resurrection there will be no marriage. The risen shall be immortal, like unto angels, children of God and children of the resurrection. Marriage and generation then shall be useless for the conservation of the race. As to whether the dead rise again, have you not read what Moses taught in that passage where there is question of the burning bush.»¹ He records God's words: «I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.» Now God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, and in His eyes all are living. «If these patriarchs had been naught but a heap of poor remains, enclosed in their lonely tombs, Jehovah would not have deigned to take this title and call Himself the God of a handful of cold dust². If the patriarchs then are still existing, there then can be no difficulty in regard to the resurrection of their bodies³.

258. 6. *The First Commandment* (Mt. xxi. 34—40; Mk. xii. 28—34). The Pharisees again took counsel in order to entrap Jesus. One of their number, a doctor of the Law, tempting Jesus (Matthew) asked Him what was the first commandment. The rabbinical theology had enwrapped the whole Mosaic Law in a maze of subtleties, so that the greatest obscurity prevailed upon this point. The rabbis had calculated 248 positive precepts and 365 negative precepts, in all 613, corresponding to the sum total of letters in the decalogue⁴. Fully aware of all their useless discussions, our Lord placed the love of God first, and the love of neighbour, second. The doctor who came to tempt Him, was struck by the wisdom of this answer, and fully agreed with Him. Jesus replied: «You are not far from the kingdom of God.»

7. *The Christ the Son of David* (Mt. xxii. 41—46; Mk. xii. 35—37; Lk. xx. 41—44). Victorious on all sides, the Saviour now took the offensive in order to show His enemies that He could wield their weapons as well as they. He asked the assembled Pharisees how could the Messiah be the Son of David, if David called Him Lord: «The Lord (Jehovah) said to my Lord (Adonai).»⁵ The answer was easy. He is the Son of David according to the flesh, the Messiah was His Lord by an eternal generation. Nevertheless, no one could answer Him at this moment, nor did anyone dare ask Him any more questions.

¹ Ex. iii. 6. ² Fouard, *The Christ, the Son of God II*, 192.

³ Lightfoot, *Horae II*, 355, 356.

⁴ To be convinced of the extent to which they were led to adopt distinctions often puerile, read a few pages of the Talmud.

⁵ Ps. cix. 1: Dixit Dominus Domino meo.

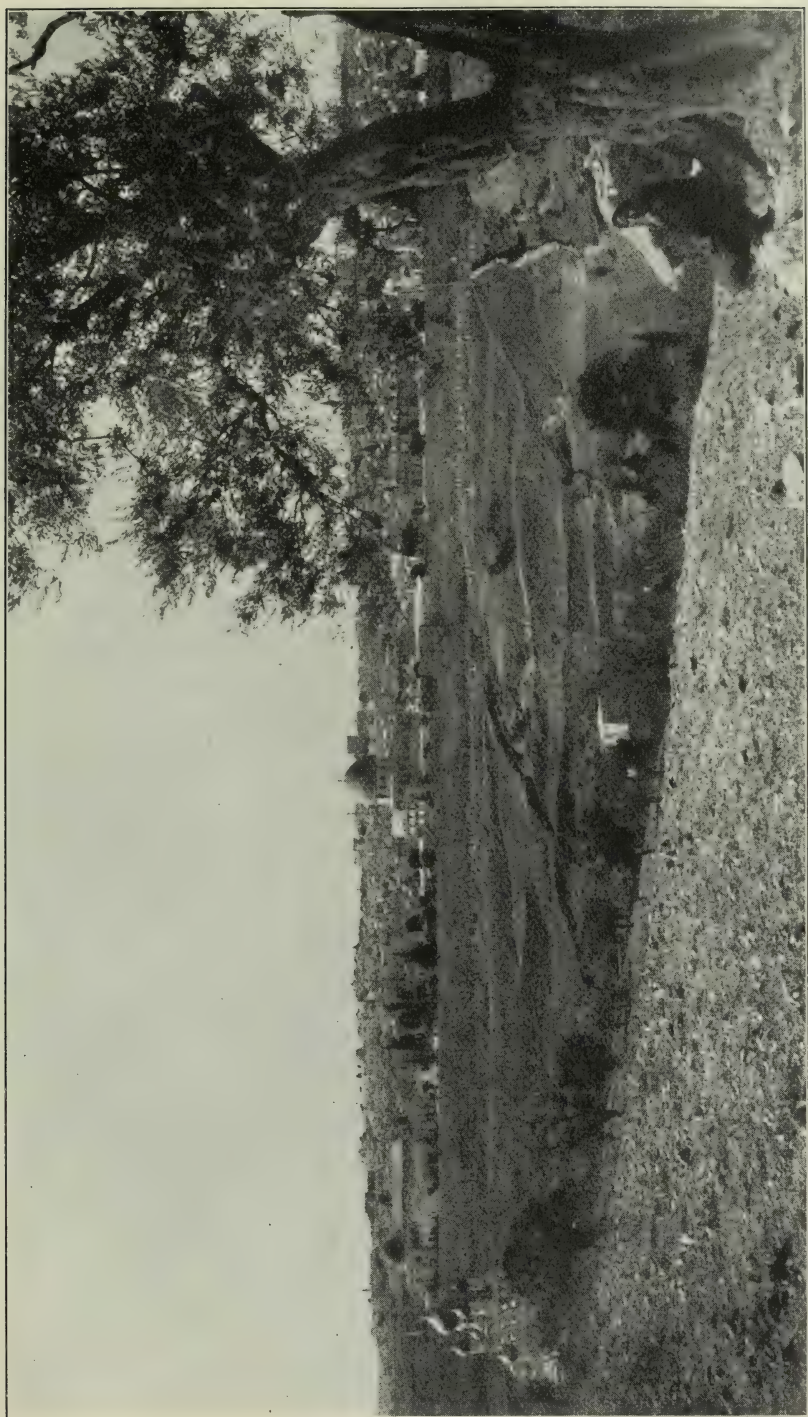


Fig. 44. Jerusalem seen from the Mount of Olives. (Phot. Bonfils.)

259. 8. *The Denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees* (Mt. xxiii. 1—39; Mk. xii. 38—40; Lk. xx. 45—47). Finally, in order to put an end to these disputes, our Lord revealed Himself in all His grandeur, and in His turn became the accuser of His enemies who for several years had sought to thwart His work. In the presence of the people and His disciples, He denounced the hypocrisy and arrogance of the Scribes and Pharisees.

At last the mask of their mock religion, worn so long, was torn away, and they were revealed as they were. The crisis had come, and the breach widened so irrevocably that between Jesus and the Jewish authorities there was no longer any possibility of a reconciliation.

260. 9. *The Widow's Mite* (Mk. xii. 41—44; Lk. xxi. 1—4). Immediately after this circumstance or perhaps a little later, our Lord sat in the Court of the Women where the gazophylacium stood. There He watched the rich cast their contribution into the coffers ostentatiously, whilst a poor widow humbly deposited two «minuta», two pieces of money equalling a quadrans¹. Calling His disciples, He declared that the offering of the poor woman was far greater than that of the others; for she had given all that she had. The difference between the two gifts lay in the sacrifice entailed and in the pure intention actuating the widow in giving.

IV. THE LAST PROPHECIES OF JESUS.

(Mt. xxiv. xxv; Mk. xiii. 1—37; Lk. xxi. 5—xxii. 36.)

261. It was probably on a Wednesday night that Jesus left the Temple for the last time and took the road towards Bethany. In leaving, He declared that of this splendid edifice there would not remain a stone upon a stone. When the small band had reached the summit of the Mount of Olives, they rested. Jesus sat facing the Temple, and the disciples asked Him to explain His latest parables. Then He announced to them in one and the same prophecy the persecution which would be the portion of the infant Church, together with the ruin of Jerusalem (Fig. 44), the end of the world, the second coming of the Messias, and the Last Judgment. The end of the world would come unexpectedly. As a consequence, He exhorted His disciples to watch. And to impress this more vividly upon their minds, He gave them the examples of the father of a family on guard against robbers, of the servant who waited for his master, and the parables of the ten virgins, and that of the slothful servant who was severely punished for not making his talent productive of gain (nos. 384 f.).

Towards night, as was His custom, Jesus retired into Bethany, but for the last time.

¹ A quadrans formed the fourth part of an as.

V. MEETING OF THE SANHEDRIN. THE COMPACT OF JUDAS.

(Mt. xxvi. 1—4, 14—16; Mk. xv. 1, 2, 10, 11; Lk. xxii. 1—6.)

262. The Feast of the Pasch was but two days off. The Saviour had announced to His disciples that He was «going up» to it to be crucified. The disputes in the Temple and especially the scathing condemnation with which He arraigned them, fanned the fury of the Scribes and Pharisees into white heat, and they were possessed of the one idea, to find means to accomplish the death of Jesus. They gathered together in a grand meeting in the palace of the high-priest Caiphas, which was situated in all probability in the upper city, (no. 283). It was decided to arrest Christ and to put Him to death, but not until after the Paschal solemnities within the space of ten days, in order not to cause any opposition among the people who were favourable to the Galilean and who at this time were in large numbers at Jerusalem. Josephus, whose calculation is probably much exaggerated, speaks of three millions of men being present on the occasion of a Paschal feast¹.

An unforeseen occurrence precipitated matters. *Judas Iscariot*, the treasurer of the small Apostolic community, pressed by avarice and fallen into unbelief, chafing under the reproof given him at the banquet of Bethany and disappointed in not finding Jesus as wealthy and as powerful as he thought, rendered obdurate by his abuse of grace, committed the almost unmentionable crime of going to the princes and the priests — probably on Wednesday — and proposing to sell His Master. The Sanhedrists delighted at such a proposition, promised him thirty shekels of silver (*ἀργύρια*), the price which a man was forced to pay for having involuntarily killed a slave². This infamous bargain was struck, and from that moment Judas sought an occasion to betray His Master. On the following day he found it.

¹ J. W. II, xiv, 3: *trices centena hominum milia*.

² In the time of our Lord, the shekel was worth about sixty-two cents. For his crime, Judas received something like \$18.60.

CHAPTER II. THE LAST SUPPER.

I. THE PASCHAL FEAST.

263. The ceremonial of the Paschal feast was carefully outlined by the Law (Ex. xii) and by the Jewish doctors. Yet several features of the Egyptian Pasch had been lost sight of and had little by little disappeared from the ritual. We do not know how far they carried out in the 1. century all the prescriptions which were later embodied in the Talmud. Although handicapped thus, we shall attempt to portray a Paschal feast as it took place in the time of Christ.

On the afternoon of the 14. of Nisan, the Israelites immolated the Paschal victim for a fixed number of persons which varied between ten and twenty¹. This victim was a male lamb, from eight days to one year old, and it was immolated on the same day as the other victims which were called «hagigah». The meal took on the character of a joyful feast, and was in harmony with the Paschal solemnity.

At the time of our Lord, the Paschal meal was eaten in the following manner: When evening was come², the guests, even the poorest, bestowed themselves at ease as a sign of freedom upon couches which were slightly raised from the floor, the left arm supported on a cushion. These couches were arranged around a table in such wise as to leave the right arm free to reach and take in the food. The president of the meal first took up a cup of wine either pure or mixed with water, and said a prayer. This was the beginning of the meal. The cup was passed around, and each guest partook of it. Next came the ablution of the hands with prayers. After this, each one took his place at table. This was spread with various dishes. On side were found the bitter herbs (cresses, lettuce, parsley, horse-radish, acacia seed, and coriander seed) which served as a remembrance of the sufferings in Egypt. Next was the azyme-bread, thin and made of wheat, barley, spelt, or rye. Close to the

¹ *Jos.*, J. W. VI, ix, 3; see nos. 150—153.

² This time was appointed in memory of the last meal the Israelites took in Egypt.

bitter herbs rested the Paschal lamb, the *hagigah* and also the *charoseth*, although it was not obligatory. This latter was a mixture of various fruits (apples, raisins, figs, citrons, and dates) cooked in vinegar and red in colour, which recalled the bricks which the Hebrews were forced to make in Egypt (Ex. i. ii). This table being served, the president took the herbs, dipped them in the *charoseth*, the while thanking God for having created the good things of earth. All then ate a portion not less than the size of an olive.

A *second cup* was then poured out, and, upon the request of the son, the father of the family told of the unhappy condition of the Jews in Egypt and explained the rites of this ceremony. This done, the guests chanted a part of the *Hallel*. The *Hallel* comprised the group of Psalms cxiii—cxviii (Hebrew) and were so called because they are Psalms of «praise» (בְּהַלֵּל). After this the president broke the azyme-bread, blessed it, and distributed it. Then came the time for the lamb. This was roasted and transpierced horizontally and lengthwise by wooden spits, in the shape of a cross, as St. Justin¹ informs us. It was forbidden to break any of the bones, and a breach of this prescription was punished by flagellation². The lamb was carved and passed around to the guests, until all was eaten.

Then the president poured out the third cup, called «the chalice of benediction» because immediately after it followed the songs of thanksgiving.

A fourth cup was passed around, after the *Hallel* had been finished, and this marked the end of the meal.

It was unlawful to prolong the repast beyond midnight. If any of the lamb remained, it had to be thrown into the fire and burned³.

II. THE PREPARATION FOR THE PASCH BY THE APOSTLES.

264. 1. *The Preparation for the Pasch* (Mt. xxvi. 17—19; Mk. xiv. 12—16; Lk. xxii. 7—13)⁴. Early on Thursday, Jesus sent John and Peter probably from Bethany before Him to Jerusalem to make the necessary preparations for the Paschal meal. «Go ye into the city», He said to them, «and there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water. Follow him, and say to the master of the house which he shall enter: The Master saith to thee: My time (the time of My death) is near at hand; with thee I make the Pasch

¹ Dial. 40.

² Ex. xii. 9.

³ Ex. xii. 10.

⁴ Many scholars wrongly maintain that the Last Supper was not a real Paschal meal, but a meal eaten on the eve of the Pasch. There was a custom among the Jews to eat a special meal on the eve of the Sabbath and great feasts, consisting of bread and wine and was called «qiddush»; cf. *Mangenot*, in *Revue du Clergé français*, 15. febr., 1909, 385 f., and *Lagrange*, St. Marc 336. This meal consisted in the blessing of bread and a cup of wine, at the beginning of the Sabbath and festal days, in order to sanctify their solemnity.

with My disciples; where is the guest-chamber? And he will show you a large dining-room furnished with couches. Prepare ye all things needful.» The fact that our Lord did not send Judas, who was usually entrusted with such cares, together with the fact that He did not inform the two other Apostles of the name of the host and the place of the meal, were precautions. He took to thwart the traitor in the accomplishment of his design during this, His last meeting with His disciples.

Everything happened as our Lord had said. Peter and John prepared the lamb, the bitter herbs, the azyne-bread, the wine, the

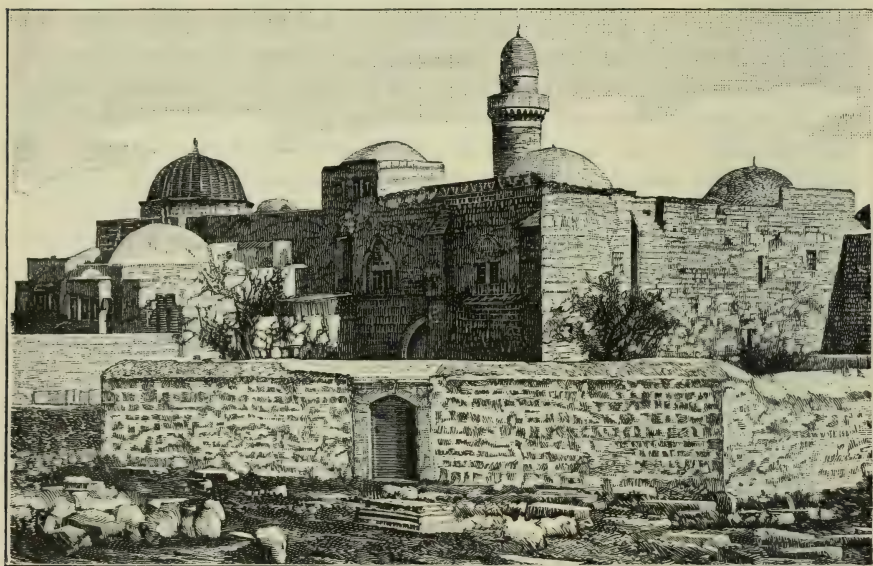


Fig. 45. David's Tomb with the Cenacle.

charoseth, and returned to Bethany, from which place the whole Apostolic group departed on the evening of the same Thursday¹. The host to whom Jesus made known His wishes was probably a disciple of Jesus, whom Christ had warned beforehand to keep his house in readiness for His coming.

265. 2. The Cenacle. A cenacle or upper chamber (*ἀνάκτορον*, «above the earth», *ἄνω γῆ* or *γαῖα*) is an apartment built on the second story of an Oriental house. Ordinarily it is situated on the roof with a terrace surrounding it, and serves as an oratory, or a summer-house, or a place of retreat in times of sadness and sorrow, or as a parlour or reception room, or even as a lodging-place for

¹ Mk. xiv. 17.

the visiting guests. If the cenacle where the Eucharist was instituted is identical with that in which the mystery of Pentecost was accomplished, it was situated to the south of Jerusalem in the upper part of the city and well without the walls. St. Cyril of Jerusalem in the 4. century testifies that the Church of the Apostles, built on the site of the Cenacle, was the place where the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles¹. In the same epoch, St. Epiphanius, who was born in Palestine, writes that «in the time of Adrian (c. a. 120 A. D.) a small church was built on the site of the place in which the mystery of Pentecost was accomplished»². As there is question of a place which was of special interest to the piety of the faithful, there is reason to believe that this tradition has a basis in fact. During the Middle Ages, the building was transformed into a Gothic Church. To-day it is in the possession of the Mohammedans, who have built a mosque upon its site and there venerate the tomb of David (Fig. 45).

III. THE CELEBRATION OF THE PASCH BY JESUS.

I. THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST SUPPER. VARIOUS INCIDENTS.

266. 1. *The Seats of the Guests.* Because of the number of the guests three «triclinia» or couches were necessary for the Paschal meal. Among the Greeks and Romans, as also among the Jews, according to the Talmud, of the three couches the middle one was the most honourable. The first place of each divan was that which allowed the occupant to rest his left arm on the border. We do not know how far our Lord carried out these regulations (Fig. 46). It is certain, however, that John rested in front of the Saviour in the place which was known as the «bosom of the father»; generally reserved for the most intimate friends³. In this position he could turn around and rest his head upon the breast of the Master. Peter was not at the side of Jesus, nor was he far from St. John, and hence it was quite easy for him to question the latter in regard to the traitor. Judas was quite near our Lord, so close in fact that He could speak to him in subdued tones and give him a morsel of the bread (cf. no. 268).

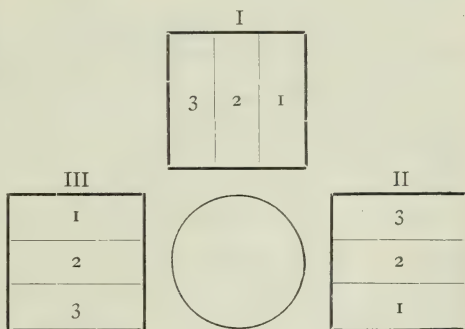


Fig. 46.

Arrangement of the Guests on the Meal.

¹ Cf. *Cyrl. of Jerus.*, Catech. XVI, 4: P. G. XXXIII, 924.

² De pond. XIV: P. G. XLIII, 262.

³ Jn. xiii.

2. *The Beginning of the Legal Pasch* (Mt. xxvi. 20—29; Mk. xiv. 17—25; Lk. xxii. 14—18). Jesus departed from Bethany on the evening of Thursday with His twelve Apostles. At the hour fixed by the Law, about seven o'clock, He sat at table in the Cenacle and gave expression to the intense desire (*desiderio desideravi*) He had to eat the Pasch before the Passion, because it was here and now that He was to institute the Sacrament of His love. «My death is near», He added, «and I will nevermore eat the Pasch until that perfect Pasch which shall be celebrated in the kingdom of God.»

According to Jewish ceremonial, they presented our Lord with the *first cup* which marked the beginning of the meal. He took it, pronounced the accustomed blessing over it, and, without changing the wine into His blood, passed it to the guests, saying: «Take and divide it among you, for My death is imminent; I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day in which I will drink it new with you in the kingdom of God, My Father.» In other words, He had in mind that day when they would all be united again in heavenly blessedness. St. Matthew and St. Mark who mention but one cup, place these words after the consecration of the wine, whilst St. Luke quotes them before the institution of the Holy Eucharist.

3. *The Strife among the Apostles* (Lk. xxii. 24—30). St. Luke alone records the dispute that took place among the Apostles in regard to their seats at table. Jesus rebuked them by giving them a lesson in humility. It appears that these incidents occurred at this particular juncture; for they fit in well with this part of the Last Supper.

The Apostles wanted to know which of their number would occupy the high places in Christ's kingdom. It is also possible that they were seated contrary to the usual order of precedence. On this occasion, the Master laid down the rules for humility: «In the Christian idea of greatness, he is first that gives, and not he that receives; I am in the midst of you as he that serveth.» And in pursuance of this sentiment, He later washed the feet of His Apostles.

267. 4. *The Washing of the Feet* (Jn. xiii. 1—7). «Jesus, knowing that the hour of His death had come, loved His own (the Apostles) until the end», that is He gave them a supreme testimony of His affection¹. While the meal was progressing², Jesus rose from the table, probably after the first cup, at that part of the

¹ The words of St. John refer to all that Jesus said and did to the Apostles during His last hours.

² In the Vulgate we read *coena facta*, in «BLX, Tischendorf and Trégelles, we have *δεῖπνον γινόμενον*, «the repast having begun»; and in other witnesses we find *δεῖπνον γενόμενον*, «coena facta».

ceremony when according to the Jewish ritual the hands were washed, laid aside His garments, girded His loins, and, like a slave¹, began to wash the feet of His disciples. His action symbolizes the Redemption which wipes out sin, and indicates the purity necessary to partake of the Eucharist; it also prepared the disciples against any pride which they might feel in that time when ecclesiastical honours and dignity would be theirs.

Peter, astonished and indignant at this action, cried out that the Lord would never (in aeternum) wash his feet. But the Saviour having told him that this was the only condition on which he could be in communion with Him, Peter whose ardour and temperament usually carried him to extremes, begged that He wash not only his feet but his hands and his head also.

The ablutions finished, Our Lord resumed His garments, sat at table and explained to the Apostles that by this action He wished to give them a lesson in humility. Even as He treated them, so should they treat each other going so far as to wash each other's feet. In other words, He inculcated the great principle of charity and brotherly love which would brave any humiliation.

268. 5. *The Denunciation of the Traitor* (Mt. xxvi. 21—25; Mk. xiv. 18—21; Lk. xxii. 21—23; Jn. xiii. 18—30). Whilst engaged in washing the Apostles' feet, our Lord referred to the traitor in these words: «You are clean, but not all» (Jn. xiii. 10). Immediately after, however, He spoke of His coming betrayal in more explicit terms, so that the Apostles in being forewarned would not, when the event occurred, be shaken in their faith. «The Son of Man indeed goeth, as it is written of Him (Ps. xl. 10), but woe to that man, by whom the Son of Man shall be betrayed. It were better for him, if that man had not been born. One of you shall betray Me.» As might be expected, this announcement greatly astonished the Apostles, and they were filled with consternation thereat. They began to ask each other who among their number was the traitor. Each in turn proposed the question: «Master, is it I?» To this the Lord accorded a vague reply. «He that dippeth his hand with Me in the dish, he shall betray Me.»² Fearful of betraying himself by his silence, Judas put the same question to our lord, as the other Apostles. Without reproach and without anger, the Master answered him: «Thou hast said it (Thou art the one).» These words were spoken in a low tone, and consequently were not heard by the Apostles, so that they were left as ignorant as before in regard to the identity of the traitor.

Jesus maintained a mysterious silence after these last words. Now, John the beloved disciple occupied the couch next to Jesus. Peter,

¹ 1 Kings xxv. 41.

² Then as now, the Paschal meal was served in one large dish or platter.

too far away to ask himself, signaled to John to ask the Master who the traitor was. John, turning, laid his head on the Saviour's breast and put the question, very probably in low tones. The Saviour replied: «He it is to whom I shall reach bread dipped», and dipping the bread He handed the morsel to Judas¹.

Immediately upon taking the bread, we are told, Satan entered into Judas' hardened soul, and full reign was given to all his passions.

«That which thou dost, do quickly», were Christ's last words to him. The rest, ignorant of what had transpired, were unable to grasp the full signification of these words, and were left under the impression that, as treasurer of the small band, Judas had been sent by Jesus either to buy provisions for the festival day or to give alms to the poor. The unfortunate Judas, seeing himself unmasked by Jesus, hastened to take his departure. It was night when he left, and the darkness, the figure of sin and evil, descended upon his soul even as it fell upon the guilty and crime-ridden city.

II. THE INSTITUTION OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST².

269. 1. *The Authenticity of Luke xxii. 19, 20.* Many critics, for the most part English, are of the opinion that this important passage is a gloss from another's hand. It is omitted, they claim, by the *Codex Bezae (D)* and by three important MSS. of the Vulgate before St. Jerome (*Vercellensis*, *Corbiensis*, *Vindobonensis*) which represent the same textual tradition. Verse 20 is wanting also in the Curetonian which replaces it by verses 17 and 18, whilst the Sinaitic version, the MSS. *Veronensis* and *Palatinus* of the pre-hieronymic Vulgate fuse verses 17, 18 and 20³. Yet there are many more critics who think that these data cannot bring into doubt a reading which has in its favour all the other MSS. and versions, together with the authority of St. Justin (perhaps in Dial. 70), Tertullian (probably in Adv. Marc. IV, 40), and certainly Eusebius (Can.), St. Basil (Quae feruntur Ethica) and St. Cyril of Alexandria (Comm. in Lucam). Copyists probably suppressed the passage, because they found «the cup» mentioned twice, or rather they transposed the verses of the institution of the Holy Eucharist in order to harmonize the various testimonies of the Evangelists.

270. 2. *The Four Versions of the Institution* (Mt. xxvi. 26 to 28; Mk. xiv. 22—24; Lk. xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 23—30). The institution of the Holy Eucharist is recorded by four different authors who, despite difference in detail, agree on the main lines and are witnesses to the profound belief of the primitive Church on this point. The testimonies divide themselves into two groups and thus represent a double tradition (Matthew-Mark; Luke-Paul).

a) **The Consecration of Bread.** *During the Paschal meal, Jesus took bread*, which according to the Jewish ritual had to be flat and unleavened, *pronounced a benediction* (Matthew, Mark) in

¹ To-day, as then, this is a familiar token of friendship.

² Conc. Trid. sess. XIII, XXII.

³ *Westcott and Hort*, The N. T. in Greek (appendix) II, 63, 64; *Plummer*, St. Luke 496, 497; *Sanday*, art. Jesus Christ, in HDB. II, 636.

order to call down upon this bread the mercy and power of God, and *gave thanks* (Luke, Paul) to His Father for all His gifts, especially for the great gift which He was going to offer up for mankind. Then, as was customary for the president of the feast, *He broke the bread and gave it to His disciples, saying: Take ye and eat; this* (that which I hold in My hand) *is My Body which is given* (to death) *for you* (Paul, Luke) for your salvation.» In Aramaic the auxiliary verb might not have been expressed, but it is understood. The Saviour added: «*Do this* (that which I have done) *in memory of Me.*» Paul who records these words and repeats them again later, explains them thus: *as often as you eat this bread and drink the chalice, you show* (not shall show) *the death of the Lord until He come.* The breaking of the bread and the wine in the chalice are representative of the body and blood of Jesus under the appearances of bread and wine, and recall the death and the redemption He procured for us. And hence the Eucharist is a memorial of our deliverance from sin, even as the Jewish Pasch was a remembrance of the cessation of Egyptian oppression.

The command *Do this* involves the duty of renewing the Eucharistic consecration and supposes that the Apostles and their successors have received the power of thus renewing it. To St. Paul and St. Luke we are indebted for this prescription, but even if they had failed to record it, its authenticity would have received a sufficient guarantee from the exalted position which the Eucharist occupied in the liturgy of the primitive ages¹.

271. b) The Consecration of the Chalice. Our Lord, who wished to leave to His own a complete representation of His death and of the Redemption, *in like manner took after the supper* (Luke, Paul) *the cup* containing the wine (no. 263). Then He *gave thanks*, just as He did before the consecration of the bread, and *gave the chalice to the Apostles, saying: Drink ye all of this* (Matthew); this (that which was in the chalice) is My Blood, the blood of the (New) Testament, *which is shed* (Greek) *for many* (Mark) *unto remission of sins* (Matthew). The present participle which is found in the three Synoptics, indicates that at that very moment the blood was being shed. It is being shed for all, even though all are not profiting by it. We may remark here that the doctrine of expiation by the shedding of blood is not exclusively Pauline; for not only do Matthew and Mark make mention of it here, but they also contain it in another place².

The formula of consecration which has just been explained is that contained in the first two Gospels. That of St. Luke and

¹ Acts ii. 42; xx. 7—11; I Cor. xi. 17—34; Didache ix. 10; St. Ignatius and St. Justin.

² Mt. xx. 28; Mk. x. 45.

St. Paul is easily explained. *This chalice* (metonymy, i. e. what is in the chalice) *is the New Testament in (by) My Blood which is poured out for you* (Luke), that is, My Blood contained in this chalice is the seal and sanction of the New Covenant. Even as the Old Covenant was sealed by the blood of the victims¹, so the New was sealed by the blood of the Man-God. Exegetes and theologians observe that at this very moment a real sacrifice took place; for the blood of the Saviour was being shed for sin. Moreover, our Lord compared the New Covenant with the Old which was ratified by sacrifices. It cannot be stated exactly, which of the legal cups was consecrated. Probably it was the third which was drunk towards the end of the meal (*postquam coenavit*, «after He had supped») and which was called the «cup of benediction». St. Paul says of the Eucharistic wine that it is the «chalice of benediction»².

272. 3. *The Literal Character of the Words of Jesus.*

Faithful to the doctrine of their founder, the Lutherans of the present day maintain that the bread and wine after the consecration remain present and the body and blood of the Lord are *juxtaposed*. According to the Calvinists, the body and blood of Christ are *virtually* in the Eucharist, that is, the Last Supper is an efficacious *symbol* of the body and blood of the Saviour which is eaten and drunk by the faithful. Catholic belief obliges us to maintain that the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Jesus Christ really, substantially, yet in the supernatural state present upon our altars. Leaving aside for the time being the definitions of the Church, and the unanimous opinion of the Fathers, which in question of faith or morals is infallible in virtue of the promise given to the Church that she would be indefectible, this doctrine can be proven from the words of Sacred Scripture³.

a) «All compels us to take, in the literal sense, the words of our Saviour 'This is My Body, this is My Blood': the solemnity of the circumstances in which our Lord, on the eve of His death, expresses His last will in simple and clear language (Jn. xvi. 25, 29); even the terms which He employs in order to identify what He gives with His Body and His Blood; the perfect conformity between the gift of the Body and Blood of Jesus as nourishment and the formal promise which He has made of it before (Jn. vi. 48—58); the literal impossibility of explaining, in the sense of a simple remembrance, an image or a figure, expressions so categorical and so

¹ Gen. xv. 8 f.; Ex. xii. 22 f.; xxiv. 8.

² 1 Cor. x. 16.

³ The Holy Office condemned July 3. and 4., 1907, the two following propositions: XLV. Non omnia quae narrat Paulus de institutione Eucharistiae (1 Cor. xi. 23—25) historice sunt sumenda. XLIX. Coena christiana paulatim indolem actionis liturgicae assumente, hi qui coenae praeesse consueverant characterem sacerdotalem acquisiverunt.

clear as Jesus uses here; lastly the extreme inconvenience which would arise if we supposed that our Saviour, with His foreknowing of the future, has made His Church believe in His real presence upon the faith of expressions the clearness of which would have set a trap for His disciples and for all the faithful. It is, therefore, incontestable that Jesus intended to leave to men, in the Eucharist, His Body and His Blood.» When Christ said: «This is My Body, this is My Blood», He meant that nothing of the bread or wine existed after the consecration and clearly stated that His words produced what He had said. This becomes the stronger when we remember that the Apostles were men lacking in education, simple, unable to grasp figurative language. Now had Jesus used metaphorical language, He would have only confused the Apostles and deceived them in one of the most important doctrines of His Kingdom. Again, man expresses his thought by word, God expresses His by power. «The words of a sincere man say that which is; the words of the Almighty Son of God make that which they mean.»

b) It is quite certain that the faithful have always believed that the Body and Blood of the Saviour were really present on their altars. Now this belief, dating back to the first days of the Church, must rest upon the testimony of the Apostles who, instead of giving easy acceptance to the doctrine, demanded explanations from their Master. Even as we, so did they find objections, as the incidents which took place in Galilee at the time when Christ promised that He would institute the Eucharist, prove sufficiently¹.

273. 4. *The Historical Character of the Narrative.* Present day Rationalists agree «that the words of the Gospel taken in their natural sense include that which Christian tradition has found in them, namely: the idea of sacrifice implied in the death of Jesus, and the commemoration of this sacrifice in the Eucharist itself»². Hence in order to deny the reality of these dogmas, they are forced to call into question the historical character of the Evangelical narrative.

The two accounts Mark-Matthew and Luke-Paul, we are told, are not independent. St. Mark, who was used as a source by St. Matthew, was himself under the influence of St. Paul, the real creator of the Eucharistic sacrifice.

Loisy regards as more primitive the text of St. Luke of whom 19^b and 20 would have been suppressed, and of St. Mark who has not the words: «This is My Blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many», which come from St. Paul. According to Loisy these words «have signification only for persons who are initiated

¹ Jn. vi. 53—70.

² Loisy, *Les Synopt.* II, 522.

into the theory of St. Paul about Christ's death of redemption. It was no time to say: This is My Blood, after the disciples had drunk; St. Matthew has felt this well, and for that reason he has combined these words with the presentation of the cup.»¹

The words: «This is My Body» which are read in the three Synoptics are not authentic. They form a rigid parallelism with «This is My Blood» so that the suppression of the one member entails the suppression of the other. What was then the primitive text? In the beginning, the text read: «I shall no more drink of the fruit of the vine.» This is read in the 16. verse of the third Gospel in which St. Luke applies to the Pasch that which was said only of the bread, namely: «I shall no more eat of this bread until I shall eat it new in the kingdom.» Mark then replaced this formula by the words «This is My Body». Then St. Luke, wishing to harmonize his relation with the Pauline tradition, brings out his formula more and more forcibly, and places it at the head of his narrative (15, 16). This Lucan narrative is not homogeneous and contains a doublet (14—18 and 19, 20) which is an indication of the modifications that the author made in his sources. Hence it is «that the mention of the Body and Blood was introduced subsequently into a narrative where there is only question of the bread and wine pertaining to the Messianic meal.» The words of Jesus did not refer to the Church or to Christian worship. They simply announced the coming of the kingdom and leave no place for the Eucharist. It is the faith in the risen Christ that has created the Eucharist. The Crucified Christ «was with His own; He was especially there at that common meal around which the faithful gathered and which had already become the meal of the kingdom to which He had invited His disciples». It was then with Him and in memory of Him that they held this reunion. During his ministry the common meal was the sensible bond which united His disciples. St. Paul interpreted this Apostolic recollection according to his own conception of Christ and of salvation, and saw in the Eucharistic meal the effective symbol of the union of the faithful in the everlasting Christ, saw also the memorial of the crucified One, of Him who had given up His Body and shed His Blood for the salvation of the world.»²

Refutation. a) If the Last Supper was an ordinary meal, as the Rationalists suppose, we cannot see why it was celebrated at such a solemn hour, and why it was surrounded with such particular importance: there is, indeed, no bond between the Eucharist and the Last Supper thus understood. The critics fail to explain how on so important a point St. Paul could have substituted throughout all Christianity his own personal conceptions, even if they were founded

¹ *Loisy*, *Les Synopt.* II, 538.

² *Loisy* l. c. II, 536—541.

on a revelation, for the instructions which the Apostles received directly from their Master. St. Paul writes that he has received from the Lord (*ἀπὸ Κυρίου*) what he says about the Institution of the Eucharist (1 Cor. xi. 23). It seems that he means more a direct revelation of Jesus than an instruction coming from the Apostolic tradition. No doubt, in the primitive Church, «nobody thought of maintaining two different forms of Christian instruction: the one for the evangelic remembrances, the other for the revelations of the Holy Ghost.»¹ It cannot be supposed that Peter and Paul and the other witnesses of Christ were the victims of a constant illusion. And this has not as yet been proven.

b) It seems certain that, in regard to the institution of the Holy Eucharist, there are really two distinct traditions: Mark-Matthew, Paul-Luke. *A priori*, it would be possible that the influence of St. Paul made itself felt in the Gospel of St. Mark. As a matter of fact, the wide differences which are found in the text of these two authors make it clear that this possibility cannot be verified. St. Paul records the command given by our Lord to renew the Last Supper, which is found neither in St. Mark nor St. Matthew. St. Paul expresses the concept of Redemption in the formula for the consecration of the bread: This is My Body *for you*, whilst St. Mark expresses it in regard to the chalice: This is My Blood of the Testament *shed for you*.

This independence and this agreement in regard to the narrative are a guarantee that the two traditions reproduce what is historically true.

c) The concept of Redemption is not a creation of St. Paul. This idea is expressly attributed to our Lord by St. Matthew (xx. 28) and by St. Mark (x. 45). It is true that these texts are not very numerous, but this does not give reason to reject their authenticity. We know that there is no other text in the Gospel in which they attribute to our Lord the idea of a New Covenant. But it does not follow that this doctrine is exclusively Pauline. The prophet Jeremias (xxxi. 31) had written of the Messianic times as the epoch of a New Covenant. Why could not the Saviour have made this idea His own, and why could He not have applied it to the new order which He came to establish?

d) The special difficulties of this narrative are not insoluble. The words «and they all drank» can be regarded as a parenthesis suggested by the natural relation which exists between the consecration of the chalice and the fact of drinking. As regards the doublet, it does not exist in St. Luke who first speaks of the Paschal chalice, and then of the Eucharistic chalice (nos. 266—270).

¹ Loisy l. c. II, 532.

274. 5. The Silence of St. John in regard to the Institution of the Holy Eucharist. St. John «omits the institution of the Eucharist, because this bit of history was of no interest for the doctrinal object that he had in view. He wrote his book in the last years of the 1. century at a time when the Eucharistic bread was the daily food of the faithful, and when the origin of the Sacrament was fixed in the liturgical formulas made use of in the whole Church. One can understand how in such circumstances the Evangelist is little anxious about the fact, but pays close attention to the doctrine. «Now in chapter VI he had already methodically exposed the Eucharistic doctrine when speaking of the 'Bread of Life'; he had nothing to add to the theory enunciated in this passage; his theological object was obtained, and the fact in itself was altogether outside his plan.»¹

Besides, the solemnity with which St. John begins the narrative of the Last Supper (XIII), the announcement that he was a witness of the love which our Lord gave unto His own and by which He crowned all His preceding benefits, cannot be explained by the washing of the feet; but the washing of the feet itself, the lesson of humility which Jesus gave to His Apostles, the perfect purity which He demanded of them, the regret that there was one in their midst evilly disposed, and the long discourse, so affectionate and so sublime, which takes up the three succeeding chapters, cannot be explained but by the institution of the Eucharist and of the priesthood. St. John, then, clearly alludes to the fact though he does not mention it expressly².

IV. INCIDENTS AFTER THE EUCHARISTIC MEAL.

275. 1. The New Commandment. The Prediction of the Flight of the Apostles (Mt. xxvi. 30—35; Mk. xiv. 26—31; Lk. xxii. 31—34; Jn. xiii. 33—38). In all probability after the institution of the Holy Eucharist, our Lord was filled with joy. He opened His heart to his disciples and declared to them that the Son of Man was glorified, and that soon He would be glorified with His Father. Nevertheless, the thought of the coming separation filled his soul anew with sorrow: «I am going to leave you», He added, in beginning His farewell, «but I leave with you a new commandment that you love one another as I have loved you».

Then He announced to His Apostles that He would be for them that very night an occasion of scandal. Peter, always impetuous and most presumptuous, protested that He would never be scandalized in Him. «Simon, Simon», replied the Lord, «behold, Satan hath desired thee to sift thee as wheat», to trouble you and to make you lose your faith. He cannot fail to note that all the Apostles were

¹ *Calmes*, L'Évangile selon St. Jean 375.

² Did Judas receive Communion? It is very doubtful. Tradition is divided on this point, and we can say here that it has nothing to do with faith or morals. The words of Scripture: «Drink ye all of this», «They all drank of it», are general and do not exclude an exception, if there is question of all those who were present. Again, a reasonable agreement can be found in the text either by making Judas leave before the Eucharistic consecration or after it. The question will probably never be solved and is too unimportant to discuss further.

tempted, and yet our Lord only addressed one. «But I have prayed for thee, Simon, that thy faith fail not.» The words of Jesus had their effect; for the Apostle did deny his Master publicly without losing his faith. «And thou being once converted (ἐπιστρέψας, i. e. having recovered from the weakness entailed by the denial), confirm thy brethren», the other Apostles, namely make them unshaken in their faith against the attacks of the devil. Some commentators, as Maldonatus, think that ἐπιστρέψας corresponds to the Hebrew «shûb», «in thy turn» (שׁוּב): «even as I have confirmed thee in faith, do thou in thy turn confirm by brethren.» But ἐπιστρέψας is found nowhere else in the Bible with this meaning. Moreover, *shûb* only has this meaning when there is question of the same person doing something which he has done before.

Peter protested his fidelity and declared himself ready to go to prison and even to death for his Master. The other Apostles made like protestations. Jesus replied to Peter: «Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny Me thrice» (Matthew, Luke, John). According to St. Mark, our Lord said: «Before the cock crow *twice*, thou shalt deny Me thrice.» The simplest explanation of this difference and others analogous to it lies in the fact that the sacred authors record the substance of facts and discourses without bothering about trifles and details which have little importance for their essentially religious object¹.

In the present instance, St. Mark, who is more exact, is the one who reproduces the words of the Master with most fidelity.

276. 2. *The Future Trials of the Apostles* (Lk. xxii. 35—38). The time of the Passion being imminent, our Lord announced to His Apostles the trials which were in reserve for them: «When I sent you on a mission without resources, nothing was wanting to you. That time is no more. He who has a purse to buy provisions, let him take it, and likewise a scrip; and he that hath no money, let him sell his coat and buy a sword; for the time of violent persecution has arrived.» The Apostles took this positive language, which meant moral force literally: for they said: «Lord, behold here are two swords» (μάχαιραι). To this the Lord replied evasively: «It is enough». To take these last words in their literal meaning would be to go contrary to all that we know of Jesus; besides, two swords would never prove sufficient to protect the Apostolic band from their numerous and well-armed enemies. It did not take the Apostles long to comprehend the deep signification of this discourse.

¹ No. 88. St. Matthew and St. Mark placed this prophecy after the departure from the Cenacle; but St. John whose chronology appears here to be the more exact, places it in the Cenacle.

3. *The Last Discourses of Jesus*¹ (Jn. xiv—xvii). The rest of the evening was taken up by the farewell discourses, as sublime as they are touching. The last hymns of the Hallel were sung, and the Apostolic band took its journey towards Gethsemane².

¹ Nos. 484—494.

² Many Commentators are of the opinion that a part of these discourses (xv to xvii) were spoken on the road to Gethsemane; for the Saviour says at the end of Chapter XIV: «Arise, let us go hence» (Surgite, eamus hinc). But it appears more probable that at this time the Saviour had in mind only the rising from the table and of impressing upon His disciples the necessity of soon leaving. Indeed we read in the first verse of Chapter XVIII. these words: «When Jesus had said these things, He went forth (from the Cenacle and not from the city, of which there is no question here), and passed to the other side of the brook of Cedron »

CHAPTER III.

JESUS IN GETHSEMANE.

I. THE AGONY.

277. 1. *The Arrival at Gethsemane* (Mt. xxvi. 30, 36; Mk. xvi. 26, 32; Lk. xxii. 30, 40; Jn. xviii. 1). Gethsemane (גֶּתְשֶׁמָנִי, «olive-press, the El-Djesmaniyeh of to-day; Fig. 47) was situated on the further side of the Brook of Cedron, as it is to-day, «at the angle formed by the two paths which lead over the summit of Olivet»¹.

«It was a small property enclosed and 'a garden' where our Saviour would retire (Jn. xviii. 2), and, probably amidst a variety of fruit trees and flowering shrubs, was a lowly quiet summer-retreat (Mk. xiv. 51), connected with or nearby the «olive-press». At the present time it is in the possession of the Franciscans who have surrounded it with a wall. In the enclosure are to be found eight massive and very old olive trees, which in all probability have sprung from the roots of those under which our Lord rested. Outside of the actual garden there is a sort of grotto, in which according to a present and local tradition, Christ's agony took place. This, however, is not mentioned by the Gospels nor the ancient ecclesiastical authors, and is in direct contradiction to the traditions of the Middle Ages. They agree in making the grotto the scene of Christ's arrest, but not of His agony.

After leaving the Cenacle, the Apostolic band descended the slopes of the Cedron, crossed over it and a few moments later arrived at the garden of Olives, where the calm and silence was unbroken by the noise and tumult attendant upon the feast. Upon entering the Garden, our Lord, addressing eight of His Apostles, said: «Sit ye here, while I will go yonder and pray. Pray ye also so that ye enter not into temptation»; for this night and to-morrow shall be for you one terrible trial.

¹ St. Jerome placed the Garden of Gethsemane «ad radices montis Oliveti» (De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum: P. L. XXIII, 903). This does not contradict what is contained in the Gospel: «in montem Oliveti», Mt. xxvi. 30, Mk. xiv. 26, Lk. xxii. 39; for the garden is situated on the first slope of the mount.

2. *The Anguish of Jesus* (Mt. xxvi. 37—39; Mk. xvi. 33 to 36; Lk. xxii. 41, 42)¹. Jesus took with Him Peter, James the Greater, and John, the three of the inner circle, who were the witnesses of His Transfiguration and of the raising of the daughter of Jairus to life (Mk. v. 37), and advanced further into the depths of the Garden. And there began the feeling of sorrow (*λυπεῖσθαι*), the experience of dread (*ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι*), and the excessive and poignant anguish (*ὑπερβολικὴν*). In order to assuage His sufferings He took His Apostles into His confidence and asked them to pray with Him: «My soul», He exclaimed, «is sorrowful even unto death.» After

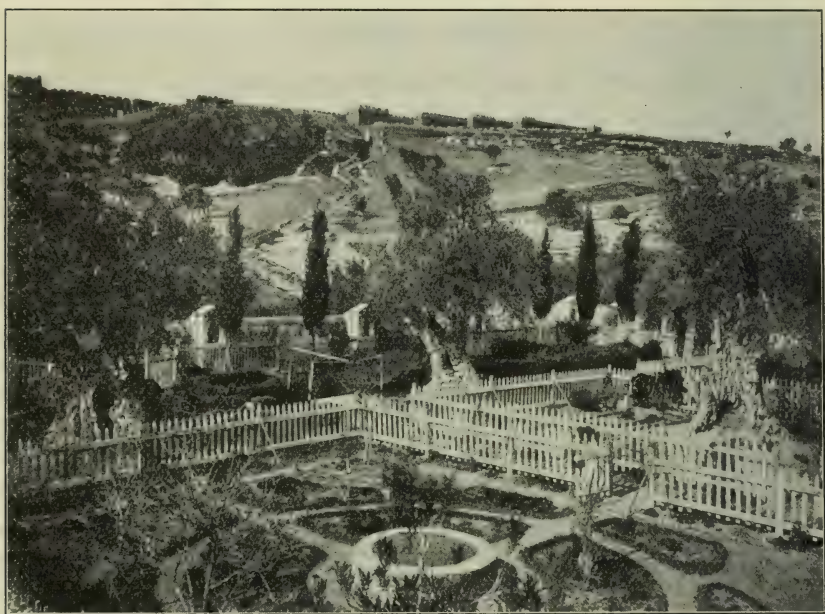


Fig. 47. The Garden of Gethsemane at Jerusalem. (Phot. Bonfils.)

this burst of anguish, He withdrew from them about a stone's throw, so that He might feel the comforting presence of these His most intimate friends. Then He fell upon His face, expressing by this attitude His respect for His Father, the fervour of His prayer and the humility of His sentiments. His nature revolted at the thought of the torments of the Passion, and He prayed that this hour, with its cup of anguish, be taken away from Him. Addressing a fervent prayer to the mercy and omnipotence of His Father, He said: «Abba, all things are possible to Thee; take away this cup from Me», i. e. take away the Passion and horrors of the Cross.» But He did not wish to oppose His will to His Father's, and He added the sentence,

¹ John omits this scene, but he marks its place in xviii. 1.

the most deeply religious ever uttered: «Yet let Thy will and not Mine be done»¹.

3. *The Apparition of the Angel, and the Bloody Sweat* (Lk. xxii. 43, 44). The sorrow of Jesus became unbearable. An angel descended from heaven, probably in a visible form (apparuit, ὤφθη), in order to give both His soul and body strength to continue the battle just begun. On His side, the Saviour, beaten down by His sorrow, fought the repeated attacks of suffering with repeated bursts of prayer. The combat became so intense that it effected Him, as the beginning of physical dissolution. A sweat of water and blood broke out over His members and fell to the earth «as drops of blood» (δροῦμβοι).

This phenomenon has taken place in other cases. A simple movement of surprise or of fear is enough to cause blood to rush to the face; and if the blood is excited violently by anguish, it forces itself through the pores with the sweat².

In itself, then, the sweat of Jesus could have proceeded from natural causes, but the abundant flow of blood falling in drops is hard to explain on these grounds.

The cause of the torments of Jesus undoubtedly was the anticipated vision of His Passion, the thought of the impiety of men, and the fact that for many His Blood would be shed in vain. The indomitable heroism of the Saviour which He manifested that night and the next day precludes the very idea that here His will was shaken as some have maintained: It was a great battle that He waged against temptation, and not a defeat.

278. 4. *The Reproach of Jesus to His Apostles* (Mt. xxvi. 40—46; Mk. xiv. 37—42; Lk. xxii. 45, 46). In His agony, the Saviour had sought His three Apostles, so that He might gain from them consolation and human sympathy. But, alas! They were asleep, overcome by weariness. Peter and John had that very day made all the preparations for the Passover. The time was far advanced into the night, and besides they had been in a condition of high tension, which, together with the sorrow of their hearts, inclined them to sleep. To Peter, so fearless a few hours before, Christ reproachfully said: «Simon, sleepest thou?» Then addressing all three: «Could you not watch one hour with Me? Watch ye and

¹ The Apostles who were asleep did not hear this prayer. After His Resurrection, Jesus will have told them of it and of its object.

² Cf. *W. Stroud*, *The Physical Cause of the Death of Christ* 85—88, 379—389. We are told, by De Mezeray, of Charles IX. of France, that «during the last two weeks of his life (May 1574) his constitution made strange efforts . . . blood gushed from all the outlets of his body, even from the pores of his skin; so that on one occasion he was found bathed in a bloody sweat»

pray that ye enter not into temptation», i. e. that you be not shaken by the trials of the Passion. *The spirit is willing* (the will is not lacking in courage), *but* (the sensibility) *the flesh is weak* (fearing suffering and unable to surmount difficulties).

Our Lord withdrew again and repeated the same prayer. A second time Jesus went to His disciples and found them once more asleep, their eyelids overweighed with weariness. They knew not what to answer the Master. He left them without any reproach, and for the third time offered up the same prayer. Strengthened by this prolonged and fervent prayer, Christ returned to His slumbering disciples, but He did not this time awake them. He saw that they needed rest to revive their spirits to meet the difficulties that this night and the next day would bring forth: «Sleep now and take your rest (Dormite iam et requiescite).»¹ Scarcely had He spoken when the traitor appeared. Then did Christ arouse His friends with this words: «It is enough; the hour is come wherein the Son of Man is about to be delivered in the hands of sinners. Rise up, come; behold he that will betray Me is at hand.» Then the profound silence of the night was broken by the clash of arms, the murmurs of voices and the flaring of torches.

II. THE ARREST OF JESUS.

279. 1. *Judas and his Band* (Mt. xxvi. 47; Mk. xiv. 43; Lk. xxii. 47^a; Jn. xviii. 2, 3). While Jesus was still speaking, Judas arrived at the head of an armed band. He knew that Jesus and His disciples were accustomed to meet in the Garden of Olives. After leaving the Cenacle, he repaired to apprise the Sanhedrists that the most propitious time for seizing Jesus had arrived, and he asked for an armed escort which He personally conducted. The chief priests had decided on Wednesday to postpone the arrest and execution of Jesus until after the feast. But Judas made them modify this decision by telling that the most favourable time was Thursday night; for after the feast Jesus would leave Jerusalem, and then it would be quite difficult to apprehend Him.

Accordingly, he came with a number of Temple-guards, i. e. the armed Levites who guarded the house of God², the serving people of the high priests³, and Roman soldiers, in order to intimidate the Apostles and to make all attempts at resistance impossible. According to St. John, there can be no doubt as to the Roman soldiers. The

¹ It is very improbable that our Lord intended to be ironical here at such a moment. Some time may possibly have elapsed between the saying «Sleep now» and «Arise, let us go hence».

² Acts iv. 1.

³ Jn. xviii. 10, 56.

word *σπεῖρα* which is accompanied by the term *χιλίαρχος* (tribune)¹ and is in opposition to the servants of the Sanhedrin, means nothing else but a detachment of a Roman cohort². As a rule a cohort of Roman soldiers was quartered in the fortress of *Antonia*, which lay to the northwest of the Temple, in order to preserve peace during the feast³. The Sanhedrists had represented to the governor that the man who was to be seized was dangerous and a rebel, and hence for His apprehension a band of soldiers was necessary. It is very improbable that a whole cohort, which ordinarily was composed of 500 or 1000 man, was called upon for this duty. Sometimes the word «cohort» designated merely a band of soldiers⁴, and here it is used in the popular sense, a sense which is justified by the presence of a tribune.

The band was armed with short swords and staves. The swords were in the hands of soldiers and the staves in the hands of the servants and the Temple-guards⁵. Although the moon was up, for the Pasch was celebrated at the full moon, the armed band came with torches and lanterns, because of the darkness of the recesses of Olivet. Some of the Sanhedrists accompanied them in order to encourage their emissaries and to ensure the execution of their orders (Lk. xxii. 52).

280. 2. *The Kiss of Judas* (Mt. xxvi. 48—50; Mk. xiv. 44, 45; Lk. xxii. 47^b, 48; Jn. xviii. 4—9). Jesus who knew the details of His Passion, appeared of a sudden, and faced His enemies. In order to carry out his infamous bargain Judas had told his followers: «He whom I shall kiss, it is He», and added: «Seize Him and hold Him securely.» The kiss was given to mark off Jesus more surely from the rest, because He was unknown to many present, and then, too, was liable to be unrecognized in the darkness.

Having arrived in the Garden, Judas hastily approached Jesus and said: «Hail, Master!» or better according to the Jewish custom: «Peace be to Thee, Master!» This was cruel irony, to wish peace to Jesus at this moment, and to give Him the greatest sign of affection, by touching his lips to his Master's cheeks. To his treacherous kiss, Jesus replied with love and sweetness, intended to awaken in his heart some higher and better sentiment: «Friend (comrade, *ἐταῖρε*), wherefore art thou come?» And to show that He was not deceived by these proceedings and in order to make one last appeal to the conscience and the heart of the traitor, Jesus added: «Judas, betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss?»

¹ Jn. xviii. 12. ² Mt. xxvii. 29; Acts xxi. 31.

³ *Jos.*, J. W. II, xii, 1; V, v, 8.

⁴ Judith xii. 11; 2 Macc. viii. 23, in the LXX, ed. of *Swete*.

⁵ *Jos.*, J. W. V, v, 8.

Jesus advanced towards the band and asked: «Whom seek ye?» This question was asked in order to prevent the arrest of any of the disciples with Him. They replied: «Jesus of Nazareth.» «I am He», answered Jesus in calm dignity. At these words they went backward, and fell to the ground. «He who had just allowed the traitor to see His divine goodness, flashed forth in a word His no less divine strength. His love might be repelled, but no one could resist His power if He wished to overthrow all things. His ascendancy when He wills, is supreme; His majesty whensoever He assumes it, terrible. . . . They only seized upon Him because He willed it. They were not to touch His disciples; they should take Him alone, because such was His will.»¹

Some Protestants like Farrar, Godet and others, explain the miraculous character of this event away by saying that the guards fell back in natural terror as did the assassins of Mark Antony and Marius². But this falls, in view of the circumstances. The guard was armed and large in numbers, and they had nothing to fear from a single man. Besides, St. John who wished to emphasize the power of Jesus, would not in all probability have recounted such an unimportant incident unless it contained something of the miraculous.

This miracle did not open the eyes of the emissaries of the Sanhedrin. Jesus again asked them: «Whom seek ye?» As before, but probably less impetuously and impudently, they replied: «Jesus of Nazareth.» «I have already told you, it is I. Let these (the Apostles) go their way.» None of the Apostles were seized, and thus was fulfilled the prayer made by Christ in His farewell address: «I have lost not one of them Thou hast given Me.»³ Had they been arrested, their faith would have suffered a great shock, and probably at this tense moment they would have denied their Master.

281. 3. *The Apostles' Attempt at Resistance* (Mt. xxvi. 50^b, 51; Mk. xiv. 46, 47; Lk. xxii. 49—51; Jn. xviii. 10). Their first fear dispelled, the emissaries of the Sanhedrin advanced and laid hold on Jesus. This spectacle provoked the Apostles to ask whether they should attack them. Without waiting for a reply, Peter⁴ drew the sword which he had brought with him from the Cenacle, and cut off the right ear of Malchus, the servant of the high priest. Jesus, who sought no defence by force of arms, ordered all resistance to

¹ *Didon*, Jesus Christ II, 321.

² *Valerius Max.*, VIII, ix, 2; *Velleius Paterculus* II, xix, 3.

³ Jn. xvii. 12.

⁴ The name is given by St. John. The authority of an eye-witness is sufficient guarantee for the truth, despite the silence of Mark, Peter's disciple. Loisy maintains the contrary; cf. no. 122.

cease. Then He touched the ear of Malchus and healed it. This cure gives the reason why Peter abandoned his resistance and dropped back into silence. It explains, too, why Peter was not arrested for attempted murder.

4. *The Rebuke of Jesus to Peter and to His Enemies* (Mt. xxvi. 52—56^a; Mk. xiv. 46—49; Lk. xxii. 49—53; Jn. xviii. 10, 11). Not content to put an end to the conflict, our Lord, who in the hours of His Passion was like a lamb led to the slaughter (Is. liii. 7), commanded Peter to return his sword to its sheath. He gave four reasons why no resistance should be made: a) All those who take the sword, unnecessarily, arbitrarily and without authority, shall perish by it; b) Had Jesus desired any defence, He could have called upon His Father and more than twelve legions (72 000 about) of angels would have been at His disposal; c) Resistance would thwart the fulfilment of the prophecies which foretold the violent death of Christ (cf. Is. liii; Dan. ix; Ps. xxi); d) Jesus possessed the courage to drink the chalice of suffering which His Father had given Him.

Turning towards His enemies, especially the chief priests, the Temple-guards and the ancients of the people, with a majestic authority He reproached them for having come against Him as a thief to seize Him with swords and staves. The large number of His enemies, their weapons, the lonely place, the hour of the night, everything merited the rebuke He gave. «Every day (during the feasts) I was in the midst of you in the Temple, instructing the people, and you did not raise your hand against Me. But this is your hour wherein it is given you to put Me to death; this, too, is the hour of the devil, the prince of darkness, given to put forth his malice. All this happeneth, that that which was written by the Prophets may be accomplished.» The Prophets had foretold that the Messiah would suffer a violent death, and to this end, the arrest was a necessary prelude.

282. 5. *Jesus is arrested. The Flight of the Apostles* (Mt. xxvi. 56^b; Mk. xiv. 50—52; Jn. xviii. 12). The cohort and guards bound the hands of Jesus. This was too much for the Apostles. Full of courage a few hours before, all of them, even Peter and John, fled, but without returning into Galilee. The prophecy «All of you shall be scandalized in Me this night» (Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in me in ista nocte) was now fulfilled. Although He had foreseen and had announced what would occur, this desertion must have been a keen blow to the Master's heart. One young man, however, doubtless awakened by the uproar, came, enveloped only in a light mantle, *amictus sindone super nudo* (corpore) from a nearby house. As he followed after Jesus, the guards

growing suspicious, attempted to detain him. But he escaped, leaving his garment in their hands, and fled, naked, into the night. Many commentators and critics identify this young man with Mark, the Evangelist¹.

¹ Cf. No. 44. If this hypothesis is groundless, St. Mark who was a native of Jerusalem, could have become aware of this incident either from the young man himself or from his family. It is quite improbable that this event of so little significance has been «conceived by the application of a prophecy.» The prophecy of Amos (ii. 16) «And the stout of heart among the valiant shall flee away naked in that day, saith the Lord», is too vague to justify such a supposition. Loisy h. l. maintains the contrary.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TRIAL BEFORE THE RELIGIOUS AUTHORITIES.

I. JESUS BEFORE ANNAS.

283. 1. *Jesus brought before Annas* (Mt. xxvi. 57; Mk. xiv. 53; Lk. xxii. 54; Jn. xviii. 13, 14). Leaving Gethsemane, the emissaries of the Sanhedrin crossed the Valley of the Cedron, and led Jesus to the palace of the high priests¹. Tradition places the one that was occupied by Caiphas on a hill to the southwest of Jerusalem (the traditional Sion). The soldiers then retired; for their task was finished, and they do not appear again until the time of the crucifixion.

According to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus was led first before Caiphas, the high priest for that year, and the son-in-law of Annas. But St. John, who wrote at a later date, has corrected the narrative of his predecessors, by informing us that Jesus appeared first before Annas. This Annas occupied the sovereign priesthood from the year 6 or 7 until the year 15 A. D. when he was deposed by Valerius Gratus. He was noted for his immense wealth, and he contrived to keep the high priesthood in his family, no less than five of his sons, and his son-in-law holding this office. It was no wonder, then, that he was looked upon as a man of great influence, the most fortunate of his countrymen². Caiphas, by sending Jesus before Annas, wished to act in a kindly spirit, but yet it was with the hope that the shrewd old man might force from his Victim some compromising avowal.

Annas and Caiphas, by reason of the relationship that existed between them, probably lived in the same palace or in the wings of the same palace. This supposition is demanded by the combination of the Synoptic data and the Gospel of St. John. According to the fourth Gospel, Peter denied our Lord three distinct times, in the same locality and in the same circumstances³; now, if the present order of our fourth Gospel is authentic, the first denial must have

¹ See the map of Jerusalem at the end of the book.

² *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, II, 1, 2; XX, IX, 1, 2.

³ Jn. xviii 18^b—25^a.

taken place within the courtyard of the palace of Annas (xviii. 13 f.). On the other hand, the Synoptics, who omit Christ's appearance before Annas, place the three denials within the courtyard of the palace of Caiphas. This apparent contradiction disappears, if the courtyard of the palace was one and the same.

2. *The Examination before Annas* (Jn. xviii. 19—24). Annas questioned Jesus in regard to His disciples and His doctrine. But Jesus perceiving the trap that was laid for Him, pointed out the publicity of His teaching and bade him ask those who heard Him. In any case, any of His hearers would be believed rather than Jesus, the accused, since His testimony would naturally be considered partial.

One of the officers attached to the service of Annas, believing that this reply was an insult to the judge, and wishing to show his zeal, gave Jesus a sharp slap, perhaps a blow with a stave (*ράπισμα*), and said to Him: «Is it thus you answer the high priest?» This was not a judgment; this was violence. And Jesus, also, replied in calm dignity, in the form of a dilemma that was unanswerable: «If I have spoken evil, give testimony of the evil; but if I have spoken well, why striketh thou Me?» The judge, unless he had lost all sense of shame, must have blushed for his servant, upon hearing an answer so justifying and convincing. Embarrassed and unable to contend with such demeanour, he sent Him bound to Caiphas. It is probable that they loosed Him during the examination just as He was during the morning sitting. St. Mark explicitly notes (xv. 1) the fact that they bound Jesus in the morning after the meeting of the Sanhedrin, before they led Him before Pilate.

284. 3. *Distinction of the Examination of Annas and that of Caiphas*¹. This question is warmly disputed by commentators. Some insist upon the natural sense of St. John's words and claim there were two examinations. Others identify them, and maintain that the verse 24 of chapter XVIII is a sort of retrospective indication, or better the order of the texts of the fourth Gospel has been transposed by copyists, perhaps by the earliest editors of the books. Hence verse 24 should follow immediately after verse 13.

II. JESUS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN.

285. 1. *Caiphas and the Sanhedrin*. The high priest for that year was Joseph, surnamed Caiphas². He was elevated to his present dignity in the year 18 A. D. by the procurator Valerius

¹ It is impossible to examine this question in detail here. For particulars see Schanz, Komm. über den hl. Joh. 534, 535; Knabenbauer, Comm. in Ioa.² 526—528; Calmes, Évangile selon St. Jean 419—422.

² See art. Caiphas in HDB. I.

Gratus, and he maintained his office until the year 36 A. D. when he was deposed by Vitellius, the legate of Syria¹. His long tenure, especially during a period in which high priests succeeded each other with startling rapidity, is explained by his shrewdness and unscrupulousness.

During the night, Caiphas had hastily called together the members of the Sanhedrin, and explained to them that, as the Paschal feast was near, it was necessary to bring the business to a quick ending. The Sanhedrin, as we have already indicated (no. 139), was a kind of permanent assembly or senate, holding session in Jerusalem. In cases of capital punishment, their meetings, under the pain of nullification of all the proceedings, had to be held in the Temple, in the *Lishkath hag-Gazzith*, or Paved Hall. This time they were gathered in the house of Caiphas², whether because they considered the meeting which would take place in the morning only valid and definitive, or because they no longer possessed the right of life and death (no. 139), and deemed this formality useless.

2. **The Witnesses** (Mt. xxvi. 59—61; Mk. xiv. 55—59). Seeking to safeguard at least the appearances of justice, and desiring to present some reasons which would justify their conduct before Pilate and in the eyes of the people, the Sanhedrin produced false and suborned witnesses against Jesus. According to the Law, no one could be condemned, except on the testimony of at least two witnesses³. Now, many witnesses testified against Jesus, but their testimony did not agree, and was therefore valueless.

Finally, they brought forward two witnesses — the number that the Law absolutely required — who, as Mark tells us, did not agree, in accusing our Lord of having said: «I will destroy this Temple (that of Jerusalem) made with hands, and, within three days, I will build another not made with hands.» Jesus, indeed, had uttered, in the beginning of His ministry, words analogous to these, but, as St. John remarks⁴, He was speaking of the temple of His body, which He would make rise from the tomb in three days. To harbour feelings hostile to the Temple was a crime punishable by death. Jeremias just escaped being stoned by the priests, the people and the false prophets, for having announced its future destruction, and the deacon Stephen was accused in his trial, of having spoken against the Holy Place⁵.

286. 3. **The Great Question** (Mt. xxvi. 62—64; Mk. xiv. 60—62). Nevertheless the accusations rendered proved nothing. Then Caiphas

¹ *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, II, 2; IV, 3.

² *Lk.* xxii. 54.

³ *Num.* xxv. 30; *Deut.* xvii. 6; xix. 15; cf. also Talmud de Jerusalem, *Makkoth* 5—7, translated by *Schwab* XI, 78—82.

⁴ *ii.* 18—22.

⁵ *Jer.* xxvi. 6 f.; *Acts* vi. 13.

rose in impatience and irritation, strode to the middle of the hall, towards the Accused, and, in the hope of making Him compromise Himself, addressed Him saying: «Answerest Thou nothing to the things that are laid to Thy charge by these men?» Jesus, who by one word could have denied it all, preferred to keep a majestic silence; for He well knew that, before these prejudiced judges, all defence was useless. Another alternative was now left to Caiphas, and this he immediately employed. «I adjure Thee», he cried, «I charge Thee to tell us, under oath (ἐξορκίζω), if Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Holy God.» This process was legal; for, according to the Law, an adjuration obliged the accused to answer, at least this is certain for the witnesses¹. Caiphas had no doubt that the answer would be in the affirmative, and hence this would furnish an excellent reason for condemning Him to death and for delivering Him to Pilate as an aspirant to royal dignity.

Nor was he deceived. Because of the respect which He bore toward God, whose name had been invoked, Jesus replied to the question: «Thou hast said it (yes); I am the Messias, the Son of God», which, according to the common opinion, means that He was the true Son of God and not only the Man-Messias, the son of David and King of the Jews. Jesus immediately gives, in figurative language, a proof of His Messiahship and His divine filiation: «Hereafter you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God² (a Hebraism which means «on the right of the all-powerful God») and coming in the clouds of heaven»³. In other words: «You Jews shall feel from the moment of the Passion the power of God (the miracles of Golgotha, of the Resurrection, of Pentecost, of the founding of the Church, of the ruin of Jerusalem, and of the destruction of Jewish nationality), until the Son of man shall come to judge the world.

287. Meaning of the words «Christ, the Son of God»⁴. Quite a few times, in the Synoptic Gospels, the terms «Christ» and «Son of God» are equivalent. The devils, who are cast out, say to our Lord: «Thou art the Son of God», and we are told that Jesus imposed silence upon them, «Because they knew He was the *Christ*»⁵. Nevertheless the term «Christ», as applied to our Lord, does not appear to denote simply a man chosen by God to found the new kingdom, but a superhuman person, in intimate relation with God, possessing His prerogatives and His power, in other words, a Messiah-God.

In particular, the confession «I am the Christ, the Son of God», made before the high priest, is hardly explained in the ordinary sense of the term «Messias». Jesus declares that He sits on the right of God, and

¹ Lev. vi. 1.² Ps. cix. 1.³ Dan. vii. 13.⁴ Cf. *Rose*, *Studies on the Gospels* 175—206; *Lefin*, *Christ and the Gospel* 327 f.; *Tixeront*, *History of Dogmas* 59, 60; *Knabenbauer*, *Comm. in Matth.* II, 479, 480.⁵ Lk. iv. 41.

consequently that He reigns with Him and exercises the same power, all of which embodies characteristics which are not found in the Messiah expected by the Jews, who was the son of David and was to be a temporal king only. Caiphas cried out that such a claim was blasphemous, and for this reason the Accused was condemned to death. It is true that false prophets were condemned to death, but «such a claim could have been considered as 'blasphemy' only inasmuch as the Messiahship which Jesus asserted implied a close relationship with God, similar to that which we have seen clearly implied in His own statements»¹.

The whole passage becomes clearer, if studied in the light of the fourth Gospel, the historical character of which has been established. Some time before this, the Jews wanted to stone Jesus, because, as they said, He blasphemed in making Himself God². Caiphas, who was not ignorant of these claims of Jesus and wanted some pretext justifying Christ's condemnation to death, would naturally ask the Saviour something about His divine filiation. As a matter of fact, a few hours later, the Sanhedrists declared to Pilate that Jesus ought to die, because He made Himself the Son of God³. It has been objected that in the morning session the high priests asked Jesus if He was the Messiah⁴. But this question was the preamble of the examination, which the avowals of the Accused had made quite superfluous.

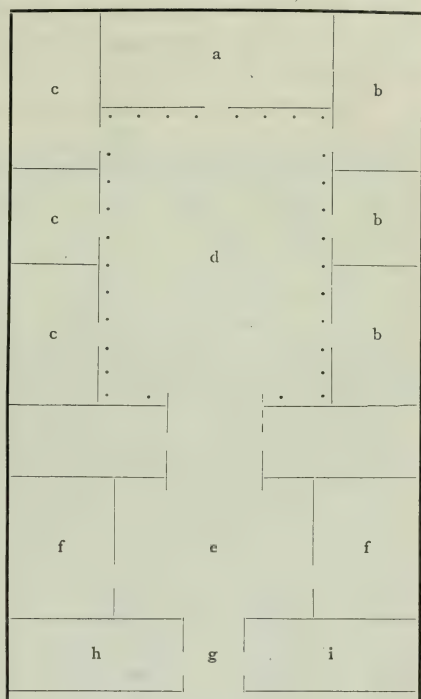


Fig. 48.

House of (Annas and) Caiphas.

a. Audience-Chamber. b. Residence of Caiphas.
c. Residence of Annas. d. Inner Court. e. Outer
Fore-Court. f. Rooms for the Domestics. g. Gate-
Way. h. Door-keeper's Room. i. Waiting-Room.

(This reconstruction is not sure.)

288. 4. The Death Sentence

(Mt. xxvi. 65, 66; Mk. xiv. 63, 64).

Having heard what he called blasphemy, Caiphas (Fig. 48) rent his outer garments lengthwise, for about two or three inches, as the

Jewish traditions prescribed for such circumstances as these. The rents were never repaired, as an indication that the injury done to God was irreparable, and the sorrow, because of it, inconsolable.

The judges, without having heard the witnesses for the defence, and without having made any inquiry, unanimously agreed that Jesus was guilty of death. The Law indeed did punish blasphemers and false prophets with death⁵, but it forbade that the accused should be condemned on his own confession⁶.

¹ *Lepin* l. c. 330.

² *Jn.* x. 22 f.

³ *Jn.* xix. 7.

⁴ *Lk.* xxii. 66.

⁵ *Lev.* xxiv. 15, 16; *Deut.* xviii. 20.

⁶ *Sanhedrin* VI, ed. *Surenhusius*, IV, 234^a.

5. *The Outrages of the Sanhedrin and its Servants* (Mt. xxvi. 67, 68; Mk. xiv. 65; Lk. xxii. 63—65). The condemnation having been pronounced, a revolting scene ensued. St. Matthew insinuates, and St. Mark clearly states (he places *quidam*, viz. *iudices*, in opposition to *ministri*) that some of the judges spat in the face of the innocent Victim, struck Him and buffeted Him, perhaps even gave Him blows with rods. To spit in the face of any one was in the East, at that time, just as it is to-day, one of the deadliest of insults.

The servants and those that guarded Jesus blindfolded Him; then they smote Him with their open palms, and maltreated Him shamefully¹, and struck Him in the face, in the meantime saying: «Prophecy unto us, who struck Thee!» They also heaped upon Him many other insults. This lasted for some time; for the Evangelists frequently employ the imperfect tense which marks repeated action. Jesus, the meek Lamb, realized to the letter the prophecy of Isaias (l. 5, 7): «I have given my body to the strikers, and my cheeks to them that plucked them; I have not turned away my face from them that rebuked me, and spit upon me.»

III. THE DENIALS OF PETER.

(Mt. xxvi. 58, 69—75; Mk. xiv. 54, 66—72; Lk. xxii. 54—62;
Jn. xviii. 15—18, 25, 26.)

289. 1. *The First Denial*. Peter after fleeing from Gethsemane, once his fright had disappeared, grew heartily ashamed of himself for his weakness, retraced his steps, and followed after Jesus from afar; for he was still distraught between fear and love. According to the fourth Gospel, «another disciple» also followed Jesus. This anonymous disciple must be identified with St. John, and that for three reasons. First, it was St. John's usual way of designating himself by this vague title²; secondly, we find him again and again associated with St. Peter³; and lastly, St. John furnishes us with most exact details as to the whole affair: he describes the servants of the high priest closely; he knows that the name of the servant whose ear Peter had lopped off, was Malchus; that Peter's questioners, at the time of the denials, were kinsmen of this same Malchus; that the portress was a young woman; and that the servants were gathered around a fire of coals. Now the anonymous disciple was known by the high priest and hence could and ought to have known the people who were in his service.

¹ δέροντες, δέρω, «to skin», «to beat until the skin comes off».

² xiii. 23, 25; xix. 26; xxi. 20, 24. Cf. no. 104.

³ Lk. xxii. 8; Acts iii. 1; iv. 13; viii. 14.

John then, being known by the high priest, and consequently by his servants, entered within the interior court without much difficulty, and with scarcely any fear. In those days, as at the present time, the homes of the wealthy (Fig. 49) had an interior court, around which rose the principal apartments. A great covered door and arch shut off the court from the street. Peter was not known here and hence dared not enter, and it is not altogether unlikely that he had tried and had been barred by the portress. John, noticing that he had not followed him in, went to the portress, and after a few words with her, contrived to gain entrance for Peter.



Fig. 49. Inner Court of a Private House (House of Abdallah Pasha) at Damascus.
(Phot. Bonfils.)

290. The servants and the Temple guards had lighted a fire, at which they were warming themselves; for the March and April nights of Palestine are quite chilly, especially in Jerusalem, because of its high altitude. Putting aside his erst-while fear, Peter advanced, joined the circle around the fire and warmed his trembling hands. A maid-servant of the high priest — St. John says it was the portress — saw him sitting before the fire, gazed at him fixedly, and as she could not help perceiving, by the light cast by the flames, his sadness and evident embarrassment, remarked to one of the bystanders: «This man was with Jesus.» Then addressing Peter directly, she added: «Art not thou also (an allusion to John) a disciple of

this man?» The Apostle immediately became frightened, and the vivid recollection of the blow that he had struck in Gethsemane, only added to his terror. At any cost he must not be involved in the trial of his Master. Accordingly, turning to the group, he replied: «I am not a partisan of this man; I do not even know Him, nor do I understand what you mean by your question.» Then wearied in mind and frightened lest matters be pressed farther, he left the group and wended his steps towards the vestibule. Within the space of that short time, he heard the cock crow¹, if this detail, which is found in St. Mark's Gospel, is authentic.

291. 2. *The Second Denial.* But even in the quiet of the vestibule, the Apostle was not suffered to remain in peace. He was intercepted by another maid-servant — as St. Matthew has it — to whom the portress had confided her suspicions, or who was prompted to connect him with the Prisoner inside, because of the confusion that he betrayed². Again the Apostle denied his Master, and even swore that he did not know Him.

3. *The Third Denial.* In order not to increase their suspicions, Peter dared not draw away. Under an imprudent impulse, he engaged in conversation with those that stood near him. About an hour after the first denial (Luke) or a little time after (Matthew, Mark), one of the servants (Luke) detecting Peter's faulty pronunciation, declared that he was a disciple of Jesus; for he was a Galilean. The Galileans possessed a dialect «noted for its rough pronunciation of the gutturals, for its general faulty construction, and for certain peculiar local idioms». They made little distinction between *α* and *ν*, *ω* and *ο*³, and were easily distinguished from the inhabitants of the

¹ «A prohibition, religiously observed, forbade the people to raise poultry within the city limits, for fear, as we are informed by a marginal note in the *Baba Kamma* (VII, 7), that these fowls, accustomed to look for food in the muck-heaps, might pollute the sacred objects. Hence some have surmised that the Gospel-account refers simply to the cries of the watchmen, called at the time of 'cock-crow'. Is it not quite as likely that Peter could catch the sound of the cocks crowing in the Valley of Siloe? Their piercing note carries to a great distance, for in Constantinople it is heard coming across from the shores of Asia, at Messina the sound reaches from the banks of Calabria, and from the gardens of Siloe it can easily find its way to the heights of Sion. In the Middle Ages a church was pointed out in the Cedron Valley still called 'Cock-Crow'» (*Fouard*, *The Christ, the Son of God*, II, 283, note 1). Cf. *Edersheim*, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* II, 537, note 1; *Farrar*, *Life of Christ* 610, note 2; *Lightfoot*, *Horae synopticae* II, 382; *Friedlieb*, *Archäologie der Leidensgeschichte* 195; *Le Camus*, *The Life of Christ*. From the French by Hickey.

² While Matthew does not designate the second questioner, Mark seems to imply that it was the portress; for he uses the word *ἡ παῖσις* as referring to the interrogator in the first denial. Luke says it was one of the bystanders that put the question, while John says explicitly that he was questioned by those who warmed themselves at the fire. ³ *Jud.* xii.

other sections of Palestine. This observation drew the attention of the other servants (Matthew, Mark) upon the luckless Peter, and they confirmed the announcement of their fellow-servant that Peter was a Galilean and a disciple of Jesus. One of the kinsmen of Malchus now recognized him, and asked if he did not see him in the garden (John). Confusion now gave way to terror. Wishing above all things to allay their suspicions, and especially to escape whatever might befall him for his attack upon Malchus in Gethsemane, he broke forth in a stream of curses, protesting that he spoke the truth when he said that he did not know Jesus.

At that very moment the cock crew again. It was then about four hours from daybreak. Jesus, who at this time was either within the court, undergoing the most horrible treatment, or perhaps was on His way to the palace of Caiphas, turned and cast one look — at once a light and a soft reproach — upon Peter. Then the Apostle realized how deeply he had fallen, especially when he saw the condition of his outraged Lord. Without a moment's delay, he left the court, rushed out into the night, and there gave vent to his deep sorrow. St. Mark tells us that he began to weep, or better and more probably that he wept bitterly.

IV. JESUS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN A SECOND TIME.

(Mt. xxvii. 1; Mk. xv. 1; Lk. xxii. 66—71.)

292. I. *Object, Place, and Legality of this Session.* In the very early morning, just about daybreak, the whole Sanhedrin gathered for a second session. The object of this meeting was to consider the means, whereby the sentence already pronounced could be carried out, since this tribunal no longer possessed the right over life and death¹. They desired also to give some appearance of legality to the death sentence; for it was positively prohibited to pronounce such a sentence during the night². As before, this body met, not in the Gazzith, but in the palace of Caiphas. According to St. John (xviii. 28), the Jews led Jesus from the palace of Caiphas to the hall of Pilate. It is quite unlikely that, had they met in the legal place, they would have gone from the Temple to the palace of the high priest, before repairing to the governor's hall, especially when it is recalled that, during the Paschal celebration, this official was wont to take up his residence in the castle of Antonia, which was very near the Temple.

Most commentators rightly distinguish this meeting from the one that was held in the night; for St. Luke explicitly mentions a meeting in the morning, which the two other Synoptics are by no means

¹ See no. 139.

² Sanhedrin c. IV, § 1.

ignorant of, since they add after the examination before Caiphas: «And straightway in the morning, the chief priests took counsel against Jesus.»¹

2. *The Session.* The proceedings during this meeting were more summary than those of the first session. The only business they had on hand was to confirm and legalize the sentence that had already been pronounced. As a preamble to their examination, the judges asked Jesus, if He was the Christ. The answer of Jesus was a firm and dignified protest against all the proceedings that had been brought to bear against Him. Then, returning to the question that they had put to Him, He declared clearly and unmistakably, just as He had done at the night session, that He was the Son of God, and thus furnished His enemies with the very pretext that they desired².

St. Luke records only the second session because it was more to the point. He does not say it in so many words, but he leaves the impression that the sentence of death was then pronounced by the judges. He had already indicated, in fact, that they sought means to put Jesus to death (xxii. 8), and he adds, that in their opinion the above confession was sufficient (xxiii. 1) reason for haling their Victim before Pilate³.

¹ Mt. xxvii. 1; Mk. xv. 1.

² «What need have we of further witnesses?», was their cry. «We ourselves have heard the blasphemy from His own lips.» The adverb «further» is an allusion to the lack of legally incriminating witnesses at the night session, and serves as an indirect confirmation of the two other Synoptics.

³ In regard to the illegalities in the religious trial of Jesus, see *Edersheim*, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* II, 553 ff.; *Andrews*, *The Life of Our Lord* 512; *Stalker*, *The Trial and Death of Jesus Christ*; *Friedlieb*, *Archäologie der Leidensgeschichte* 111 ff.; *Schürer*, *History of the Jewish People* II, 233, 234. For contrary testimony, see *Salvador*, *Histoire des Institutions de Moïse et du Peuple de Dieu*; *A. Réville*, *Jésus de Nazareth* II, 382, 383.

CHAPTER V.

THE CIVIL TRIAL OF JESUS.

I. THE SUICIDE OF JUDAS.

293. I. *The Despair and Death of Judas* (Mt. xxvii. 2—5).

After the sentence of death had been pronounced, the Sanhedrists once more bound Jesus and led Him to Pilate. When Judas realized the fact that Jesus had been condemned to death and that He had been given over to Pilate, the enormity of his act dawned upon him. He repented of what he had done, not in the same way that Peter had repented, but in an awful rush of remorseful feeling in which all hope and all love was lacking, as his sad end testifies. Instead of throwing himself at the feet of his Master, who surely would have pardoned him, he made his way to his partners in crime, whose priestly duties at this particular time had called them to the Temple. He took back to them the thirty pieces of silver and said to them: «I have sinned in betraying innocent blood.»¹ But the chief priests, whose injustice and malice are brought out in this scene in stronger light, answered him coldly and disdainfully: «What is that to us? Look thou to it.» You are the one that sinned, then look yourself to the repairing of the wrong you have done.

Utterly crushed now, and possessed with the feeling that he could nevermore gain the respect of men, nor ever hope for their protection, the unfortunate Judas stepped into the vestibule of the sanctuary and with one frenzied rush penetrated the Holy Place (εἰς τὸν ναόν), in all probability, because of entrance to which was absolutely forbidden the laity, and there cast the thirty pieces of silver as a testimony against his accomplices. Then he departed, and on the same day or some little time later — for St. Matthew's chronology is generally vague — hanged himself in the potter's field. St. Peter adds that he fell (the rope or cord breaking), and that the body (putrefaction having set in) in its fall burst asunder «in the midst and all his bowels gushed out»².

¹ A Hebraicism for «innocent man».

² Acts i. 18, 19.

There is nothing in this recital that would substantiate the Rationalistic claim¹, that it is a legend. Probably a great many stories have been woven around this Apostle, but it does not follow because of these, that the Gospel account of his death is legendary. It is true, that St. Peter seems to say that Judas bought a potter's field. But this is easily explained by the fact that the field was bought with his money, and by oratorical licence, Peter could say that Judas had acquired the field².

294. 2. *The Purchase of a Burial Ground* (Mt. xxvii. 6—10). The Sanhedrists, who manifested no feeling in committing the heinous



Fig. 50. Haceldama and Valley Gehennah near Jerusalem.

(Phot. Brassac.)

crime of deicide, became deeply scrupulous as to the disposition of the blood money. «Since these pieces», they said, «are the price of blood, it is not lawful to put them in the *Corban*.»³

¹ Cf. *Renan*, *Life of Jesus* 330, 331; *A. Réville*, *Jésus de Nazareth* II, 343, 344; *Holtzmann*, *Die Synoptiker* 293; and *Loisy*, h. l.

² Cf. *Knabenbauer*, *Comm. in Matth.* II, 502; and *In Acta Apostolorum* 38.

³ The *Corban* was the «sacred treasury» in which the faithful were wont to cast their offerings for the support of the Temple and its worship. A collection of chests, reposing in the Court of the Women, also went by this name. (See *Fos.*, J. W. II, ix, 4.) God had forbidden that money coming from a source, impure or legally unclean, should be put therein (*Deut.* xxiii. 18).

On the same day that Judas visited them, or perhaps some little time after, the chief priests consulted together, and with the thirty pieces of silver bought a field that had belonged, or did belong to a known potter (τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως). This they set apart as a burying place for strangers; for they well knew that the Jews of the Dispersion and the Gentiles flocked in large numbers to Jerusalem on the occasion of great feasts¹, and many died there.

This field, as St. Matthew informs us, is called the field of blood, שֵׂם דָּם (Fig. 50), until this day, that is, until the time of the composition of the first Gospel. Then the prophecy of Jeremias: «They took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was prized, whom they prized of the children of Israel; and they gave them unto the potter's field, as the Lord appointed unto me», fulfilled. These words are a free translation of several passages of Jeremias (xxxii. 6, 7; xviii. 2, 3) and of Zacharias (xi. 12, 13). St. Matthew merged them into one paraphrase and has attributed them to Jeremias because he was the more renowned of the two prophets².

II. THE FIRST TRIAL BEFORE PILATE.

295. I. *Pilate*. Pontius surnamed Pilate³ was procurator of Judea from the year 26 to the year 36, in the name of Tiberius and under the authority of the legate of Syria. In character he was weak and violent, oftentimes cruel, and at the same time sceptical and irresolute. Even before this time he had been seized with the fear of losing the confidence of his immediate chief, the legate of Syria, and of the Emperor of Rome. He was at all times opposed to the customs, the institutions and the religion of the Jews⁴. He was deposed in the year 36 A. D. by Vitellius, the legate of Syria, because of his cruelties towards the Samaritans, and he left for Rome to justify himself⁵. According to a tradition, recounted by Eusebius, Caligula banished him to Gaul, where in despair he committed suicide⁶.

¹ Acts ii. 9—11.

² «The field of blood is still pointed out in the eastern part of the Valley of Hinnom. 'The tradition which fixes it on this spot reaches back to the age of Jerome, and it is mentioned by almost every visitor of the Holy City, from that time to the present day. The field or plat is not now marked by any boundary to distinguish it from the rest of the hillside' (*Robinson*). *Hackett* observes: «Tradition has placed it on the Hill of Evil Counsel. It may have been in that quarter, at least, for the field belonged originally to a potter, and argillaceous clay is still found in the neighbourhood. A workman in a pottery which I visited at Jerusalem, said that all their clay was obtained from the hill over the Valley of Hinnom' (*Illustrations of Scripture* 267). A charcoal house now in ruins, built over a cave in whose deep pit are a few bones much decayed, is still shown. Some would identify it with the tomb of Ananus mentioned by *Josephus* (J. W. V, XII, 2)». (*Andrews*, *The Life of Our Lord* 526.)

³ Derived from «pilum», a javelin.

⁴ *Jos.*, J. W. II, IX, 2, 3, 4; J. A. XVIII, III, 1, 2.

⁵ *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, IV, 1, 2. ⁶ *Eus.*, H. E. II, 7.

His Residence. His usual residence was at Cæsarea in Palestine¹, but on the occasion of the Jewish feasts he always repaired to Jerusalem, in order to be in a better position to prevent or suppress whatever outbreaks — to which Jewish fanaticism was ever prone — might occur. At these times he took up his abode in the *palace of Herod the Great* which was situated west of the city, near the Towers of Mariamne, Hippicus and Phasaël. It was here that the procurator Florus was installed at the time of one of these outbreaks². Philo, a Jew of the 1. century, tells us, as does Josephus, that Pilate had hung some gilt shields dedicated to Tiberius in the Herodian palace, ἐν τοῖς Ἡρώδου βασιλείοις, which was the residence of the procurators, ἐν οἰκίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων³.



Fig. 51. Fortress Antonia at Jerusalem. (Phot. Brassac.)

There is a tradition, dating back to the year 333 A. D., and the first witness of which was «the Pilgrim of Bordeaux»⁴, which places the residence of Pilate in the Castle of *Antonia* (Fig. 51), the strong and magnificent fortress situated to the northwest of the Temple⁵. At the present time the site is occupied by Turkish barracks. It is very doubtful whether this tradition is old enough to prove that, in the year of our Lord's death, Pilate did reside in his usual abode. As a consequence, the *Via Dolorosa* cannot be determined with certainty because its starting point is veiled in doubt.

The word *pretorium* designated in the 1. century «the residence of the governor of the province, and hence the place in which he

¹ *Jos.*, J. A. XVIII, III, 1; J. W. III, IX, 2.

² *Jos.*, J. W. II, XIV, 8; xv, 5.

³ *Philo*, Leg. ad Caium § 38, 39, ed. Mangey II, 589 ff.

⁴ *Migne*, P. L. VIII, 791.

⁵ *Jos.*, J. W. V, v, 8.

dispensed justice; consequently they understood the expression as referring to any palace of a king or a prince»¹.

The pretorium of Pilate was situated in a place where a large crowd had room to assemble². Before it lay a large open space, on slightly elevated ground, referred to in the Gospel as the Gabbatha, and a pavement of stones upon which the procurator erected his judgment seat³. In the interior of the pretorium, there was also a courtyard⁴.

296. 2. The First Accusation (Jn. xviii. 28—32). The Sanhedrists, not having the right of life and death, led Jesus from the palace of Caiphas to the pretorium of Pilate in order to secure the confirmation and the execution of their sentence. It was early morning; for, because of the feast, the whole matter had to be completed quickly; and in any case, the Roman tribunal sat at any hour of the day, even *prima luce*⁵. Neither the chief priests, nor their agents entered within the palace precincts. They had the Accused led before Pilate, by means of the Roman soldiers. «Within the unclean house of a Gentile»⁶, these Pharisees would have contracted a legal impurity which would have prevented them from eating the Pasch on that day.

As the Jews did not want to enter within the palace, Pilate, giving in to their scruples, probably came to the outer steps of the pretorium, and there asked what was the nature of the accusation they brought against Jesus. He desired to act justly and conform to the Roman law, according to which *nocens nisi accusatus fuerit condemnari non potest*⁷. But above everything else, the Sanhedrists wanted to avoid any inquiry, which they well knew would lead to the acquittal of their Prisoner, and hence they replied to Pilate with a kind of bravado show of authority: «If Jesus were not a *malefactor*, we would not have delivered Him unto you.» This mode of procedure was but another evidence of their shrewdness. By it the accusers preserved their autonomy as regards judicial questions, leaving Pilate all the responsibility and forcing upon him the role of executioner, at the same time dispensing themselves with proofs, that on their face, as they were aware of, were far from convincing. But Pilate refused to accept the passive part forced upon him, and mockingly replied to them: «If you refuse to state your proofs, take the Accused and judge Him according to your own laws (and within the limits of your power).»

But this was not what the chief priests desired. They could have excommunicated Jesus, could have even scourged Him, but

¹ Cic., In Verr. II, IV, 28; V, 35; Juv. X, 161.

² Jn. xix. 1—5, 7—11.

³ Jn. xix. 13.

⁴ Mk. xv. 16.

⁵ Seneca, De ira II, 7.

⁶ Acts x. 28; xi. 2, 3.

⁷ Cic., Pro Roscio XX.

they could *not* put Him to death (no. 139). St. John makes the observation that the Jews had been deprived of the *ius gladii*, thus making the fulfilment of Christ's prediction of His crucifixion possible¹. Had the Jews possessed this right, they would have put Jesus to death by stoning², whilst capital punishment among the Romans was by crucifixion.

297. 3. The Second Accusation (Mt. xxvii. 11—14; Mk. xv. 2—5; Lk. xxiii. 2—5; Jn. xviii. 33—38). Fully persuaded now that Pilate would not ratify their sentence without definite proofs, the Sanhedrists piled up accusations against Him and, in order to make them appear stronger, gave them a political tinge: «We have found Him exciting the nation, forbidding to pay tribute to Cæsar, and calling Himself the Christ-King.» But Pilate was not fooled by these charges, and he disregarded them; for he knew that they were false³. If what they said were true, his ever watchful officers would not have been ignorant of them, and they had given him no information on these points. In any case, the Jews always bitterly opposed to the power of Rome as they were, would never have delivered Jesus into his hands, for these reasons. The claim of Christ to *royal dignity* caught his attention, for he did not quite understand its drift.

Pilate, leaving the chief priests and the multitude on the outside, re-entered the palace, summoned Jesus in his presence, and asked Him if He was the king of the Jews. Jesus answered by an other question: «Do you say this according to your own personal knowledge, or have others told you this of Me?» He wished to know what meaning he attached to the word «king». If brought forward by Pilate, then it was understood in the political sense, and then He must reply negatively. If brought forward by the Jews, then it had the meaning of Messiah, and the answer would be in the affirmative. With his Roman pride sorely wounded and still unable to grasp the import of this distinction, the procurator replied rather brusquely: «Am I a Jew?» «How should I know anything of the Messiah that the Jews expect?» Then, without any transition, resuming the examination, he added: «Your nation and your chief priests have delivered You up to me. What have You done?» Our Lord replied only indirectly, by telling him of His heavenly origin and the spiritual character of His kingdom, and by making him perceive that the civil powers had nothing to fear from Him.

Pilate, who expected nothing more than a simple negation, answered in surprise: «Then You are a king?» — «Thou hast said it

¹ Jn. xii. 32, 33; xx. 19.

² Lev. xxiv. 14; Jn. viii. 59; x. 31.

³ Lk. xx. 25.

(yes), I am a king. I came into the world in order to give testimony of the truth. Every one that receives the truth and puts it into practice¹, heareth My voice» (understands and believes My doctrine). The truth, the revelation of God, this is the sceptre of Jesus.

More surprised than ever, Pilate with sceptical levity and mockery asked: «What is truth?» Firmly convinced that the Accused was innocent, a dreamer at best, and not a rival of Cæsar, he proclaimed before the priests and the multitude that he could find no crime² in Him. Pilate should have released Him then and there; but, in order to ward off the displeasure of the Jews and at the same time to safeguard justice, he had recourse to a series of expedients.

The Synoptics make it clearly understood³ that our Lord was taken out of the palace and confronted with His enemies. The Sanhedrists who were anxious to procure the death sentence, brought many accusations against Him which the Gospels do not record. The Saviour had already answered these in the presence of the procurator, and knowing the determination of His accusers, remained silent. Pilate vainly endeavoured to elicit some reply.

4. *The Third Accusation.* The Jews, to prevent their Victim from slipping through their hands, surrounded Pilate and with fierce persistency accused Jesus of *inciting revolt* among the people, teaching them throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee even to the gates of Jerusalem. This latter remark was evidently an allusion to His triumphal entry into the Jewish capital.

III. JESUS BEFORE HEROD ANTIPAS⁴.

298. 1. *Jesus sent to Herod* (Lk. xxiii. 6, 7). Amidst the great clamour, the word «Galilee» came to the ears of Pilate. He asked if Jesus was a Galilean and a subject of Herod Antipas. Upon the Jews' replying in the affirmative, he sent Jesus to the tetrarch, thus extricating himself from a rather ticklish situation, and making, by this act of courtesy, the first step toward healing a long-standing breach — doubtless caused by a conflict of jurisdiction — which had existed between him and Herod. The Accused was sent from the *forum apprehensionis* to the *forum originis*.

2. *The Interview of Jesus and Herod* (Lk. xxiii. 8—12). The sight of Jesus was a source of great joy to Herod. For a long time it had been his earnest desire to see Him; for he had heard many reports concerning Him⁵, and he hoped to be a witness of

¹ *est ex veritate*, Jn. iii. 21; vii. 17; viii. 47; x. 16.

² *Causam*, i. e. no basis for an accusation and condemnation.

³ Mt. xxvii. 12, 13; Mk. xv. 4; Lk. xxiii. 14.

⁴ No. 133.

⁵ Mt. xiv. 1; Mk. vi. 14; Lk. ix. 7—9; no. 222.

one of His miracles. He put a great number¹ of questions to Him, but our Lord refused to play the magician just to suit his fancy. No word escaped His lips, and He wrought no miracle for the weak and foolish tetrarch.

Herod, humiliated and hurt, revenged himself for this attitude. With the approval and assistance of his body guard, he treated Jesus with contempt². In order to make His royal claims appear ridiculous, he had Christ arrayed in a white robe³, such as the Roman and Jewish kings wore, who sought kingly honours at the hands of the people⁴. After this, he sent Jesus back to Pilate. This exchange of courtesies put an end to all bitterness between these two enemies.

Like Pilate, the tetrarch had set the accusation of the Sanhedrists at naught, and thus divine Providence ordained that the innocence of Jesus should be acknowledged and admitted by two disinterested judges.

IV. THE SECOND TRIAL BEFORE PILATE.

I. JESUS AND BARABBAS.

299. 1. *The Proposition to release Jesus* (Lk. xxiii. 13—16). Jesus was then remanded to the palace of Pilate. The governor called together the chief priests and the people, among whom he hoped to find some defenders of the Accused. He briefly recalled to them what had taken place. He had placed their Victim on trial and could find nothing criminal in Him. Herod also, who was in a better position to know the current events of Jewish life, shared in the same opinion. «He has sent Him back to us»⁵, and behold he found nothing in Jesus worthy of death⁶. I cannot then condemn Him to death. I will chastise Him (i. e. have Him chastised) and release Him.» Pilate had already committed one injustice in sending an innocent man to Herod for trial, and now he was about to commit another and a greater one in inflicting upon his Prisoner the horrible torture of the scourging (no. 301.) Yet, by this latter action he hoped to calm the fury of Christ's accusers.

2. *Jesus and Barabbas* (Mt. xxvii. 15—18; Mk. xv. 6—10; Lk. xxiii. 17⁷; Jn. xviii. 39). Pilate, fully convinced that Jesus was

¹ *Interrogabat*, the imperfect tense, indicative of repeated acts, further confirmed by *multis sermonibus*.

² ἐξουθενήσας, ἐξ οὐδένος which literally means «to reduce to naught», «to consider as nothing».

³ *Plummer*, Comm. on St. Luke 523.

⁴ *Jos.*, J. A. XIX, viii, 2; J. W. II, i, 1; *Tacit.*, Hist. II, 89; *Val. Max.* I, vi, 11.

⁵ This text is found in *ΒΚΛΜΤΠ*, some cursives, and in the Sahidic and Coptic Versions. The reading «I referred you to him» is found in *ADΧΙΔΔ*, many cursives, and in the Latin and Syriac Versions. The former is more correct.

⁶ *Nihil dignum morte actum est ei* or better *ab eo*.

⁷ This verse is not authentic. See *Plummer*, St. Luke 525.

innocent, was most anxious to save Him. The first expedient — sending Him to Herod — not having the desired effect, he had recourse to a second. On the occasion of each Paschal feast, it was the custom to release a prisoner designated by the multitude. The origin of this custom, which is neither mentioned in any other passage of Scripture, nor in the Talmud, cannot be determined. We know that a like custom existed among the Romans¹. Perhaps the Jews wished by this means to keep alive the remembrance of the national deliverance from the yoke of Egypt, which they commemorated at the feast of the Pasch. But be this as it may, there was in prison at this time a noted criminal, Barabbas (בֶּר אָבָא, «son of the father») by name. He, together with his accomplices, had been imprisoned for murder which was committed during a revolt against authority. In a large measure, he stood for that very revolutionary spirit of which the chief priests had so falsely accused Jesus.

The multitude now gathered before the pretorium, demanded the release of a prisoner. The governor deemed this a favourable moment to save Jesus, thinking that the people would not hesitate to decide between the young Prophet and the murderer, in favour of the former. But in this he did not reckon with the inconstancy and fickleness of the crowd he had to deal with. He put the question to them. Whose deliverance did they desire, that of Barabbas, or Jesus, the Christ and the king of the Jews?

300. 3. Pilate's Wife (Mt. xxvii. 19). Pilate was seated upon his tribunal, because, in releasing a prisoner, he had to pronounce a juridical sentence. An unexpected ally now interested herself in behalf of Jesus, in order to urge Pilate not to suffer justice to be violated. His own wife, who according to an apocryphal and legendary writing of the 4. century was known as *Claudia Procula* and was a proselyte to Judaism, came to him and said: «Let there be nothing between you and that just man; for I have been greatly distressed in a dream (κατ' ὄναρ) this day because of Him.» Probably she was aware of Christ's arrest the night before, a fact which doubtless won her over in His favour, and caused her to be distressed in her dreams. Perhaps too, this dream may be directly attributed to God.

Pilate accordingly redoubled his efforts to save the innocent Victim.

4. The Choice of the Multitude (Mt. xxvii. 20—23; Mk. xv. 11—14; Lk. xxiii. 18—22; Jn. xviii. 40). In the meantime, the chief priests had not been idle. They excited the crowd to a high pitch, persuading them that a rebel against the tyranny of Rome was not after all so terrible a criminal, promising them many things, perhaps even threatening, until they succeeded in making them choose the

¹ Cf. *Knabenbauer*, Comm. in Matth. xxvii. 15; and *Friedlieb*, Archäologie 141, 142.

freedom of Barabbas and demand the death of Jesus. It was not so very difficult to obtain a reaction in the popular mind against Jesus; for in their eyes, as in the eyes of all Oriental nations, the conquered and the defeated were always wrong¹.

And so, when Pilate asked them for a second time: «Which of these two will you that I release unto you?» all, among whom there was probably a great number who a few days before had acclaimed Jesus as the son of David, all cried out in one loud voice: «No, not Jesus, but Barabbas». The friends of Jesus were thunderstruck at such an outburst, and they could do nothing for Him.

But Pilate still refused to admit that he was defeated. Hoping to arouse some return of sympathy, he asked with evident embarrassment: «What do you want me to do with Jesus who is called the Messias and who is the king of the Jews?» But the mob again cried out: «Crucify Him! Crucify Him! Put Jesus to death and release unto us Barabbas.» Pilate still hoped to free Jesus². Alluding to His various trials, he replied, utterly bewildered: «What evil has He done? I have found no cause in Him. I will chastise Him therefore, by having Him scourged, and I will let Him go.»

Pilate was almost stupefied at the loud cries and the unjust demands. In the end, he would be forced to sacrifice Jesus. The crowd was no longer amenable to reason, and its efforts against Jesus grew in strength, and they cried the louder: «Let Him be crucified!»

II. THE SCOURGING OF JESUS.

(Jn. xix. 1; Mt. xxvii. 26^b; Mk. xv. 15^b.)

301. I. Scourging in general. Scourging was a punishment both «horrible and infamous»³, generally administered in a public place, *in medio foro*⁴. The victim, after having been stripped of his garments⁵, was bound to a low column, by the wrists, in such a manner that the curved and distended back was exposed to all the violence of the blows. The scourgers, who were either the lictors⁶ or soldiers, as the case might be, used two sorts of instruments, the *flagrum* and the *flagellum*. The former consisted of a rod to which was attached a leathern thong armed with sharp pieces of metal, knots, knobs of ball or balls of lead. The latter was formed of thin, and hence more cutting, cords, though it was not provided with knobs of bone or metal. The Jewish law fixed the number of

¹ Such sudden changes are not rare. In just the same manner the people of Florence suddenly abandoned the cause of Savonarola.

² Lk. xxiii. 20.

³ A Roman citizen could not be scourged. Cf. *Cic.*, In Verr. II, v, 62; Acts xvi. 38.

⁴ *Cic.*, In Verr. V, 62; *Jos.*, J. W. II, xiv, 9.

⁵ Acts xvi. 22.

⁶ *Cic.*, In Verr. II, v, 54.

strokes at forty. Practically speaking the executioner gave but thirty-nine in order to make sure not to exceed the legal number¹. Among the Romans the number of blows was left to the caprice of the lictors.

Under the violence of these whips the blood was made to gush from the victim, and the flesh was torn to shreds. Quite often the torture would prove too great, and the victim fainted away in pain. Sometimes the victim died under the blows, or from their after effects. In a letter of the Church of Smyrna to that of Pontus, we read some details in the scourging of the martyrs: «The bystanders were struck with amazement when they saw the victims lacerated with scourges even to the innermost veins and arteries, so that the hidden inward parts of the body, both their bowels and their members, were exposed to view»².

2. *The Purpose of the Scourging of Jesus.* Sending Jesus to Herod, and the incident of Barabbas not having the desired effect in saving Jesus, Pilate had recourse to a third and final expedient. According to the criminal code of the Romans, scourging was always a preliminary to crucifixion. Pilate would scourge our Lord in order to excite the pity of the multitude, to arouse the compassion of the more moderate among them, to awaken the zeal of the disciples, and finally to avert the punishment of death. And we know from St. John, what new efforts he made after Christ's scourging to save Him (no. 305).

There is no indication whatever to show that, after the sentence of death was pronounced, the scourging was inflicted a second time. There was no need for this; for the law had been carried out already. St. Matthew and St. Mark, who do not follow a chronological order, and who speak of this punishment after having told of the condemnation to death³, must be judged in the light of the more exact language of the fourth Gospel.

302. 3. *The Scourging of Jesus.* In conformity with the usual mode of procedure, our Lord was scourged *in medio foro*, in the pretorium (Fig. 52). St. Matthew and St. Mark⁴ tell us that, after the scourging, the soldiers led Jesus back into the hall, where the crowning of thorns took place, which, after John (xix. 1—5) followed the scourging. He was bound to a column, which the pilgrim of Bordeaux saw, in 333, in the palace of Caiphas, situated in the Upper town, and which to-day reposes in the Church of St. Praxede in Rome.

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 24.

² *Eus.*, H. E. IV, 11: P. G. XX, 343. Cicero gives us a terrible description of scourging: In Verr. II, v, 54.

³ Mt. xxvii. 26; Mk. xv. 15.

⁴ Mt. xxvii. 26, 27; Mk. xv. 15, 16.

The executioners in this case were not the lictors, for Pilate being only a procurator had none; nor were they Jews, for there were none of these in Pilate's service. They were soldiers, but of what nationality cannot be determined. They probably used the lash, as the Gospel expressions seem to infer (*φραγελλώσας*). The punishment inflicted upon Jesus was certainly a cruel torture. Some idea of the soldiers' brutality may be gleaned from the fact that, a short time after, they crowned the Saviour with thorns and heaped outrageous insults upon Him. Besides, the object of Pilate was to make Christ appear in as pitiable sight as possible, so as to move the

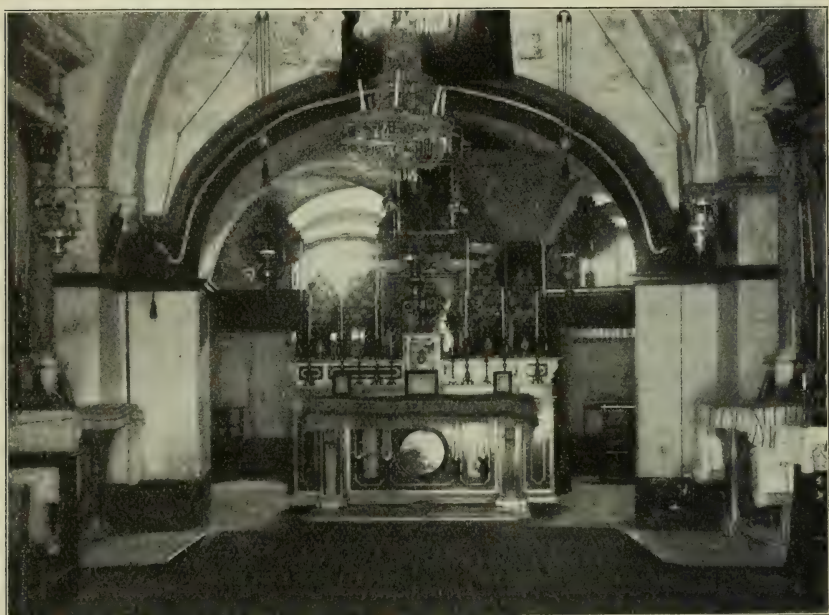


Fig. 52. The Chapel of Scourging at Jerusalem.

Jews to sympathy, and this no doubt helped to spur on their cruelty. We do not know how many blows were struck. According to some private revelations the number has been said to be more than 5000, but these do not afford any decisive argument, since the Church does not guarantee their genuineness.

III. THE CROWNING WITH THORNS.

(Mt. xxvii. 27—30; Mk. xv. 16—19; Jn. xix. 1, 2.)

303. I. *The Royal Insignia.* The governor's soldiers led Jesus from the public within the inner court of the pretorium, and the whole cohort gathered around Him. Ordinarily a cohort numbered from 500 to a 1000 men, for it was the tenth part of a legion. It

is possible, but scarcely probable (*universa cohors*), that this expression here designates merely the governor's guard.

Knowing that Jesus called Himself a king, the soldiers in cruel sport parodied His royalty. They stripped Him of His clothes that had been put on Him after the scourging, and flung over Him, in mock investiture, a *sagum* of scarlet or purple (Matthew: *coccinea*; Mark, John: *purpurea*). The *sagum* was a rectangular shaped garment, which served as a mantle, and was worn in various fashions (Fig. 53). It was undoubtedly some cast off war-cloak; for both soldiers and officers had uniforms of bright colours¹. For a royal crown, the soldiers twisted a wreath of thorns bound together by rushes and placed them on Christ's head. This explanation is based on the nature of the relics of the holy Crown of thorns existing at the present day. A portion is now in the Notre-Dame Cathedral of Paris. This consists of a bundle of rushes, without thorns, corresponding to the *iuncus balticus*, which is common in warm countries. There are twenty churches which claim to possess portions of this relic, several of which have been examined, and it was found that they belong to the jujube tree or *zizyphus spina Christi*. This tree «reaches the height of fifteen or twenty feet and is found growing in abundance by the wayside around Jerusalem. The crooked branches of this shrub are armed with thorns growing in pairs, a straight pine and a curved one commonly occurring together at each point.»².



Fig. 53. Greek Handcraftsman with Chlamys.

In order to complete the mockery, the soldiers placed a reed (*arundo donax*) in His hands to serve as a kingly sceptre.

304. 2. The Mock Homage. «With a throne, a crown, a sceptre, nothing was lacking now to the regal state of the new Monarch save the worshipful fealty of His subjects.» Accordingly, they bent their knees before Him, openly jeered at Him, and, crying to Him ironically: «Hail, king of the Jews», they spat in His face. Adding to their cruelty and derision, these wretches took the reed and struck Him, thereby forcing the thorns through the head, and causing untold agony. This outrageous scene lasted a considerable time, as the frequent use of the imperfect tense in the Gospel indicates (*illudebant, percutiebant*). Besides, there was a large number of soldiers present,

¹ *Plin.*, Hist. nat. XXII, 3 (2); *Plut.*, Sertorius XIV.

² *Herbert Thurston*, art. Crown of Thorns, in Cath. Encycl. II, 541. St. Paulinus of Nola (5. century) is probably the first to make mention of the «crown of thorns». Cassiodorus and Gregory of Tours refer to them at a later date. In the 13. century, St. Louis purchased them from the emperors of Constantinople, and built the Sainte-Chapelle, a marvel of Gothic art, for their reception.

and every one wanted to have a part in this insulting farce. Throughout it all, our Lord, maintained that majestic silence which characterized the last hour of His life. The prophecy uttered by Isaias (liii) had at last been fulfilled.

IV. FINAL EFFORTS OF PILATE TO SAVE JESUS, AND THE SENTENCE OF DEATH.

305. 1. *Ecce Homo* (Jn. xix. 4—7). Pilate believed that the moment of Jesus' deliverance had now come. He went forth from the palace, followed by our Lord, and addressed the mob: «Behold I bring Him forth unto you, that you may know that I find no cause in Him», and hence that He should be released. Then pointing to Jesus clothed in the scarlet *sagum*, crowned with thorns, His body covered with wounds, His head streaming with blood, he added with a mixture of respectful pity for the Victim and sarcasm for those that accused Him: «Behold the Man!» See how He is humbled, see how wretched He is. You have nothing to fear from Him. Give Him then His liberty.

But even such a sight as this could not arouse one ray of pity in the hearts of the people. The chief priests and their servants, like wild beasts excited by the sight and the smell of blood, shouted out: «The cross! The cross!» Pilate indignantly answered: «Take Him you and crucify Him. As for me, (I will not have a part in His murder, since) I find that the Accused is guilty of no crime.» The chief priests realized that the words «Take Him you», were spoken in irony; for they did not take them in the sense of granting them permission, and adopted other means to wring consent from the governor. They now alleged a religious motive. «We have a law, according to which He ought to die; for He made Himself the Son of God.» Rome always pursued the policy of permitting the conquered nations to enjoy their national institutions, and the Jewish law commanded that a blasphemer be punished by death (Lv. xxiv. 16).

2. *Jesus undergoes another Examination* (Jn. xix. 8—11). Upon hearing the words «He made Himself the Son of God», the fear of Pilate only increased. By far more superstitious than he was religious, Pilate became possessed with the feeling that this man might be a god or a demi-god who had descended upon earth and dwelt among men even as the gods of pagan mythology had done. Everything inclined him to this belief: the dream of his wife, the bearing of the Prisoner, and the wisdom of His answers. Once more he went into the interior of the pretorium, and bringing Jesus with him, because it would have been difficult to examine Him before the crowd, inquired concerning His divinity. «Whence art thou? Art thou from heaven or earth?» The object of this question was not

to ascertain the earthly origin of Jesus; for Pilate knew that He was a Galilean, and, because of that fact, had sent Him to Herod to be examined.

Jesus, who had already explained Himself fully on this point, remained silent. This nettled Pilate, and, with all the dignity of a judge and a governor, he continued: «Speakest Thou not to me? Knowest Thou not that I have power to crucify Thee, and I have power to release Thee?» In His turn, Jesus also drew Himself up before His judge and told him that of himself he had no power; for all of it had been given him by another. He added: «Because God has put thee in a position through which thou hast power over Me; thou art less guilty than the Sanhedrin (according to others, Judas or the devil, Jn. xiii. 27), that hath delivered Me to thee.» God in ordaining that Judea should be a Roman province, had placed Jesus under the jurisdiction of Cæsar and the procurator, his delegate; the Sanhedrists, by delivering Jesus over to the Roman authorities, arrogated unto themselves a right which was not theirs, and were guilty of what might be called «theocratic felony».

306. 3. *Personal Intimidation of Pilate* (Lk. xxiii. 23; Jn. xix. 12—15). This answer of Jesus made a deep impression upon Pilate, especially the reproach that lay hidden behind it, and he made repeated efforts (*quaerebat*) to gain the liberty of Jesus. It is likely that he went before the Jews and told them that he was going to send the Accused away in freedom. Losing all control of themselves and throwing all discretion to the winds, the Jews now resorted to the odious tactics of threatening the governor, declaring that they would denounce him before his chiefs: «If thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar's friend (thou art not solicitous for his best interests); for whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar.» And as we know, Tiberius, who reigned at this time, was one of the most suspicious of tyrants and readily welcomed any charge of high treason¹.

At this Pilate became frightened. He then brought Jesus out before the people; for the judicial proceedings were public, and the sentence had to be pronounced in the presence of the accused². He sat upon the judgment-seat (and not «made Jesus sit on the judgment seat»)³. According to the Roman custom, this was erected in a place which in Greek was called *Lithostrotos* (λιθόστρωτος, a *tesselated pavement*), in Hebrew or rather in Aramaic *Gabbatha* (an *elevated place*); in other terms, it was elevated upon a terrace paved in mosaic. Pilate, in order to revenge himself somewhat for the role of

¹ As *Suetonius* puts it (Tib. 58): *Leges maiestatis atrocissime exercuit.*

² *Jos.*, J. A. XVII, vi, 3; XVIII, iv, 6; J. W. II, xiv, 8; Acts xii. 4.

³ This is a reading of *St. Justin*, *Apology I*, 35.

executioner that was being forced upon him, in ironical terms said to the Jews: «Behold your king», your Messianic king! This served only to increase the rage of the Sanhedrists; for they began to yell with increased insistence: «Away with Him, away with Him (take Him away from this world and put Him to death)! Crucify Him!» Pilate angrier now and more sarcastic, replied: «Shall I crucify your king?» Aroused now to the highest pitch of hatred and frenzy, the Jews renounced all their Messianic hopes, and proclaimed the disruption of the ancient theocracy and the absorption of Israel into the Empire of Rome: «We have no king but Cæsar!» And yet in their eyes, Cæsar was but a tyrant and an oppressor against whom they revolted on the first favourable occasion.

4. *Pilate washes his Hands* (Mt. xxvii. 24, 25). Perceiving that there was nothing to gain by these verbal exchanges and that they only served to increase the uproar, Pilate asked for water, and, in the presence of the mob, washed his hands. In explanation of the symbolic character of his action, he said to the Jews: «I am innocent of the blood of this just man (I am not responsible for his execution); look you to it.»¹

The crowd immediately took up the words of Pilate, and in a fit of insane frenzy took upon itself the responsibility which Pilate refused to accept: «Let His blood be upon us and upon our children!» Every one knows how terribly and literally God answered this sacrilegious cry: Judas committed suicide; Caiphas was deposed; Herod died in exile; the house of Annas was made desolate, and his sons died by the hands of assassins; Jerusalem was destroyed in the year 70; and a few years later the Jewish nationality disappeared for all time².

307. 5. *Jesus condemned to Death* (Mt. xxvii. 26; Mk. xv. 15; Lk. xxiii. 24, 25; Jn. xix. 16). Utterly discouraged and affrighted, Pilate at last gave way before the demands of the Jews, released Barabbas unto them and delivered Jesus over to them to be crucified.

The awful crime of deicide must be laid at the door of the Sanhedrists and Pilate: the jealousy of the former counselled the death, and the weakness of the latter gave sanction to the counsel³. The cause of the jealousy of the Sanhedrists was the innocence of the Saviour which stood in strange contrast with their vices⁴; the

¹ Pilate imitated, probably, a usage which he had seen to be practised by his administrators. In the case of murder where the culprit was unknown, it was the custom in olden times, for the elders of the town, to immolate a heifer. Washing their hands above the victim, they said: «Our hands have not shed this blood.» See Deut. xxi. 6, 7.

² Cf. nos. 281 ff. ³ Mt. xxvii. 18, 41—43.

⁴ Jn. iii. 20; vii. 7.

independence of His doctrine, which was not that of any of their various systems¹; the ardour of His zeal in setting right all errors and waging war against all abuses²; His assumption of the title of Messiah, especially that of the Son of God, which raised Him above all of them³; the announcement of a certain religious transformation and of a spiritual worship, less formal and less exclusive than theirs, all this sounded the death knell for all their sacerdotal and levitical organization⁴.

¹ Lk. iv. 23—28.

² Mt. xv. 12—14; xxi. 45, 46; xxiii. 2—39; Lk. xi. 37—54.

³ Lk. xix. 39, 40; Jn. v. 18.

⁴ Jn. iv. 21—24; xi. 48.

CHAPTER VI. THE CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS.

I. THE CROSS.

308. I. *The Various Kinds of Crosses.* Originally the cross was simply an upright stake (σταυρός, pale) upon which the victim

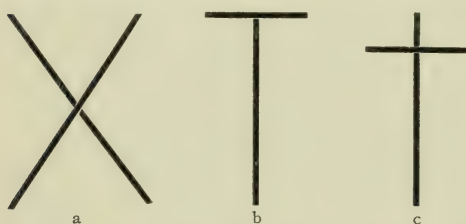


Fig. 54.

a Crux decussata. b Crux commissa. c Crux immissa.

was literally impaled in expiation of his crimes. This was called the *crux acuta*. Later on, a transverse bar was added to this stake or beam, and according to the manner in which the transverse was attached there arose the *crux decussata*, called also the St. Andrew's

cross, because this Apostle is supposed to have suffered martyrdom on a cross of this kind, which is shaped like a capital X; the *crux commissa* and the *crux immissa*. The former, called also St. Anthony's cross, was shaped like a large T, while the latter, known as the Latin cross, consisted of a single upright post, the top of which projected somewhat above the horizontal cross-bar (Fig. 54).

«The cross was furnished with a support for the body called the *sedile*. This was a small piece of wood projecting at right angles from the upright, upon which the victim sat as upon a saddle. It was designed to bear the weight of the body, which would otherwise have been too great to be supported by the hands alone.»¹

We are not so sure whether there was a support for the feet or not. There is no indication of its existence in the early writers, St. Gregory of Tours being the first to mention it². In view of the *sedile* there seems to be no reason for it. Probably its origin is due to the early painters of the crucifixion scene, who preferred it to the rather indecent and shocking representation of the *sedile*.

¹ W. Adams Brown, art. Cross, in HDB. I, 528.

² De gloria mart. 6: P. L. LXXI, 711.

Among the Romans, the cross was rather low, since, as we know from several writers, wild beasts were able to reach the victims as they hung suspended. Sometimes, but this was the exception, it was raised to a greater height, especially if the condemned was a noted character¹.

309. 2. Death by Crucifixion. Execution by crucifixion was not of Jewish, but Roman origin. Stoning to death was the ordinary form of punishment meted out to capital offenders among the Jews². The Romans introduced crucifixion into Palestine and used it in the execution of seditious and riotous persons³. Death by crucifixion was one of the *most horrible of all tortures*. Usually the victim lingered for hours in great agony, sometimes living for days. The wounds became inflamed immediately; the blood rushed to the head, and became congested in the lungs and heart; all the arteries became swollen, causing an unbearable oppression and making the head rack with pain. Add to all this the cramped position of the members of the body caused by the unnatural position the victim was forced to assume, together with the fever that produced a burning thirst, and then we will begin to understand why Cicero called death by crucifixion *crudelissimum teterrimumque supplicium*⁴.

Aside from being the most cruel of punishments, it was also the most degrading; for it was the customary death of criminals of the worst type: brigands, traitors, robbers, rioters, and slaves guilty of some heinous offence⁵. Cicero brands it as *servitutis extremum summumque supplicium* and declares «that there is no word to describe the outrage committed upon a Roman citizen by forcing him to submit to crucifixion»⁶.

3. The Cross of Jesus. In all probability the cross upon which Christ suffered death was the *crux immissa* and was furnished with a *sedile*. St. Justin and St. Irenæus, both of whom were in close touch with the Apostolic times, state that the cross of Christ consisted of five extremities⁷. An examination of the relics preserved in various localities tends to show that «the wood came from a tree of the conifer group, in all probability from the pine»⁸. According to the custom then in vogue, the cross did not stand so very high; for, as we know from the Gospel text, with a branch of hyssop which was not longer than a meter about, they could give to drink to our Lord⁹.

¹ Suetonius, Galba IX. ² Lev. xx. 2—27.

³ Jos., J. A. XVII, x, 10; J. W. II, xii, 6; xiii, 2; xiv, 9. ⁴ In Verr. V, 64.

⁵ Jos., J. A. XVII, x, 10; XX, vi, 2; J. W. II, xii, 6; xiv, 9; V, xi, 1; Hor., Sat. I, iii, 80—83; Suet., Galba IX. ⁶ In Verr. V, 66, 169.

⁷ Just., Dial. 91: P. L. VI, 693; Iren., Adv. Haer. II, 24, 4: P. L. VII, 794, 795.

⁸ Rohault de Fleury, Mémoire 63.

⁹ Jn. xix. 29. See no. 331 for the discussion of this passage.

II. THE VIA DOLOROSA.

310. 1. *The Route.* As we shall see later on (no. 313), we are quite sure of the *terminus ad quem* of the journey that Christ made to His death; for the side of Calvary can be determined with tolerable certainty. But, on the other hand, the *terminus a quo* is very doubtful, owing to the fact that we cannot be sure of Pilate's residence at this particular time. One of two places must have been his abode, either the fortress of Antonia, or the palace of

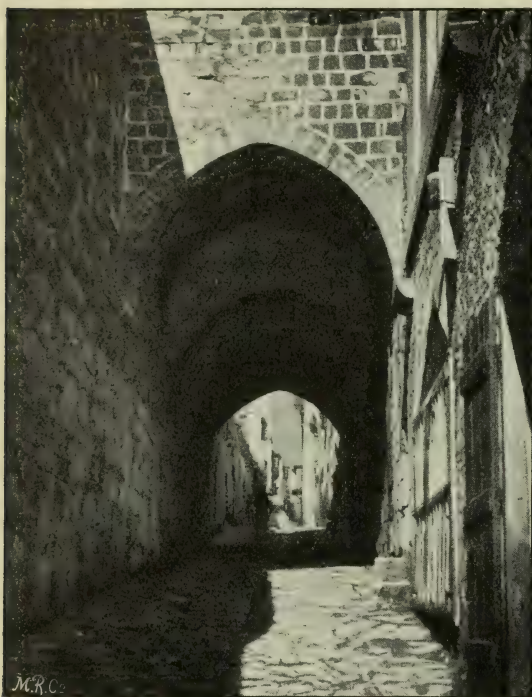


Fig. 55. *Via dolorosa*, at Jerusalem.

Herod the Great. But even if we were certain that the *via dolorosa* (Fig. 55) began from the fortress of Antonia, we would still be in doubt as to the various stations (Fig. 56 and 57) along the route, because of the many changes that have taken place in Jerusalem.

2. *The Procession* (Mt. xxvii. 31; Mk. xv. 20; Jn. xix. 17). In accordance with the custom of the time, the role of executioner devolved upon the soldiers who accompanied the Victim. After subjecting Jesus to further outrages, His executioners took from Him the red robe of mockery,

clothed Him in His own garments and led Him forth to the place of crucifixion. We do not know whether they removed the crown of thorns or not. The Gospel affords us no information on this point, and the old paintings which represent Jesus upon the cross without the crown of thorns are not earlier than the 5. or 6. century, and hence their evidence carries little weight¹.

The soldiers who numbered four², were commanded by a centurion³ who rode before the procession on horseback, and who was

¹ *Tertullian* (Adv. Iud. XIII: P. L. II, 636) claims that the crown of thorns was upon the head of Jesus during the crucifixion, but his testimony is rather late and strangely alone. ² Jn. xix. 23; Acts xii. 4. ³ Mk. xv. 44.

called the *exactor mortis*¹. It was customary² for condemned criminals to bear their gibbets to the place of execution, and accordingly the cross was placed on Christ's shoulders. The tablet (titulus) upon which was written the reason of His condemnation was either borne before Him or hung suspended from His neck³. In the same procession were two criminals who were also to be crucified. They were probably placed here by Pilate to show his utter contempt for the Jews. The small band started and soon attracted to its sides a large crowd⁴ always curious, especially on occasions such as this. If the cortege took its start from the fortress of Antonia, there was ample opportunity for a large crowd gathering; for the distance was some 650 or 750 yards to Calvary.



Fig. 56. Place of the I. Station at Jerusalem. (Phot. Bonfils.)

311. 3. *Simon the Cyrenean* (Mt. xxvii. 32; Mk. xv. 21; Lk. xxiii. 26). Weakened by the physical and moral tortures that He had been forced to undergo during the night and the morning, Jesus sank beneath the weight of His cross. Seeing that it would be useless to urge Him, the soldiers, meeting a man about to enter the town, pressed him into service (*ἡγγαρεύσαν, ἡγγαρεύειν*, a Persian word, meaning to draft into service), and made him carry the cross behind Jesus, *ὕπισθεν* — or better, as is inferred from both St. Matthew and St. Mark —, he carried it alone. This man

¹ *Tac.*, Ann. III, 14; *Sen.*, De ira I, 16.

² *Plaut.*, Miles glor. II, iv, 6; *Plut.*, De sera num. vindicta 9.

³ *Suet.*, Calig. 32. According to the *Babylonian Talmud*, Sanhedr. VI, 2, a herald preceded the procession crying that such a one, the son of so and so, was being led to execution for such and such a crime. But it must be remembered that here the executioners were Roman and not Jewish.

⁴ Lk. xxiii. 27, 32.

was named Simon and was an inhabitant of Cyrene, a city of the province of the same name, situated between Egypt and Carthage, in the territory corresponding to Tripolis at the present day. Ptolemy Lagos had established a colony of Jews there during his reign¹.

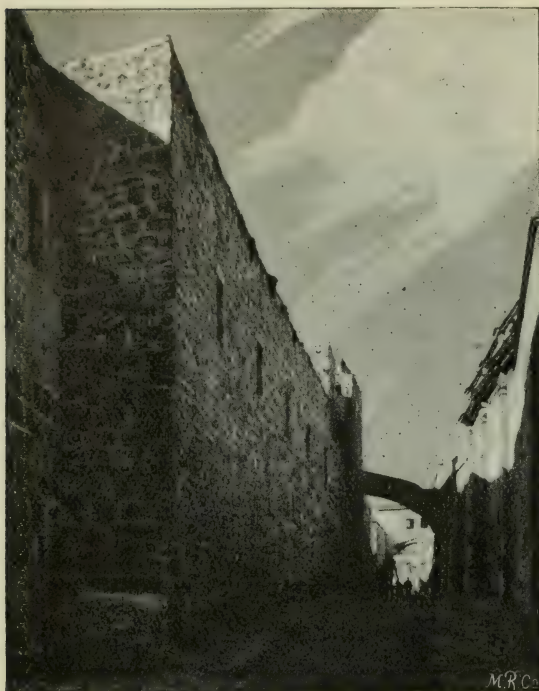


Fig. 57. Place of the II. Station at Jerusalem.

Quite a number of them had gone back to Jerusalem, and had founded a synagogue there for their worship². This act of charity, although merely exterior and almost forced upon him, in reality proved a veritable blessing for Simon. Perhaps it led to his own conversion; but, in any case, we know that two of his sons, Rufus and Alexander, occupied a certain position of prominence in the early Church. On the one hand, St. Mark tells us that they were the sons of Simon, and thus supposes that they were known to his Roman readers (no. 51);

and on the other, St. Paul writing to the Romans, bids them to «salute Rufus, elect in the Lord, and also his mother, 'who is mine', added the Apostle»³.

4. *The Daughters of Jerusalem* (Lk. xxiii. 27—31). In the crowd that followed Jesus, there were some women of the city who, at the sight of Jesus, struck their breasts and sent up deep lamentations for the Victim. Oblivious of His own sufferings, Jesus turned towards them and said: «Weep not for Me, O daughters of Jerusalem, but weep rather for yourselves and your children. For behold the days of sorrow are near at hand, the days of the Jewish-Roman war when they shall say: Blessed are the barren; blessed are the wombs which have not borne child, and the breasts which have not given suck⁴.

¹ Jos., Cont. Ap. II, 4; J. A. XIV, vii, 2; vi, 1, 6. ² Acts vi. 9. ³ Rom. xvi. 13.

⁴ In other words, sterility, which among the Jews was looked upon as a reproach, would in these days be a veritable blessing (Os. ix. 14; Lk. i. 25).

In order to escape these evils men shall cry out to the mountains: 'Fall upon us', and to the hills: 'Cover us'. For if these things happen in the green wood¹ (to the Just One, Jesus Christ), what shall be in the dry?² (the Jewish nation with its guilt of deicide).

312. 5. The Falls of Jesus, the Meeting with His Mother, and the Incident of Veronica. All these episodes cannot be proven on historical grounds. There is no tradition anterior to the Middle Ages which speaks of the *falls* of Jesus. In all likelihood they occurred, when we consider the brutality of the soldiers and the exhaustion of the Saviour. As regards *the meeting of Jesus and Mary*, there is no testimony except the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus which because of its extravagant legendary character is not at all reliable. It is certain that at this time the Mother of the Lord was at Jerusalem; for the Gospel tells us that she was at the foot of the cross when Jesus died. Lastly, *the incident of Veronica* is not mentioned at any time before the middle of the Middle Ages. The stations of the cross with its fourteen stations did not come into existence until some time about the 16. century. Before this time they sometimes counted two, sometimes three, and sometimes four. In granting indulgences to this practice, the Church had no intention of guaranteeing the genuineness of the details, no more than it has the intention of guaranteeing the historical character of all that is found in the breviary³.

III. THE EXECUTION OF JESUS.

313. 1. Golgotha³. Description and Site of Golgotha. Golgotha, גִּלְגֹּתָא (in Hebrew גִּלְגֹּתָא, in Aramaic גִּלְגֹּתָא, from גָּלַל, *to revolve*) literally means *Calvarium*, skull. It is very probable that its name was derived from its outward shape. In reality it was neither a mountain, nor a hill, but simply a rocky elevation, as rounded and as bare as a skull. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who was in a position to know, gave this explanation already in the 4. century⁴.

Golgotha was situated to the north-west of Jerusalem, outside the gate, yet very near to the city walls⁵, being a little over a hundred yards from them. A few years later, it was incorporated into the city by a wall which was erected by Herod Agrippa, and which was called the third wall. It was a custom both among Jews and Romans to carry out their public executions outside the city⁶.

Very near the escarpment, there were two roads, one of which led to the north of Palestine, and the other towards the west. About thirty yards to the north-west of Golgotha, lay the garden of Joseph of Arimathea, and the sepulchre which he had had dug for himself.

¹ Ps. i. 3.

² Besides, in order to gain the indulgence, «it is not necessary to meditate upon each of the fourteen stations, a general meditation on the Passion being sufficient».

³ See *Thomson*, *The Land and the Book*.

⁴ *Catech.* XIII, 23; P. G. XXXIII, 802. ⁵ Jn. xix. 20; Hebr. xiii. 12.

⁶ *Plaut.*, Miles glor. II, iv, 6; *Cic.*, In Verr. V, 66; Deut. xvii. 5; Num. xv. 35; Lev. xxiv. 14.

The Authenticity of the Site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. All critics agree that the present site of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre is the site

which was recognized as authentic in the 4. century. According to Eusebius, St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, erected a magnificent basilica on these sacred spots, which was again and again destroyed, but which can still be traced at the present time (Fig. 58)¹. Still there are critics who of course are not Catholic, who claim that the primitive tradition had been vitiated as early as the 4. century, and that all the arguments based on the beliefs of that time are valueless. They maintain that the real site of Gol-

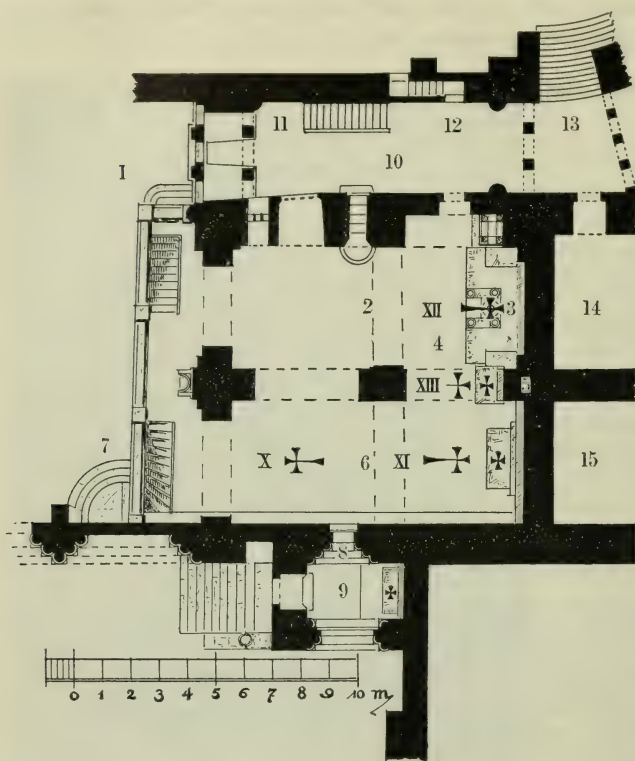


Fig. 58. Plan of the Chapel of the Crucifixion (Golgotha) in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.
(Latest sketch, by P. M. Gisler O. S. B.)

1 Greek Stair-Case. 2 Chapel of the Elevation of the Holy Cross. 3 Altar of Golgotha, and Place where the Holy Cross stood (Greek); thereunder the Adam's Chapel (Greek). 4 Rock-Cleft. 5 Small Altar of the «Mater dolorosa». 6 Chapel of the Nailing to the Cross (Latin); thereunder the Parlour of the Archimandrite, and Chamber of Relics. 7 Latin Stair-Case. 8 Window to the Chapel of the Franks. 9 Chapel of the Franks; Chapel of the «Mater dolorosa»; thereunder the Greek Chapel of St. Mary of Egypt. 10 Gallery of the Greeks. 11 Stair-Case to the Treasury of the Greeks. 12 and 13 Descent to the «Katholikon», and Choir of the Greeks. 14 Dining-Rooms of the Greek Monastery. 15 Corridor in the Coptic Monastery.

(The Latin numbers X—XIII signify the corresponding Stations of the Holy Cross-Road.)

gotha must be placed to the north of the present enclosure, not very far from the gate of Damascus and near the grotto of Jeremias. But this is wrong.

It is impossible so suppose that St. Helena acted upon wrong information. Surely a tradition, even if only local, could and would,

¹ Vita Const. III, 30: P. G. XX, 1089.

after three centuries of existence, be accurate in regard to a place so important and so dear to the veneration of the faithful. Moreover,



Fig. 59. South façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem.

(Phot. Dr. Trenkler & Co., Leipsic.)

we know that in the beginning of the 2. century, the emperor Hadrian completely destroyed Jerusalem, filled up the gap that separated Golgotha from the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 59), and erected a temple

on the site of the former in honour of Venus and one to Jupiter on the site of the latter¹. Besides, there never was a time when there were not Christians in Jerusalem, as well as bishops and innumerable pilgrims. All these facts help in the determination of the holy places. Finally there have been recent discoveries which prove that the hill of Golgotha was outside the enclosure of the city in the time of Christ.

314. 2. *The Crucifixion* (Mt. xxvii. 33, 34, 38; Mk. xv. 22, 23, 25, 27, 28; Lk. xxiii. 32—34; Jn. xix. 18). When the procession reached Golgotha, according to the custom, the soldiers offered to Christ wine mixed with myrrh, a kind of resinous gum coming from Arabia (Matthew: «wine mingled with gall»). The Talmud tells us that before crucifixion it was usual to offer the victim a drink possessing anæsthetic qualities which was prepared by the women of the best families at their own expense². But our Lord, who wanted the perfect use of His faculties in the midst of His tortures, barely touched His lips to the draught.

Thereupon the soldiers proceeded to the work of crucifixion, which, in those days, was performed in two ways. Either the victim was flung across his gibbet and affixed to it while it was lying upon the ground, and then raised aloft, or the cross was first implanted in the ground and the victim then affixed to it. It was due to this that such words as *in crucem tollere*, *ferre*, *ascendere*³ came to be used in connection with crucifixion. It is quite probable that the latter method was the one used in our Lord's case. In any case He was nailed to the cross and not bound by cords; for the words of the Apostle Thomas are a sufficient proof for this: «Except I shall see in His hands the print of the nails. . . I will not believe»: *Nisi videro in manibus eius fixuram clavorum . . . , non credam*⁴. It is quite likely, too, that each foot was nailed separately to the cross, either because, according to Plautus⁵, it appears that this was the usual way of crucifying, or because of the difficulty in firmly fixing both feet with one nail.

315. To the physical tortures inflicted on Jesus, was now added the humiliation of being stripped of His garments, and it is probable that Christ was suspended from the cross in an entirely nude state⁶. There are cases known where this punishment was inflicted with the victim fully dressed or at least partially so, and it is likewise certain that the word «nude» must be taken in its wide meaning in

¹ *Eus.*, Vita Const. III, 26; P. G. XX, 1087; *Hier.*, Epist. LVIII ad Paul. 3: P. L. XXII, 581.

² *Lightfoot*, Horae . . . in Matth. XXVII, 34.

³ *Cic.*, In Verr. V, 66; Lucanus VI, 543, 547.

⁴ Jn. xx. 25, 27.

⁵ Mostel. II, I, 12: . . . ut affigantur *bis pedes, bis brachia*.

⁶ *Just.*, Hist. XVIII, 35.

a great many other cases. Besides, the Talmudic prescriptions on this point are contradictory¹. However, the evidence in this particular case is so strong that, in the absence of proof for the contrary position, we must conclude that our Lord was no exception to the common rule.

In order to humiliate Christ further, they crucified Him between two thieves as if to make it appear that He was the greatest criminal of the trio²: *Et cum iniquis reputatus est.*

In the midst of the terrible anguish that was His, throughout all of which He manifested a sublime heroism and superhuman holiness, He raised His voice not in complaint or in imprecation, but in intercession to His heavenly Father for His executioners, the soldiers, the Jews, and guilty humanity: «Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.»

316. 3. The Title on the Cross (Jn. xix. 19—22; Mt. xxvii. 37; Mk. xv. 26; Lk. xxiii. 38). The tablet which the condemned carried

before him to his place of execution had to be nailed to the cross. Pilate took advantage of this opportunity to repay the Jews for having forced him to condemn Jesus, and also to make, at the same time, their vision

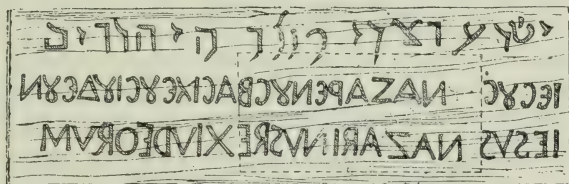


Fig. 60. Inscription of the Cross.

Kept in the Church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome.

of national autonomy an object of ridicule. Accordingly, he had the tablet prepared after his own ideas, as St. John, the most precise of the Evangelists as regards the story of the Passion, tells us. Upon it he had written: «Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews.»³ In order to give greater publicity to the event, he had the inscription written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (Fig. 60), and thus the royal dignity of Jesus was proclaimed in the language of the three greatest nations of the world.

As Golgotha was a place very much frequented by the people, being very near the city, the title was read by all sorts of eyes, both of those who had come out of curiosity and of those who were passing by. The Sanhedrists saw the derision which was contained in the title, and it angered them. Accordingly, they repaired to Pilate and asked him to change it to read: «He said that He was king of the Jews.» But Pilate had regained his courage by this time and once more manifested his firmness, and to their request he gave the harsh reply: «What I have written, I have written.»

¹ *Lightfoot* l. c. XXVII, 35.

² Ps. liii. 12.

³ According to Matthew, it read: «This is Jesus, the king of the Jews»; St. Mark has simply: «The king of the Jews»; and St. Luke: «This is the king of the Jews.»

4. *The Division of Jesus' Garments* (Mt. xxvii. 35, 36; Mk. xv. 24; Lk. xxiii. 34; Jn. xix. 23, 24). The Roman law allotted all the spoils that were taken from the victim's person to the executioners, and, according to this, the garments of Jesus became the property of the soldiers. The garments which fell to them were the head-dress, the girdle, the sandals, and the mantle (no. 248). These were divided into four parts, a part for each of the four soldiers, and they threw lots as to which was to fall to each. The tunic which was the work of either the mother of Jesus or of one of the women that ministered to Him during His public mission, was made like that of the priests¹, without seam, being one piece from top to bottom, and hence too costly to be divided into four quarters. For the possession of this the soldiers threw lots, thus realizing the prophecy: «They parted my garments amongst them; and upon my vesture they cast lots.»² When this was done they set themselves to keep guard near the Cross in order to prevent their victim from being abducted.

317. 5. *The Hour of the Crucifixion*. According to Jn. xix. 14, Jesus was condemned to death towards the sixth hour, that is, about mid-day. St. Mark, on the contrary (xv. 25), places the crucifixion toward the third hour, that is, at nine o'clock. This difficulty has been solved in two ways.

a) There are a number of Commentators who attribute the apparent contradiction to the *mistake of copyists* of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John. It was easy to fall into error here, since the slight change of γ (= 3) into ς (= 6) would have this result, that is if letters were used in place of numbers. If this were not the case, then a change of one syllable of $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\gamma$, into $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\tau\eta$, would alter the text materially. In favour of this position the opinion of several doctors of the Church has been urged, together with the reading of such MSS. as \aleph^o D supplement, LXΔ. But in view of the general agreement of the greater number of MSS. and all the versions with the present Greek text, this theory is hardly likely.

b) Others claim that the Jews divided their day into four quarters just as the Church does, into: prime, tierce, sext, none. Each of these divisions consisted of three hours, the hour of tierce lasting until the beginning of the hour of sext. In this case the crucifixion can be said to have taken place either at the third hour, as St. Mark has it, or towards the sixth, as St. John has it; for it took place during the time of tierce, almost at the beginning of sext.

IV. JESUS ON THE CROSS.

318. 1. *Insults offered to Jesus* (Mt. xxvii. 39—43; Mk. xv. 29—32; Lk. xxiii. 35—37). As Christ hung upon the cross, He was fully aware of, and felt all the humiliation He had been subjected to. Instead of arousing the sympathy and pity which is seldom denied the greatest criminals when in their last moments, especially if these be moments of extreme torture, He only stirred up a stream of insults of all shapes which were heaped upon Him from all sides. The curious, the mere passers-by, the soldiers, and the chief priests,

¹ *Jos.*, J. A. III, vii, 4.

² Ps. xxi (xxii). 19.

all contributed their share. The soldiers approached Jesus and said: «If Thou art the king of the Jews, save Thyself», and in wanton mockery held up to Him the cup of wine, thus parodying the cup of the royal feasts. This cup contained either the sour wine (*posca*) with which the Roman soldiers were always provided in their expeditions, or perhaps it might have been the soporific draught that Jesus refused to partake of just before He was affixed to the cross.

2. *The Two Thieves* (Mt. xxvii. 44; Mk. xv. 32; Lk. xxiii. 39—43). One of the robbers (*λῃσται*), irritated by his own anguish, now joined in insulting Jesus, saying: «Art Thou not the Christ? Save Thyself and save us.»¹ Filled with admiration at the patience, the holiness and the fortitude of Jesus, the other robber took up his defence and rebuked his companion, saying: «Dost thou not fear God? (Art thou then like this impious crowd), thou who art also crucified?» And as a confession of his own sins, he added: «As for us, it is only justice that we are crucified; for we have received just what we deserved for our crimes; but this man here has done no evil.» Then in a burst of faith, admirable to a degree, he sent forth this prayer to Jesus: «Lord, remember me, when Thou shalt come into Thy kingdom», that is, when Thou shalt come to the earth as the King-Messias; for it is very probable that the good thief made reference to the glorious return of which our Lord had frequently spoken to those most intimate with Him, and which he believed to be near.

The prayer of the good thief was answered immediately. «This day», came the reply, «thou shalt be with Me in Paradise.» This last word² is of Persian origin (*pardes*, *παράδεισος*, *paradisus*) and has various meanings in Sacred Scripture. Sometimes it refers to a garden, at others to the garden of Eden, sometimes it means heaven in the strict sense of the word, or limbo, whence it is equivalent to Jewish expression «the bosom of Abraham», the place where the just waited for the Messianic deliverance³. Here it must be taken in the last meaning; for Jesus, on the one hand, descended into limbo to bring the glad tidings to the souls that were confined there⁴, and on the other hand, He was not yet ready to ascend to His Father, and yet according to His own words, the good thief was to be with Him in Paradise on the very day of His death⁵.

¹ This is not the reading in the Vulgate, but it is the better reading.

² Cf. *Plummer*, St. Luke h. l.

³ Neh. ii. 8 (LXX); Ct. iv. 13; Eccl. ii. 5; Gen. ii. 8—10, 15, 16; iii. 1—3, 8—10; 2 Cor. xii. 4.

⁴ 1 Pet. iii. 19; iv. 6; no. 329.

⁵ Jn. xx. 17. *The Acts of Pilate* have given the names of these two thieves as Dusmas and Gestas, whilst the *Arabian Gospel of the Infancy* has named them Titus and Dumachus. The names Genas and Gestas have also been given them in another part of the *Acts of Pilate*. Cf. *Tischendorf*, *Evang. Apoc.* 193, 245, 308.

THE AGREEMENT OF THE SYNOPTICS. According to St. Matthew and St. Mark, both thieves insulted Jesus, which is in contradiction to St. Luke's account, which tells us that only one was guilty of blasphemy. Some have replied to this in claiming that at first both did insult our Lord, but that one touched by the admirable conduct of Jesus, was converted. Others suppose, and this is the better view, that the first two Evangelists grouped together the blasphemers by categories, the passers-by, the chief priests, and the crucified thieves, without giving any precise details or furnishing anything definite in regard to the case of each robber.

319. 3. *The Legacy of Jesus* (Jn. xix. 25—27). In the midst of the indifferent or openly hostile crowd, there was a small group of Jesus' friends who clung closely to His cross. In that group were Mary, the mother of Jesus, her sister or sister-in-law, ἡδελεφή, who was also called Mary and who was the wife or sister of Cleophas, then Mary Magdalen; and lastly, «the disciple whom Jesus loved», namely St. John (no. 104). These women had followed about with Jesus from Galilee, and had ministered to His needs¹. With undaunted heroism and with a fortitude greater even than her sorrow, Mary the mother of Jesus bravely bore up under the anguish that was eating her soul. Then was the prophecy, uttered long ago by Simeon, fully realized: «Thine own soul a sword shall pierce» (Tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius).

But even in the midst of all His sufferings, Jesus did not forget His mother. He saw the years of sorrow and loneliness that were to be hers, and He desired to soften their bitterness. Directing Himself to St. John, He said: «Woman (a respectful term in Biblical language, no. 241), behold thy son»; he shall bear toward thee the affection of a true and devoted son. Then addressing St. John, He added: «Behold thy mother»; give to her all that filial love dictates. Christ, who had pardoned His executioners, who had given Paradise to the good thief, now bestows upon His mother a son, and in turn gives that son a mother. From this moment, an expression which must be taken in a wide sense, St. John took Mary to his own home, at first in Jerusalem, and later, probably in Galilee; for St. John was a native of that province.

The opinion popular and almost universal, since 5 or 6 centuries, makes St. John in this scene the representative of all humanity, and from these words draws an argument in favour of the spiritual maternity of the Blessed Virgin. «Exegetical exactness, however, demands that we look upon this tradition as a touching adaptation which has no basis in the literal interpretation of the words of Jesus, and which is too late to bear any weight.» We have no record of the defenders of this opinion, before the 12. century, except Georges of Nicomedia (9. century) and perhaps Origen, who is not reckoned as one of the Fathers of the Church. It is possible, and even probable, that in the N. T. as well as in the Old, some passages have over and above their literal meaning

¹ Mt. xxvii. 55; Mk. xv. 41.

also a spiritual sense. But the existence of this must be proved in each particular instance. Anyhow the spiritual maternity of the Blessed Virgin, which no one denies, can be shown from other arguments.

V. THE DEATH OF JESUS.

320. 1. *The Last Moments of Jesus* (Mt. xxvii. 45—50; Mk. xv. 33—37; Lk. xxiii. 44—46; Jn. xix. 28—30). — **THE SHADOWS OF DARKNESS.** Whilst Jesus was suspended on the cross from the sixth to the ninth hour (from mid-day till 3 p.m.), the sun became darkened, and darkness covered the whole earth. The expression «the whole earth» may be understood as referring to that part of the earth upon which the sun was shining, or even only to Palestine or to Judea. The testimonies (Denis the Areopagite) which attempt to prove that darkness covered the Roman Empire at least, are apocryphal, obscure and of recent date.

This darkness was nature's manifestation of sorrow at her Lord's death, and is a figure both of the heinousness of the crime that was being committed at that moment, and also of the blindness of the Jews. Yet attempts have been made to explain this phenomenon as a natural eclipse of the sun. But this is impossible. The death of Jesus took place about the time of the full moon (14. of Nisan), and we all know that in this phase the moon is not, during the day, above the horizon, and hence is in such a position that it cannot come between the sun and the earth to form an eclipse. It is more than likely that it was a miraculous intervention which might be explained as a dark and heavy cloud which came between the sun and the earth, or a momentary obscuring of the transparence of the atmosphere.

THE ABANDONMENT OF JESUS. In addition to the tortures visited in all their vigour upon the physical nature of Jesus (no. 309), there were those agonies of the soul which He had to combat. As in Gethsemane, God the Father had withdrawn all His consolation in these awful moments, and the devil, who after the Temptation had retired for a time (Lk. iv. 13), redoubled his attacks. Thus it was towards the third hour that Jesus cried out in the excess of His misery: «*Eloi, Eloi, lamma sabacthani*, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?» Why have You permitted that I should be subjected to such horrible torments? Ps. xxi.

St. Matthew records the first words in their Hebrew form (Eli, Eli), to make it better understood what confusion was produced in the bystanders. The resemblance of the name (Elohi, Elijah) to that of Elias made some understand it as referring to this prophet, who was looked upon as the protector of the Israelites, especially in times of great stress. But it is just as likely that they understood well

enough what our Lord ment to say, and only seized upon this as another opportunity of deriding Him, and this is why they scornfully said: «Behold, He is calling upon Elias.»

321. THE THIRST OF JESUS. A short time after, the Lord, with the full realization that His work as the Messias was about to be consummated, cried out: «I thirst.» Thirst was brought on by the delirium of the fever that racked the system, and was one of the most excruciating pangs of those made to suffer the pains of crucifixion. Christ had suffered these pangs before this moment, but He cried out at this juncture because He wanted to fulfil the proph-



Fig. 61. Hyssop.

To the left with buds, in the middle with fruit, to the right with blossoms.

ecy: «Et in siti mea potaverunt me aceto.»¹ Near the cross there stood a vessel filled with vinegar, as the Gospel puts it, which was either the drink usually given those condemned to be crucified or was the sour wine which was used by the soldiers. One of the bystanders moved by pity, hurriedly took a sponge, dipped it in the vinegar, and fixing it upon a stem of hyssop² (Fig. 61; John), put it to the lips of Christ.

There where some however who did not want our Lord to receive even this slight favour, and they soon made known their ill will to the one that was charitably inclined. «Let be (do not give Him to drink) and see if Elias will come to save Him.» But the man replied (Mark): «Let me alone; it will give Him new strength, and then we shall see if Elias shall come the save Him.»

THE LAST WORDS AND THE DEATH OF JESUS. After taking the bitter draught offered to Him, Jesus cried out in the voice of a conqueror: «It is finished», the prophecies are fulfilled, and the work of Redemption is ended. Then again He broke out into a great cry: «Father, into Thy hands do I commend My spirit.» In these master words, which were not at all natural in the mouth of a dying man, words taken from Ps. xxx (xxxi). 6, He loudly proclaimed

¹ Ps. lxxviii (lxxix). 22.

² This plant was the species *Origanum maru*, which was quite common in Palestine and reached the height of from 3 to 4 feet. Its main stem was quite stout and bore all the rigid characteristics of the reed. The Synoptics in speaking simply of a reed, are using a vague term, and we prefer to accept the wording of St. John; for he was an eye-witness to the fact.

that to the last He maintained His power and His liberty, and that He still had the same filial trust in His Father. Forthwith He bowed His head, and died, *παρέδωκεν*, freely giving Himself up to His Father. All this occurred about the third hour. If our Lord had celebrated the Paschal feast a day ahead of the Jews (nos. 150 f.), then He died at the very hour that the Paschal was being immolated in the Temple.

322. 2. *The Miracles that followed the Death of Jesus* (Mt. xxvii. 51—54; Mk. xv. 38, 39; Lk. xxiii. 45, 47, 48). In her own particular way, nature showed her sorrow at the death of Jesus, the Son of God. In the sanctuary of the Jewish house of worship there hung two great veils of rich Oriental tapestry, one of which was suspended before the Holy Place and the other before the Holy of Holies¹. One of these veils was torn asunder, ripped from top to bottom. This was probably the one that hung before the Holy of Holies; for this miracle was a symbol of the abolition of the old law, especially prefigured under the image of the Holy of Holies in which the ark of the covenant reposed in the days of old. According to the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, the lintel of stone to which the veil was attached, was also broken².

The earth quaked, and rocks broke asunder. As late as the 4. century, St. Cyril of Jerusalem makes the observation that Golgotha «attests until this day how the rocks were broken for the sake of Christ»³. Moreover, even till the present day can be seen «a large fissure opened between the cross of our divine Lord and that of the thief, splitting transversely the veins with which the rock is seamed».

The graves of the dead were opened; for the rocking of the earth rolled away the stones that sealed them up (no. 326). The dead rose with their bodies (*corpora . . . surrexerunt*), and after the Resurrection they came into the Holy City and appeared to a great number of persons, as witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus. In all likelihood they were people who were not so very long dead; for being recognized by those who saw them, they could the better be witnesses of the Resurrection. We do not know what became of them, whether they remained upon earth and died again, or whether they went to heaven on the day of the Ascension with our Lord.

The centurion who had charge of the crucifixion and stood opposite to Jesus, and the soldiers who kept guard over the condemned, seeing the darkness and the shaking earth, and hearing the great cry of Jesus, were seized with a great fear, and then realized that they had taken part in the commission of a great crime. They said: «Truly this man was the Son of God.» They had heard the chief priests

¹ No. 137. *Jos.*, J. W. V, v, 4, 5.

² *St. Jerome*, In Matth. xxvii. 51.

³ *Cath.* XIII, 39: P. G. XXX, 819.

insulting their victim by deriding His Messianic pretensions and His divine filiation, and the events which they had seen take place, plainly told them on which side of the case the truth was.

A number of witnesses seeing these phenomena, left the precincts of Calvary, striking their breasts, at the same time expressing their fear and sorrow for having taken part in the death of Jesus. This was the prelude to the future conversions that were realized on the day of Pentecost. The order of events showed also that the chief priests were more hardened than the very rocks themselves; for the supernatural manifestation which they had witnessed tended only to blind their perverse souls the more, instead of giving them greater and better light.

323. 3. *The Friends of Jesus* (Mt. xxvii. 55, 56; Mk. xv. 40, 41; Lk. xxiii. 49). After their first fear, the friends of Jesus becoming once more collected grouped themselves on Calvary. All those of the immediate circle of Jesus were there, namely the Apostles and the women who had followed Jesus from Galilee. The Synoptics mention as being among these Mary Magdalen, Mary, the mother of James the Less, and also of Joseph or Joses, and lastly, Salome, the mother of the sons of Zebedee, John the Evangelist, and James the Greater. There is no mention made of Mary, the mother of Jesus, and there seems to be no reason for this silence. Broken-hearted by what she had seen, she had perhaps left Calvary and retired to the house of her adopted son; for as a matter of fact the scene of Christ's last legacy to John, related by him, had taken place some time before.

VI. THE BURIAL OF JESUS.

324. 1. *The «Crurifragium»* (Jn. xix. 31—37). With the Romans, the body of one crucified was allowed to remain upon the cross until it fell in decomposition or till it was eaten by wild beasts or birds of prey¹. The Jewish law, however, was different; for it exacted that the body of the condemned should be taken away before the setting of the sun². At this time there was a particular reason for the strict observance of the Law; for it was the day of *preparation*, the *Parasceve*. The eves of the Sabbaths were called by this name; for this was the day that all things had to be provided so that the next day would remain unbroken³. The approaching Sabbath which began with the setting of the sun on the evening of Friday, urged the Jews as much if not more than the law of Deuteronomy, to bury these bodies as quickly as possible.

¹ Hor., Ep. I, xvi, 48: *non pascas in cruce corvos*; Plaut., Miles glor. II, iv, 19.

² Deut. xxi. 23; Jos., J. W. IV, v, 2. ³ Lk. xxiii. 54; no. 152.

With this object in view, the most prominent of the Jews hurried to Pilate and asked him to have the limbs of the crucified broken and their bodies buried. Death by crucifixion was not a quick death, for the bleeding of the wounds would cease in a short time¹.

The object of the *crurifragium* was to hasten death and to make all attempts to revive the victim impossible, by extinguishing every spark of life.

Pilate readily listened to the request of the Jews and respected their scruples. By his orders, the soldiers (*οἱ στρατιῶται*) of whom mention has been made, broke the limbs of the two robbers probably with heavy mallets, but upon approaching Jesus they saw that He was already dead, and for this reason did not apply the *crurifragium*. Yet to make sure, one of them whom legend has named Longinus from the name of his weapon (*λόγχη*), drove a lance into the side of Jesus (*ἔνυξεν*, and not *ἤνοιξεν*, *aperuit*); he did so, either for wickedness, or in order to render the death of our Lord more certain, in every case. The lance which he used consisted of a long staff of wood armed with an iron head, as large as one's hand, which was oval in form and sloped gradually to a point. The wound it made was large enough to permit Thomas to put his hand into it². Old painters have depicted the wound on the right side, just as does the Ethiopic Version and the Gospel of Nicodemus or the Acts of Pilate.

Blood and water immediately issued from the wound. There is no question here of the *corpuscles* of the blood some of which are red and others white, nor of *serum* which contains a good deal of water; for despite the awful sufferings that our Saviour had been subjected to, decomposition could not have set in so soon. It seems that the lance broke the great blood vessels and also the veins that held the lymphatic liquid which contained a large percentage of water, however in small quantity in the region of the heart called the *pericardium*. It is hardly necessary to claim that a miracle took place, to explain the reason for the flowing of the blood and water from the side of Jesus. But be this all as it may, all exegetes admit that this incident as reported by St. John has a mystical import. Water and blood are representative of the two Sacraments, the efficacy of which had been, prior to this, emphasized in the fourth Gospel, namely, Baptism and the Eucharist. After having narrated the occurrence, St. John insists on his unimpeachable character as a narrator (verse 35), by making appeal to his authority as an eye-witness who was in a position to be well-informed and entirely sincere. «These things», says the Apostle, «were done that the Scripture (concerning the Paschal lamb which was a figure of

¹ *Eus.*, H. E. VIII, viii.

² *Jn.* xx. 27.

the Saviour) might be fulfilled: *You shall not break a bone of him.*»¹ Here also another prophecy, that of Zacharias, was accomplished, namely, that the Jews (at the time of their conversion) shall look upon the Messias whom they pierced, with faith, repentance and supplication².

325. 2. The Descent from the Cross (Mt. xxvii. 57—59; Mk. xv. 42—46; Lk. xxiii. 50—53; Jn. xix. 38—40). — **Joseph of Arimathea.** The death of Jesus which had produced kindlier and better thoughts in the mind of the centurion, the soldiers and the crowd, filled with courage the hearts of those who were secretly disciples of His. Among these was Joseph of Arimathea, a distinguished member of the Sanhedrin (*decurio*, *βουλευτής*)³, rich, upright, just towards other men, in fact everything that a member of the Sanhedrin should be. He had taken no part in the council that had condemned Jesus to death, nor did he share in any of their decisions in this case. He was a disciple of Jesus, although for fear of the Jews he had hidden this fact, and like the other disciples he was in expectation of the advent of the Messianic kingdom. Although a native of Arimathea, he took up his abode in Jerusalem probably because his duties made this imperative. At the Holy City he was in possession of a sepulchre. Arimathea is probably Rentis, to the north-east of Lydda.

Joseph's Request. Prior to this, filled with timidity because he feared to brave the hatred of his colleagues, he now threw all this aside and boldly repaired to Pilate and asked him for the body of Jesus; for evening had come and the Sabbath was near. The governor was astonished to learn that Jesus had died so soon; for he knew that crucifixion and even the *crurifragium* did not bring on death so quickly. In order to make himself sure on this point, he sent for the centurion. Receiving an affirmative answer from the latter, he gave permission for the burial of the body. The Jews never gave an honourable burial to dead criminals; for the prescription of the Talmud read: «Lapidatus non sepelitur in sepulcris maiorum suorum.»⁴ Pilate would have followed the Roman custom, which left the body upon the cross; Roman law, however, allowed the body to be given to the relatives and friends who requested its possession.

¹ Ex. xii. 46; Num. ix. 12.

² Zach. xii. 10.

³ Josephus calls the Sanhedrin *βουλή* and the members *ἄρχοντες*, *ἀρχιερεῖς*, *βουλευταί*. Cf. J. W. II, xv, 6; xvi, 2; xvii, 1.

⁴ Sanhed. VI, 5. *Lightfoot*, *Horae* . . . in Matth. XXVII, 58. Yet it cannot be shown that this custom was carried out in all its vigour in the time of our Lord. The Jewish law determined this much, that the dead body should not be allowed to remain upon the gibbet, but that it should be buried before the setting of the sun (Deut. xxi. 23).

Jesus taken from the Cross. The Embalmment. After receiving permission to have the body, Joseph bought a winding-sheet. Then with the aid of some of the disciples he reverently removed the dead body of His Master from the Cross. In the meantime, Nicodemus, one of the masters in Israel, a member of the Sanhedrin, and also a secret disciple of Jesus¹, came on the scene. As a testimony of his affection and his veneration, he brought with him «a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight»².

Joseph and Nicodemus then embalmed Jesus, according to the manner of the Jews. «Having closed the eyes and the mouth of the dead person, they washed the body, anointed it with perfumed spices and wrapped it in a sheet of white cloth». The Sacred Text also adds that Jesus was wrapped in linen. These cloths comprised the bands, *ὀθόνια*, which were wrapped around each of the members of the body separately³, the sheet, *συνδῆριον*, which covered the head⁴, and the shroud, *σινδών*, which was wrapped around the whole body⁵. Aromatics were then spread upon the body, on the cloths and even in the tomb itself, which explains why Nicodemus brought such a great quantity with him.

326. 3. The Sepulchre (Mt. xxvii. 60, 61; Mk. xv. 46, 47; Lk. xxiii. 53—56; Jn. xix. 41, 42). **General Remarks on Jewish Sepulchres.** Among the Jews, cemeteries, as we understand them, were only used for the burial of the poor and strangers⁶. Each Jewish family, if it could afford it, had its own burying place which was usually situated on its own property. The burial places were removed some distance from the dwelling place, laid off in some field, in some grotto or some hole in a rock. There were usually two compartments to all the Jewish sepulchres: a vestibule and the tomb proper. In the vestibule a hole was dug, which was covered with a slab, and in which they built on the sides and parallel with the walls wooden shelves or sometimes trough-like receptacles (*loculi*) which were intended for the reception of the body. Very often in order to have more room they dug perpendicularly, and the coffin or *kôkîm* was placed in this wise in the aperture, and covered with a stone. «The most common description of tomb is that in which a number of *kôkîm* are grouped together in one or more chambers of the same excavation. These, again, are in three varieties: a) a sepulchre consisting of a *natural cavern* in one of the softer strata of limestone, having *kôkîm* cut in its sides with their beds on a level with the floor, the mouths of these being closed by rough

¹ Jn. iii. 1 f., 10; vii. 50.² Aloes is a scented wood.³ Lk. xxiv. 12; Jn. xi. 44; xx. 7.⁴ Jn. xx. 7.⁵ Mt. xxvii. 59; Mk. xv. 46; Lk. xxiii. 53.⁶ 4 Kings xxiii. 6; Jer. xxvi. 23; Mt. xxvii. 7.

stone slabs, either made to fit close, or only resting against the perforated face of the rock. b) A sepulchre where a *square or oblong chamber* has been cut in the rock, and *kôkîm* ranged along three of its sides, their mouths closed by neatly dressed stone slabs fitting closely, the entrance to the chamber itself being by a low square opening, fitted with a slab in the same manner, or with a stone door turning on a socket hinge, and secured by bolts on the inside. In this kind of tomb there is usually a bench running in front of the *kôkîm*, and raised from 1 ft. 6 inch. to

3 ft. above the floor of the excavated chamber. c) A sepulchre in which one entrance leads into a number of chambers, each containing *kôkîm*. Such tombs generally have a sort of porch or vestibule hewn in the rock, the front of the roof being supported by pillars of natural rock surmounted by a frieze, and bearing other kinds of ornamentation. From this porch a low door leads into an antechamber, with or without tombs, from which access is obtained to the tomb chambers, all of which have raised benches running in front of the *kôkîm* openings. Some of the chambers have, instead of *kôkîm*, arched recesses (*arcosolia*) cut out in their sides, in which the body was laid, or perhaps a sarcophagus placed»¹ (Fig. 62).

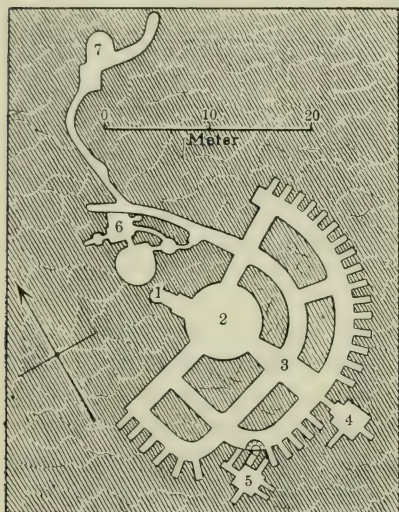


Fig. 62.

Plan of the Graves of the Prophets at Jerusalem.

1 Entrance of to-day. 2 Fore-Court. 3 Going to the two half-round Galleries, on the outer of which there are the Slide-graves. 4, 5, 6 Particular Grave-chambers, partly with Slide-graves. 7 Entrance of early times.

327. The Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea was dug in the rock and had never been used for the burial of any one. According to the testimony of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, like the usual burying place of the Jews, it comprised both a vestibule and what is called the tomb proper. When Constantine built the magnificent basilica (Fig. 63) upon its site, he unfortunately removed the vestibule and left only a portion of the tomb, so that it is impossible at the present day to reconstruct the anterior chamber². The entrance to the tomb was rather low, and to enter and see the dead it was necessary to be in a stooping position³.

¹ Nicol, art. Sepulchre, in HDB. IV, 456.

² Cyr., Catech. XIV, 9: P. G. XXXIII, 833.

³ Jn. xx. 5, 11.

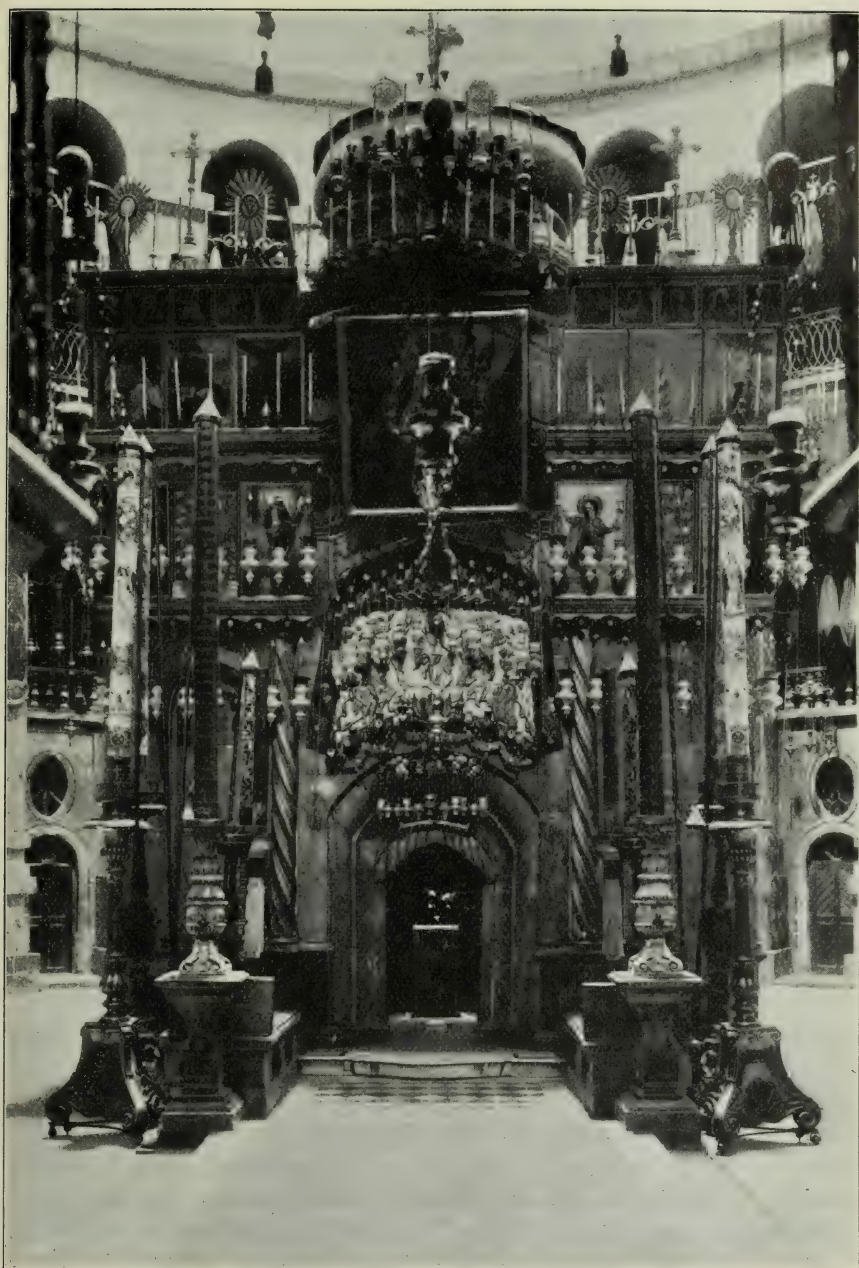


Fig. 63. The Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

328. The Burial of Jesus. It was in this tomb that Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus placed the body of Jesus. Then they closed the opening of the tomb proper by rolling a stone (Fig. 64)

which would be moved only with difficulty, thus securing it effectually ¹. The Son of God who had no cradle of His own at His birth, did not wish to have a tomb of His own at the time of His burial.

The holy women (Mary Magdalen, Mary the mother of James . . .) were «sitting over against the Sepulchre» (Matthew), determined not to be separated from their divine Friend. They looked (Mark, Luke) where He was laid; for they intended to return in a short time to complete the embalming process. Having left the Sepulchre, they prepared spices and ointments (Luke). This done they rested on



Fig. 64. Roller-stone in the Tomb of Mariamne at Jerusalem.
(Phot. Vester, Jerusalem.)

the Sabbath day in accordance with the Law, and did not finish their preparations till the next day (Mk. xvi).

329. 4. *The Guards of the Sepulchre* (Mt. xxvii. 62—66). The day following that of the day of *Preparation*, that is on the evening of Friday — for, according to Jewish custom, the day began with the setting of the sun — the chief priests, leaving no stone unturned, repaired to Pilate and requested that he place a guard for three days over the tomb of Jesus, whom they referred to as «that seducer», in order to prevent anything like a removal of the body which might

¹ Mt. xxvii. 60; xxviii. 2; Mk. xvi. 3, 4; Lk. xxiv. 2. For the reality of the burying of our Lord in an honourable sepulchre see no 348.

be twisted into a resurrection from the dead. Pilate, tired of all their importunities, curtly replied: ἔχετε κουστωδίαν, which might mean either: «You have a guard (indicative: *habetis*) at your disposal, namely the guard which preserves order in the Temple and its precincts»; or it may mean: «Take a guard (imperative: *habete*), your request is heard».

Satisfied with this reply they went to the tomb, sealed the stone that enclosed it, and placed a guard over it. This guard must have been composed of Roman soldiers; for, if the chief priests had desired to use their own employes as guards, the request they made to Pilate was useless. Besides, after the Resurrection, in bidding the soldiers to declare that the body of Jesus had been stolen while they slept, they assured these same guards' immunity from all punishment, promising to use their influence with the governor who would scarcely be interested in the conduct of Jewish watchmen.

Never had a man under sentence of death the honour of being guarded by a section of soldiers. Providence permitted all that in order to better establish the truth of the Resurrection.

5. *The Descent of Jesus into Hell.* While the body of our Saviour reposed in the tomb, His soul descended into limbo (hell) where the just who had died before Him were in waiting for His coming. The circumstances of this fact are veiled in mystery, but the fact itself is beyond dispute for all that. Rightly do we say in the Apostles' Creed: «He descended into hell, and the third day He rose again» (descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit); for not only does the Apostle Peter write: «The Gospel was also preached to the dead. . . . Jesus came to preach to those spirits that were in prison»¹, but the tradition of the Church on this point is as unwavering as it is categorical².

¹ 1 Pet. iv. 6; iii. 19.

² *St. Thom.*, S. th. 3^a, q. 52.

CHAPTER VII. THE TRIUMPH OF JESUS.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ¹.

330. 1. *The Harmony of the Gospel Accounts.* a) *Difficulties.* The Resurrection of our Lord, as well as His appearances after the Resurrection, are well-attested by our canonical Gospels, by St. Paul², and by the apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter, which was recently discovered, and which dates back somewhere between 110 and 130 A. D. But the difficulty does not lie in proofs for the fact, but rather in the reconciliation of the various accounts that these witnesses afford us. Every commentator and likewise every historian adopts a different method of reconciliation, so much so that among both Catholics and Protestants there are many who maintain that all attempts to harmonize the various texts must end in failure.

St. Luke and St. John in detailing *the vision that the holy women saw*, mention that there were two angels present³, while St. Matthew and St. Mark tell of but one⁴. The divergence extends even further. St. Luke represents them as standing before the holy women⁵, St. John picture them in the tomb, one sitting at the head and one at the feet⁶, «where the body of Jesus had been laid», whilst St. Matthew makes his angel to be seated upon the overturned stone⁷. Moreover, we have the testimony of St. Paul, who can claim to be the oldest historian of Christ on this as on many other points, enumerating the appearances in their chronological order, and yet he fails to give the same order and the same number as the other sacred historians⁸.

¹ Cf. *Lake*, The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ; *Latham*, The Risen Master; *Macan*, The Resurrection of Jesus Christ; *Milligan*, The Resurrection of our Lord; *Orr*, The Resurrection of Jesus; *Robinson*, Studies in the Resurrection of Christ, an Argument; *Svete*, The Appearances of our Lord after the Passion; *Case*, The Resurrection Faith of the First Disciples, in the American Journal of Theology (1909) 169—192; *MacKory*, Some Theories of our Lord's Resurrection, in the Irish Theological Quarterly (1909) 200—215; *Rose*, Studies on the Gospels 257—307; *Mangenot*, La Résurrection de Jésus; *Godet*, Comm. on St. Luke; *T. J. Thorburn*, The Resurrection narrations and modern Criticism, London 1910; see also the various Lives of Christ as also the New Testament theologies.

² 1 Cor. xv. 3—9.

³ Lk. xxiv. 1, 4; Jn. xx. 12.

⁴ Mt. xxviii. 5; Mk. xv. 5.

⁵ Lk. xxiv. 4.

⁶ Jn. xx. 12.

⁷ Mt. xxviii. 2.

⁸ 1 Cor xv. 3—9.

When we come to consider the *scenes in which these apparitions were made*, we find even greater disagreement. St. Paul and the Gospel of St. Peter do not mention the places where they took place. St. Matthew and St. Mark place them all in Galilee; for, according to their account, our Lord manifested Himself to the holy women, in order to deliver His message that the disciples precede Him into Galilee¹. St. Luke, on the other hand, places all the apparitions in and around Jerusalem and seems to know nothing of the appearances in Galilee; for he explicitly tells us that the Lord commanded that the disciples should not leave Jerusalem before they had received the Holy Ghost², that is before the day of Pentecost. Moreover, since the Ascension did not take place until 40 days after the Resurrection³, and since the Apostles left Jerusalem eight days or very soon after the Resurrection⁴, we have ample time for the occurrence of all the events detailed by the Evangelists, although it is quite difficult to harmonize all this with the statement of St. John that the Apostles returned to their former occupations⁵. This is why many Rationalistic critics maintain that the Gospel facts are the result of a double tradition, one of which took its origin in *Galilee*, and the other in *Jerusalem*, each independent of the other and scarcely brought into agreement. St. John unites them all, while St. Paul's account is prior to the formation of either tradition.

331. b) Solution. We have already given the general principles of solution⁶, and here we shall explain each difficulty in its proper place. For the time being it will suffice to keep in mind the following remarks:

The divergences are due to the fragmentary character of the accounts of the sacred writers; they are not greater here than in other parts of the Gospel, and they show but this that there may be accounts varying in details and circumstances which have reference to the very same fact. No one should expect that our Evangelists should give a complete exposition of all the facts together with a detailed enumeration of all the apparitions since they never made any pretensions to being so thorough, and we can safely say that the silence in one narrative does not prove the fallacy of a detail or a circumstance when found in another more complete. All of them, despite their various shades of difference in detail, are a unit as regards the attestation of the principal fact, the one only important one from an apologetical point of view. Even though the reality of the divergence in detail could be established, this would form no argument against the truth of the main fact. In any case their disagreement is but a testimony to their fidelity as historians and their utter sincerity. The existence of several distinct traditions, which were formed and developed gradually in such wise as to mutually oppose each other, is by no means an established fact.

¹ Mt. xxviii. 7, 10; Mk. xvi. 7. St. Mark reports, in the end of his account, apparitions at Jerusalem, but his authenticity is contested: nos. 48, 49.

² Lk. xxiv. 49.

³ Acts i. 3 f.

⁴ Jn. xx. 19.

⁵ xxi. 1—3.

⁶ Nos. 82 f.

St. John, who, it must be admitted, reproduces a tradition which aside from its truth can lay claim to being Apostolic, places, as does St. Luke, the first appearances in Judea, and likewise reports the apparitions in Galilee. St. Paul gives the apparitions in their chronological order, and gives them in proof of the reality of the Resurrection of Jesus¹. He says that *Christ rose on the third day and was seen by Peter and then by the twelve*. It appears that the first apparition took place on the day of the Resurrection, and therefore at Jerusalem; for the Apostles would require more time than two days to be within the confines of Galilee.

As a final remark, let it be noted that, as far as the details of the various accounts are concerned, they cannot be harmonized, although we can be certain of the order of the principal facts. Later we shall draw up a concordance of the Resurrection stories, but with this reservation.

332. 2. *The Object of the Resurrection of Jesus.* Jesus rose from the dead in order to fulfil the prophecies² uttered long ago, and in order to put His seal upon His work as the Messiah and at the same time to strengthen our faith; for He had declared that His rising from the dead was the main proof of His divine mission³. This is why the Apostles made this mystery the basis of their preaching⁴, and the reason why St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians: «If Christ be not risen again, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.»⁵ The Resurrection of Jesus shows in a striking manner that God has accepted the sacrifice of the cross in propitiation for the sins of mankind, and hence it becomes the seal of our own justification⁶. According to St. Paul it is the pledge of the resurrection of our bodies⁷, the figure of our spiritual resurrection⁸, the corner stone of the whole of our Christian faith.

I. THE DAY OF THE RESURRECTION.

I. THE MORNING OF THE RESURRECTION DAY.

333. 1. *The Holy Women at the Tomb* (Mt. xxviii. 1—4; Mk. xvi. 1—3; Lk. xxiv. 1, 2; Jn. xx. 1). The day after the Sabbath day (*vespere, ἡμέρῃ, autem sabbati quae lucescit in prima sabbati: in fine sabbati, lucescente die in prima die sabbati, sc. hebdomadis*), when

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 3—8. ² Lk. xxiv. 44.

³ Mt. xii. 39, 40; xvi. 4; xxvii. 62—64; Lk. xi. 29, 30; Jn. ii. 18—21.

⁴ Acts i. 22; ii. 24—32; vii. 55; xvii. 18, 31; Rom. vi. 5, 8; viii. 17; 1 Cor. xv. 4; 2 Cor. iv. 14; Eph. ii. 4—7; Phil. ii. 4—11; iii. 20, 21; 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12; 1 Pet. i. 3.

⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 14. ⁶ Rom. iv. 25; vi. 7, 8.

⁷ 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14; Rom. viii. 34; 1 Cor. vi. 14; xv. 12 ff.; 2 Cor. iv. 14.

⁸ Rom. vi. 3—6. See also Jn. v. 24; 1 Jn. iii. 14.

it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, Mary Magdalen, Mary the mother of James, Joanna the wife of Chusa, the steward of Herod¹, and other holy women, went to the Sepulchre in order to complete the embalment of Jesus. While they were on their way, they were asking themselves: «Who shall roll us back the stone from the door of the Sepulchre?» All during the Sabbath day they had been with each other, bound together by their mutual sorrow and grief, and hence they knew nothing of the guards nor of the fact that the stone had been sealed.

But, some time during the night, just at what moment no one will ever know, though quite likely it was toward morning, a slight earthquake shook the earth just as happened at the time of Christ's death. An angel descended from heaven, rolled the stone away from the tomb, and sat upon it as if keeping guard.

The countenance of the angel shone with a dazzling light, and his garments were as white as the driven snow. At this sight the guards trembled for fear, even as all deeply religious souls tremble in the presence of the supernatural, and they fell to the ground as if dead. The holy women saw the stone rolled back and concluded that some one had removed the body of Jesus. Mary Magdalen completely carried away by this thought made all haste back to Jerusalem to tell the Apostles what had occurred.

It is commonly held that the Lord left the tomb without disturbing the seals that were put upon it, just as, when He was born, He no way impaired the virginity of the Blessed Virgin, nor moved the doors (*ianuis clausis*) when He entered the Cenacle after His Resurrection. The stone was rolled back in order to show that the tomb was empty. Our Lord remained within the Sepulchre one whole day and parts of two others, and thus when He said that He would be in the tomb three days and three nights², He was speaking figuratively, by using the part for the whole.

2. *The Apparition of the Angel to the Holy Women and His Message* (Mt. xxviii. 5—7; Mk. xvi. 5—7; Lk. xxiv. 3—8). Whilst Mary Magdalen was hastening to the Holy City, the other women advanced towards the tomb and entering the vestibule of the Sepulchre, they noticed that the body of their Master had disappeared. They knew not what to think, when suddenly two men, that is two angels who had assumed human form³, appeared before them in dazzling garments, which were a symbol of the glory

¹ Lk. xxiv. 10; viii. 3. ² Mt. xx. 19; xxvii. 63, 64.

³ St. Luke and St. John speak of *two angels*, whilst St. Matthew and St. Mark speak of *but one*. Again according to St. Mark, the women came to the tomb, *orto iam sole*, whilst according to the other Evangelists it was *at dawn*. A general reply to these difficulties is that the sacred writers are giving only the *substance of the facts*. See no. 89.

of the Risen One. In the presence of this supernatural manifestation they became exceedingly frightened, and they cast themselves down in a reverential attitude.

The angels, however, reassured them and told them that just as He had predicted, the Saviour was risen from the dead¹. In order to convince them that what they said was true, the angels told them to «behold the place where they laid Him», which in other words meant: «See, the tomb is empty.» Then continuing: «Go tell His disciples and Peter that He is risen, and that He shall go before you into Galilee (where He wishes to establish the first circle of believers). There (far from His enemies, in calm and peace) you shall see Him as He told you.»²

334. 3. *Peter and John at the Sepulchre* (Jn. xx. 2—10; Lk. xxiv. 10). While the foregoing was happening, Mary Magdalen found the two Apostles, who were most devoted to our Lord, and at the same time the most intrepid of the whole band: Peter and John, «the beloved disciple», and told them that the enemies of Jesus had stolen the body³. Peter entered the Sepulchre first, saw the bands lying there and also the cloths that had been bound round the body of Jesus.

John then entered and saw what Peter had seen, and then he no longer believed the story that Mary Magdalen had told that the body had been stolen, for he had grasped the fact that Christ had really risen from the dead. Up to this time the disciples did not know that according to the Scripture⁴ Christ must rise from the dead, and hence remained incredulous. Peter himself was lost in astonishment at what had taken place. After verifying their impressions, the Apostles returned to their home.

335. 4. *The Apparition of Jesus to Mary Magdalen* (Mk. xvi. 9—11; Jn. xx. 11—18). Mary Magdalen came back to the

¹ Mt. xxvi. 32; Mk. xiv. 28; Lk. ix. 22, 44.

² These words do not argue against any appearance in Judea. It appears that Matthew alludes to these words of our Lord here in order to lead up to the appearances in Galilee which he preferred for his account, just as he chose to detail the ministry in Galilee. Consequently they should not be pressed too far. They could be translated thus: «We will report only the apparitions in Galilee; it is there that those apparitions took place which we will detail.» This explanation is not gratuitous: St. Matthew reports the visions that were granted the women at Jerusalem, and besides, when he says that *the eleven went to the mountain in Galilee which the Lord had fixed as a sort of meeting place* (xxiii. 16), he clearly alludes to a command that our Lord had given at Jerusalem after His apparitions there; for there is no reason to suppose that this command could have been given before the Passion. We do not consider St. Mark's account here, because the authenticity of this particular part of His Gospel is open to grave doubts.

³ St. John only mentions the visit of Mary Magdalen. The plural *nescimus* indicates that she was not alone even at this early hour.

⁴ Ps. xvi. 10; Is. liii. 10.

Sepulchre, and being of a more persevering nature than the Apostles stayed near the tomb, weeping all the while. Soon her love and constancy were to have their reward. She saw two angels, who in order to console her grief asked: «Woman, why weepest thou?» So occupied had she been in the thought of finding her Master that she showed no sign of feeling at this vision. Hence she replied simply: «Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.»

At these words she turned away in her agitation, desiring to pursue her search for Jesus. Then she saw a man standing before her whom she did not recognize, who said to her: «Woman, why weepest thou?» Mary, mistaking Him for the gardener, scarcely believing that any one but the gardener would be in this locality at such an early hour, replied, fully convinced that the body of Jesus had been taken away and as if the whole world were interested in her own preoccupations: «Sir, if thou hast taken Him (the corpse) hence, tell me where thou hast laid Him.» Jesus, for it was He, replied: «Mary!»¹

At the sound of this voice, this affectionate and familiar appeal, Magdalen was thrilled to the very depths of her soul. «It was not the name merely, but it was her name upon the lips of a loved one, embodying all memories, full of history and life.»² So overcome was she that she could utter only one word, but in the utterance of that word she put her whole soul: «Rabboni! רַבּוֹנִי, Master!» she cried. In her great joy she turned; for she had again faced the tomb, and threw herself at the feet of the Saviour to embrace them. «Do not touch Me, μή μου ἅπτου», Jesus said to her, «(do not embrace My feet); for I am not yet ascended to My Father». (I have not come to assume again the old earthly relations; My return to My Father shall take place later; or a better meaning is: It is useless to seek to detain Me; I shall be with you some time, for the hour of My Ascension is not yet come.)³ Then He entrusted to her, as a reward for her love, the message of His Resurrection, and charged her to tell the disciples: «I ascend to My Father and to your Father, to My God and to your God.» Mary delivered this message to the sorrowful and frightened disciples telling them that she had seen the Lord, and making known all the things that He had said to her; but the disciples would not believe her.

336. 5. The Apparition of Jesus to the Holy Women (Mt. xxviii. 8—10; Mk. xvi. 8; Lk. xxiv. 9—12). After the apparition

¹ Christ was unknown to Mary either because He made Himself so, or because He assumed a different form, as He did when He appeared to the disciples of Emmaus.

² *Le Camus*, *The Life of Christ* 421.

³ For a more detailed explanation of this text see the commentaries of Knabenbauer, Schanz, and Calmes.

of the angels, the holy women hastened away from the region of the Sepulchre and fled to Jerusalem, divided between fear (Matthew, Mark) and joy (Matthew). Because of their fright they at first said nothing of what had taken place (Mark). But their fear somewhat calmed; they recounted to the Apostles and to the disciples all that had taken place (Matthew, Luke). But still both Apostles and disciples remained incredulous.

In the morning or rather later in the day (the texts are not precise on this point), Jesus met the holy women, and said to them: «All hail», or rather He used the customary Jewish form of address: «Peace be to you», שְׁלוֹמָם לָכֶן. They approached Him reverently, seized the feet of the Saviour, and prostrated themselves in adoration. Our Lord who saw that they were filled with fear despite their joy, reassured them and bade them, as did the angels, to go and say to the Apostles to depart for Galilee, where they would see Him.

6. *The Lies of the Guards* (Mt. xxviii. 11—15). While the holy women were on their way to Jerusalem (πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν), the guards, overcoming their fear, went to the chief priests to tell them of the miraculous occurrences which they had witnessed. But these latter, lost in wickedness, would not see the truth, and their hatred withheld them from giving credence to the story of the guards. They, however, took counsel, and they did not hesitate to set on foot a new infamy. They imposed silence upon the guards, and commanded them to say that while they slept the disciples came and stole the body of Jesus.

In order to insure them against all punishment to which they would render themselves liable by this open confession of a breach of duty, the chief priests promised to make everything right before the governor, and to preserve them from all penalties. It was quite natural for these soldiers, who scarcely knew what scruple was, to fall in with the plans of the priests, and follow the instructions they had received. St. Justin adds that the members of the Sanhedrin sent emissaries on all sides to repeat the falsehood, and lend credence to the imposture¹. According to St. Matthew who is the sole narrator of this episode of the guards, this calumny was spread among the Jews, «even until this day», that is until the period in which the first Gospel was composed.

There is nothing here, as been supposed by Renan, A. Réville, Holtzmann and others, to show that this is a mere legend invented by the Church to refute the accusation of the Jews to the effect that the Apostles had stolen the body of Jesus. The authority of but one witness, as competent as St. Matthew surely was, is sufficient to guarantee the truth of such an important fact.

¹ Dialogue 108.

II. THE EVENING OF THE RESURRECTION DAY.

337. 1. *The disciples of Emmaus* (Mk. xvi. 12, 13; Lk. xxiv. 13—35). In the evening of the same day the episode of the two disciples of Emmaus took place. This episode is «one of the most beautiful and best coloured narrations of any language»¹.

Two disciples of Jesus, one of whom was named Cleophas (Cleopatros), and the other whose name is unknown despite the attempts to identify him with St. James, St. Peter, Nathanael, and even St. Luke himself, were on their way to Emmaus (Fig. 65).



Fig. 65. View of Emmaus (Kubeibeh). (Phot. Bonfils.)

Emmaus was a small town, about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, according to the best readings — though *s* I K N made it a 160 furlongs — that is about six miles. Its site cannot be determined with any degree of certainty at the present day. Despite the authority of St. Jerome², Eusebius and several others, it was not as they claim *Emmaus-Nicopolis*, which is 176 furlongs from Jerusalem, nor *Kolonieh* which is but thirty furlongs away, but rather one of the three following places: *Kubeibeh*, northwest of Kolonieh, or *Kiriet el-Anab*, to the west of Kolonieh, or *Hamosa*, between Kubeibeh and Kolonieh, because all three of these localities are about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem³.

Whilst pursuing their journey, the two travellers were conversing upon the incidents of the last days of Christ, of His Passion and His

¹ *Renan*, The Gospels 282.

² De situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum: P. L. XXIII, 896.

³ See art. Emmaus, in HDB., I.

Death. Jesus joined their company, appearing to them «in another shape», but they did not recognize Him. Then all three began speaking of the Resurrection and the tomb which that very morning was found empty. Drawing near to the town, our Lord «made as though He would go farther». But the two travellers pressed Him to remain with them; for evening was fast falling. He consented and went with them into a house. Now while He sat at table, Jesus took bread, and after having said grace according to the Jewish custom, He broke it and gave it to them. Immediately their eyes were opened, and they recognized Jesus. Jesus disappeared just as quickly. We do not know whether Christ consecrated the bread and thus made of it the Eucharist; for, although the expression *frangere panem* is the technical phrase for denoting the sacrament, it is nevertheless likewise true that it was customary at all Jewish meals to bless and break the bread before giving it to the guests to eat, and our Lord could attach the grace of illumination to ordinary food.

Despite the lateness of the hour, the travellers returned to Jerusalem. There they found the eleven and the disciples gathered together, and talking over the appearance that our Lord had granted to Simon Peter. This apparition is mentioned by St. Luke and St. Paul¹. In their turn the disciples of Emmaus told what had happened to them, but their hearers refused to credit their story.

338. 2. *The Apparition of Jesus in the Cenacle* (Mk. xvi. 14; Lk. xxiv. 36—43; Jn. xx. 19—23). a) **The Apparition.** Up to this time Christ had appeared to individuals only, but on the evening of the Resurrection day, He appeared to the infant Church in order to console its members and to strengthen its faith. The disciples of Emmaus were still speaking of their experience, when Jesus, despite the fact that the doors were closed because of the fear of the Jews, appeared in the midst of the Apostles, as suddenly as the angels had done, and addressed them with the usual salutation: «Peace be to you.»

Frightened by this sudden and unnatural entrance, the disciples thought they saw a spirit or a phantom which had assumed a visible form. Jesus made haste to re-assure them and at the same time reproached them for their incredulity in regard to His Resurrection (Mark, Luke). In order to prove His identity and to show the reality of His apparition, He showed them His feet, His hands and His side, inviting them all to approach, and touch them. In their great joy at this announcement, they wondered greatly, but yet did not believe: *Quae multum laeta sunt, vix credentur* (St. Augustine). He asked them if they had anything to eat, and when they had furnished food He ate before them. Unless we wish to deny the

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 5.

truth of the Resurrection, we must admit that the body of the Lord was a real body, the very one in which He had suffered and died, although it was in a supernatural and glorious state¹. Hence it is that St. Thomas teaches that our Lord really ate and drank on this occasion².

b) **The Power of the Keys.** In view of their future calling, Christ said to His Apostles: «As My Father hath sent Me, I also send you»; you continue in your mission, and even as I, you shall procure by your preaching and your works the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Then He breathed upon them, by this action, intensely symbolical, expressing the gift of the Holy Spirit which He communicated to them, at the same time saying: «Receive ye the Holy Ghost (which embodies not a promise, but an actuality)³. Whose sins you shall forgive (pardon), they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained (not pardoned).» The words, as used, contain no restriction whatsoever. The Apostles and their successors are really made the judges of souls. Upon them devolves the duty of judging, and since they cannot judge unless they have knowledge of the soul's state, the Council of Trent together with all theologians have rightly concluded that it is necessary to declare one's sins by confession⁴.

II. THE OCTAVE OF THE RESURRECTION.

339. 1. **The Incredulity of Thomas** (Jn. xx. 24, 25). Thomas was not with the others in the Cenacle when our Lord appeared on the night of His Resurrection. The disciples had insisted strongly, ἔλεγον, that they had seen the Lord, but yet he would not believe, and declared that he would remain incredulous unless he put his fingers into the wounded hands, and his hand into the wounded side of the Risen Saviour. This unreasoning unbelief served as a means of strengthening our faith, because its effect was to prove the reality of the appearances of our Lord in so effective a manner that there was no room for doubt.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 42—44.

² St. th. 3, q. 55, a. 6 ad 1.

³ And hence it was Pentecost in anticipation.

⁴ Conc. Trid. sess. XIV, can. 3. See also *St. Thom.*, *Evang. Ioan.* XX, iv, 5; *Bellarmin*, *De poenitentia* lib. 4; *Corluy*, *Comm. in S. Ioan.* 533; *Spicilegium* II, 438—444. The Holy Office in its session of July 3. and 4., 1907, condemned the following propositions: XLVI. Non adfuit in primitiva Ecclesia conceptus de christiano peccatore auctoritate Ecclesiae reconciliato; sed Ecclesia nonnisi admodum lente huiusmodi conceptui assuevit. Imo etiam postquam poenitentia tamquam Ecclesiae institutio agnita fuit, non appellabatur sacramenti nomine, eo quod haberetur ut sacramentum probrosum. XLVII. Verba Domini *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt* (Jn. xx. 22, 23) minime referuntur ad Sacramentum poenitentiae, quidquid Patribus Tridentinis asserere placuit.

2. *The Apparition of Jesus to Thomas* (Jn. xx. 26—29). Eight days after the Resurrection, the disciples were again gathered together in the Cenacle, and this time Thomas was with them. Before retiring into Galilee, as they had been commanded by the Saviour¹, they waited for the end of the Paschal celebration. Jesus made His entrance just as He did on the first occasion, whilst the doors were closed. He saluted Thomas, and taking him literally at his rash words, bade him place his hands in the wounds of His hands and side.

St. John does not tell us whether St. Thomas did as the Saviour bade him do. Yet fully impressed by the fact of the Resurrection, and the superhuman knowledge of Christ which enabled Him to cite his own very words and that without having previously heard them, he broke forth in a great cry of admiration, at the same time proclaiming the divinity of his Master: «My Lord and my God!» He was indeed the last to believe, yet in him faith attained to that height which is only approached by the words of the prologue of the fourth Gospel. Jesus accepted this confession, yet He could not leave Thomas without a gentle reproach. «Because», He said, «you have seen Me risen, you have believed (in My divinity, or in the miracle of the Resurrection). Blessed are they who do not see and yet believe.» This last expression has been rightly called the last beatitude, for it embodies all the others, and they in turn always presuppose it.

III. THE APPARITIONS OF JESUS IN GALILEE.

340. I. *The Apparition of Jesus on the Sea of Tiberias* (Jn. xxi). A. *Jesus and the Disciples* (I—14). After the Paschal celebration, the Apostles retreated into Galilee, and, whilst waiting the day of the Ascension and the time when they should begin their work of evangelization, they took up their old occupations for a few weeks. Hence it was that Peter, Thomas, Nathanael or Bartholomew², James the Greater, John, and two other disciples whose names are not given us, went forth to fish during the night, the most favourable time for this occupation. They had laboured long and not taken anything.

Towards morning, Jesus suddenly appeared on the bank, and remained unrecognized either because He had assumed a strange form, or because the distance or the shadows were so great as to make identification impossible. He asked them if they had anything to eat. Receiving a negative reply, He bade them cast their nets to the right of their ship; for He knew that a shoal of fishes was there. This invitation so definitely given, caused the Apostles to cast their nets, and their nets became so full that they could scarcely

¹ Mt. xxviii. 7; Mk. xvi. 7.

² No. 204 (notes).

draw them in. All in all they took 153 fishes. This miracle opened the eyes of John, who recognized the Lord, and he informed Peter of his discovery. This latter immediately cast aside his tunic, and leaped into the sea in order to get to the bank the quicker. At the time he was about 200 cubits from the shore¹.

Jesus lit a fire of coals, prepared the bread and broiled a fish. When the fishermen had come to land, He invited them to share in the meal, and He Himself served. St. John remarks that this was the third time that Jesus manifested Himself to *His disciples*. He does not take into account the appearance to Mary Magdalen, to Peter, or to the disciples of Emmaus, because they were vouchsafed to *individuals*.

341. B. Peter. a) HIS PRIMACY (15—17). After the meal had been eaten, Jesus asked Peter three times whether he loved Him more than the disciples present. He wanted to get a triple protestation of love so as to wipe out the blot of the triple denial, and to show at the same time that the pastoral ministry is an office of charity, and that the greater the place one occupies, the greater must be the zeal to be worthy of it and to meet all its requirements well. Peter thrice protests his love, yet he did not place it in comparison with that of his colleagues, as he had rashly done just before the Passion². As a recompense for his love, our Lord thrice made him the shepherd of His flock. «Feed, βόσκει (spiritually nourish), My lambs, ἀρνία; lead, ποιμαίνε (rule, govern), My sheep, or better *ovículas meas*, προβάτια (BC, πρόβατα); feed, βόσκει, My sheep, *ovículas meas*, προβάτια (ABC, πρόβατα).

From the solemnity of this scene and especially from the last words, it follows that Jesus really did confer upon Peter the primacy of jurisdiction. The words «Feed My sheep, My faithful ones» are sufficiently clear in themselves, and besides their meaning was fixed a long time in advance, at the time when Christ made His great promise to Peter: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam*³, and also at the time when He conferred a special mission upon Peter just on the eve of His Passion: *Confirma fratres tuos*⁴.

b) THE MARTYRDOM OF PETER (18—19^a). Our Lord revealed to Peter in what manner he would be called upon to manifest his affection and at the same time wipe out the stain of his threefold denial: «Amen, amen, I say to thee, when thou wast younger, thou didst gird thyself, and (like a strong and free man) didst walk where thou wouldst. But when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldst

¹ For a more complete exposition of this miracle see nos. 362 and 363.

² Mt. xxvi. 33.

³ Mt. xvi. 18, 19.

⁴ Lk. xxii. 32.

not.» «This is a description of the death which lay in store for the Apostle; it is to be presumed that the action of stretching forth the hands here denotes the crucifixion, and the girding signifies the bonds or the means by which the Apostle shall be attached to the cross.»¹ Besides, St. John explicitly tells us that our Lord was referring to the manner in which St. Peter should glorify God in his death, namely that he would die a martyr. Every one knows that he was later crucified, and that in an inverted position².

342. C. St. John (Jn. xxi. 19^b—23). Jesus again addressed Peter, resuming the conversational tone, and said to him: «Follow Me», follow Me in My example, reproduce My apostolic life and My death. Then Peter wanted to know what would become of John his friend. Jesus replied with a shade of annoyance: «If (ἐάν instead of *sic*) I will have him to remain (i. e. upon earth) till I come, what is it to thee? Follow thou Me.» The meaning of the words «till I come» have been variously explained by commentators: they refer it to the second coming of the Messias, or to the Parousia, or to the ruin of Jerusalem, or even to the time when the Church shall be founded on a solid foundation. Probably, there is here an intended ambiguity in order to keep from Peter, because of the indiscretion manifested in his query, the secret of John's death.

In any case this obscure reply gave rise to the rumour among the Christians (the brethren)³ that John would never die. The long life of the Apostle (no. 96) seemingly lent weight to this view, and hence the author of the fourth Gospel takes occasion to rectify all wrong impressions. He says plainly that «Jesus did not say that John would never die, but: If I will have him to remain till I come, what is it to thee?»

343. 2. Other Apparitions of Jesus. — a) THE APPEARANCE UPON A MOUNTAIN (Mt. xxviii. 16, 17). The eleven Apostles again saw Jesus in Galilee, this time upon a mountain which had been appointed a meeting place, when and where is not known. They fell down before Him in faith and love. There were a few among them that still doubted, not indeed the fact of the Resurrection, for they had sufficient proof of its reality, but rather the identity, especially in this one case, of Jesus, with the apparition. And we have already seen that in the appearance granted to Mary Magdalen, to the disciples of Emmaus, and the disciples on the shore of the Lake of Genesaret, these individuals did not immediately recognize their Master.

¹ *Calmes*, Évangile selon St. Jean 464.

² *Clem.*, 1 Cor. V, 4; *Orig.* in *Eus.*, H. E. III, 1; *Tert.*, Scorv. XV.

³ Acts ix. 30; xi. 1, 29; xv. 3, 22, 23.

b) THE APPEARANCE OF JESUS TO MORE THAN FIVE HUNDRED OF THE BRETHREN AND TO JAMES (1 Cor. xv. 5—8). Under other circumstances, perhaps in Galilee, the Saviour, who had appeared to Peter and the Apostles, «was seen by more than five hundred brethren at once, of whom many remain until this present, and some are fallen asleep. After that He was seen by James» (the Less). There were also other apparitions which the sacred writers take no account of. As a matter of fact our Lord showed Himself to His disciples for forty days, speaking to them of the kingdom of God¹. Christian faith and Christian piety leans strongly to the belief, despite the silence of the N. T. on this point, that Christ also manifested Himself to His Blessed Mother.

IV. THE LAST INSTRUCTIONS OF JESUS.

344. 1. *The Life of Jesus and the Prophecies* (Lk. xxiv. 44—46). Before the Ascension, Jesus gave His disciples some last instructions. As it is quite difficult to arrange them in any historical setting, we group them all together here. He tells them first of all that the events which took place during the last weeks of His life, namely His Passion, His Death and His Resurrection, had to occur necessarily in order that the prophecies embodied in the Law (the Pentateuch), in the Prophets (earlier and later), and the Psalms (the principal book of the Hagiographa) might be fulfilled. At the same time He imparts to them the power to understand the Scriptures, so much so that we can attribute to our Lord Himself a certain number of Messianic interpretations placed upon the words of the O. T. which were afterwards made by the Apostles.

2. *The Mission of the Apostles* (Mt. xxviii. 18—20^a; Mk. xvi. 15, 16; Lk. xxiv. 47, 48). In a solemn manner He also confers upon the Apostles their mission. «All power is given to Me in heaven and on earth (as Man-God, and hence in the kingdom of God considered in its widest range). In virtue of this authority (ergo), go into the whole world. Instruct all nations or rather make them disciples, μαθητεύσατε. When you shall have instructed them, baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. (But as a mere elementary instruction is not enough for the formation of a perfect Christian) teach them to observe all things that I have commanded you», both dogma and morals. This command was addressed to the Apostles and to their successors; for, since the Apostles could not in the Evangelical age, either by themselves or by their co-labourers, preach the Gospel in the whole world, our Lord promises to be with them at all times with His help, even until the end of the world.

¹ Acts. i. 3.

Although this text is read in the Gospel of St. Matthew alone, this is no reason why its authenticity should be denied.

a) As a matter of fact it is found in all the MSS., in all the versions, and is cited by a number of the writers of the Church. Exception must be made of Eusebius. Yet it was most likely Arian prejudices which influenced him to write simply: «Go, instruct all nations in My name, teaching them to observe, etc.»

b) The doctrine of the Trinity which is found here is not much developed and is found also in the accounts of the Baptism of our Saviour (Mt. iii. 16, 17), and in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (xiii, 13), and in the *Didache* (VII).

c) If this text is genuine, it might occasion surprise to find that the Apostles administered Baptism in the name of Jesus and did not use this formula. But what do we know of the manner in which Baptism was administered in the 1. century? The words «to baptize in the name of Jesus» might have been employed to draw the line of distinction between the Baptism that Jesus recommended and that which was adhered to by St. John the Baptist.

d) The universal tone which is found in the text does not and cannot form an objection to its authentic character. Long before this and on various occasions Christ made clear His intention of having the Gospel preached to all nations (nos. 504, 521). But even setting this aside and taking it from a merely historical point of view, it is very unlikely that all these words should be an invention of Christian consciousness. If the Apostles did not admit the Gentiles into the Church until after long deliberations, it must be ascribed to that narrow spirit which was their inheritance as devout Jews. Then again, if our Lord did command that the Gentiles be evangelized, He did not fix the time when this should begin.

345. 3. The Promise of the Holy Ghost and Perpetual Assistance (Mt. xxviii. 20^b; Lk. xxiv. 49). (In order to make your ministry fruitful), the Saviour adds, «I will send you Him whom the Father promised (promissum Patris), the Holy Spirit. But stay you in the city (Jerusalem), until you be endued¹ with the Holy Spirit, the power from on high (until Pentecost). This latter recommendation does not exclude the journey of the Apostles into Galilee after the Resurrection; for it was given, according to the more exact account of the Acts, near the time of the Ascension, and hence after the return of the Apostles into Judea².

In order to insure the Apostles against all fear and weakness, Christ continued: «Behold, I (the Risen and Immortal One, who have overcome all obstacles) am with you (and your successors) until the consummation of the world (saeculi). My love and My protection shall never be wanting to you.» The present: *Ecce vobiscum sum*, marks the unchangeableness of His design and the perpetuity of His grace.

4. Miraculous Powers granted the Disciples (Mk. xvi. 17, 18, 20). One of the last acts of the life of our Lord was to

¹ Rom. xiii. 14; Gal. iii. 27; Col. iii. 12; Eph. iv. 24.

² Acts i. 4—9.



Fig. 66. Mount Olivet seen from Jerusalem. (Phot. Bruno Hentschel, Leipsic.)

grant to His Apostles and to all who had faith, the power to work miracles (*gratiae gratis datae*, as it is put in theological terminology). St. Mark observes that the Apostles preached everywhere, and the Lord worked with them and confirmed their word with signs. The Acts of the Apostles¹ and the old Church writers² bear testimony to this statement, and the lives of the just and holy souls are also a witness to the fact that at the present day this order of things is not changed.

V. THE ASCENSION³.

(Mk. xvi. 19; Lk. xxiv. 50—53; Acts i. 4—12.)

346. I. *Date and Place.* The Ascension of our Lord took place upon the Mount of Olives (from the year 26 to 33 A. D.; Fig. 66)⁴, forty days after the Resurrection according to the Acts of the Apostles, which on this point are more accurate than the third Gospel. The day of the week was Thursday; for Jesus rose from the dead on Sunday, the day after the Sabbath.

Mount Olivet derived its name from the number of olive trees that grew upon it. It is situated to the east of Jerusalem, distant about «a Sabbath's journey», about 2000 cubits in all, or not quite a mile

¹ Acts ii. 1—4; iii. 1—8; vi. 15, 16; xvi. 18; xxviii. 1—6; 1 Cor. xii. xiv.

² *Iren.*, Adv. haer. II, xxxii, 4; *Eus.*, H. E. III, xxxix; *Tert.*, Ad Scap. IV.

³ *St. Thom.*, S. th. 3, q. 57, a. 1—7.

⁴ Nos. 154, 155.

from the city. The time that it took to get there, and the distance was that which the Pharisees allowed on every day of rest¹.

2. *The Mystery of the Ascension.* On a certain day when Jesus sat at table with His disciples (*συναλιζόμενος*), He bade them not go away from Jerusalem before the coming of the Holy Ghost².

He added: «All that you have heard from My mouth³, for John has baptized with water; but you will be baptized in the name of the Holy Ghost in a few days, and then your very souls will be penetrated with His truth.»

All this but tended to revive in the minds of the Apostles their dream of the restoration of the old Jewish monarchy. While they were gathered here for the last time, they asked their Master if the time had now come for the re-establishment of the kingdom of Israel. Instead of satisfying their impatient curiosity, the Saviour made them the promise of a power which up to this time was unknown: «It is not for you to know the times or moments, which the Father hath put in His own power. But when the Holy Spirit shall descend upon you, you then shall receive power, and you shall be witnesses unto Me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and even in Samaria, and also «to the uttermost parts of the earth».

Afterwards the small band directed its steps toward the Mount of Olives. There, Jesus raised His hands, blessed all those present, and while He was blessing them, was raised up to heaven before their eyes. Soon a cloud hid Him entirely from their view. And as they stood watching where He had disappeared, stunned by the thought that their revered Master was gone from them, two angels — St. Luke calls them *men* because of their outward appearance — appeared before them clothed in white garments, the sign of joy and the symbol of purity. They said to them: «Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking up to heaven? This Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come, as you have seen Him going into heaven» to judge all men (Mt. xxiv. 30). Consoled by these words the Apostles went back to Jerusalem, filled with a great joy. The Ascension was a natural consequence and a corollary of all the mysteries that had preceded it. By it the Lord broke the bonds of His enemies and opened the gates of heaven to the members of the heavenly kingdom⁴.

VI. THE REALITY OF THE APPARITIONS AND OF THE RESURRECTION.

347. The study of this question results in one thing at least, and that is that the disciples were firm in their belief that Jesus the

¹ Ex. xvi. 29.

² According to others, He gathered them together.

³ Mt. x. 19, 20; Mk. xiii. 11.

⁴ Eph. iv. 8.

Crucified rose corporally from the dead. According to the Rationalists themselves it would be «historically absurd» to imagine the contrary. All their life subsequent to this event, all that they taught, all that they braved, all that they suffered is sufficient attestation of this. It is the firm conviction that Christ had risen from the dead, that gave birth and formation to the infant Church. This being the case, all that we have to do here is to show that Christ really died, that His corpse received an honourable burial, that it was not stolen from the tomb, and that the Apostles saw the Risen Jesus not in fancy, but really and outwardly.

We propose to show, despite the contrary opinion maintained by several Rationalistic critics¹, that the Resurrection as a miracle can be directly substantiated by formal proof. Even though «Christ, risen from the dead, does not belong to the order of the present life which is that of sensible experience»², yet if He has been seen walking and eating, if He has been heard speaking, if He has been questioned and has in turn proposed questions, and lastly if He could be felt and touched, then the reality of His risen body must be accepted as being proven. Without doubt, «sensory impressions are not an adequate testimony to a purely supernatural reality»³; they do not comprehend all the mysteries of a supernatural being and its mode of existence, yet they do attest its presence and its sensible reality, and this is sufficient.

348. I. *The Reality of the Death of Jesus.* The German Rationalistic critics, like Paulus, Schleiermacher, Hase, Herder and others, maintain the opinion that Jesus was only in a swoon when He was taken down from the cross. The coolness of the Sepulchre together with the power of the perfume brought Him back to a state of consciousness. He left the tomb and fled to an unknown place where He ended His days. According to present day critics, even those imbued with Rationalistic tendencies, this explanation is looked upon as «a tissue of physical and moral improbabilities».

«From a physical point of view, we may safely place in the realm of the impossible, any explanation which would have us believe that a man already broken by fatigue, exhausted by harsh treatment, nailed to a cross for several hours, taken down, buried and left in a closed sepulchre, could be physically in condition to leave this tomb of himself some thirty-six hours later and immediately undertake journeys both long and short, all of which is supposed by the narratives that are engaging our attention. The crucifixion and the physiological effects that followed closely upon it are absolutely opposed to such a position.»

Moreover, «when one studies something of the character of Jesus and is in a position to appreciate His nobility, His candour, His courage and

¹ *Stauffer*, The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and *Loisy*, The Gospel and the Church 128 ff.

² *Loisy* l. c. 131.

³ *Ib.* 132.

the complete sacrifice which He made of Himself for the sake of His great mission, and when one views the moral impossibility of the situation to which He would be forced by obscuring Himself in silence and inactivity whilst His own chosen followers braved persecution and death, can one, with all these facts, picture Jesus leaving His disciples under the impression that He was risen from the dead when He Himself knew that He was not? Can one conceive of Him abandoning them to the hard trials which were their portion, in order to retire into an obscurity as needless as it was selfish — aye so carefully planned as to be tantamount to a voluntary desertion? All this would demand a series of events which from a psychological point of view is impossible.»¹

Besides, the Gospel is so formal on this point, that it is scarcely worth while to insist any further upon it. It will be sufficient to recall the bitter hatred of the Sanhedrists which would have never permitted their victim to escape, as also the *crurifragium*, the thrust of the lance which opened the side of Jesus, the embalment, etc. all of which prove that Christ really died.

Every one, both friends and enemies, believed that the divine Sufferer had died, and it is extremely improbable that all could have been in error on this point.

II. The Burial of Jesus in the Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea. — Errors. Loisy² denies this fact and is of the opinion that the field of blood, by its very name, indicates «the place where they cast the dead bodies of condemned criminals»; and, as the incredulous Jews believed, «the dead body of Jesus was left there». Further, he supposes that the body of Jesus was «buried in a sort of common grave». The history of Joseph of Arimathea and of the empty tomb was a product of the imagination of the early Christians manufactured to obviate the assertions of the Jews.

The main reasons alleged by Loisy are the following³:

a) Not one Apostle «is any way associated with this work of charity (the burial of Jesus). Joseph of Arimathea himself appears but in this passage of the Gospel history, and he has no part in the authentic memoirs relative to the organization of the primitive Church.»

b) «The awkwardness of the indications» in regard to Joseph of Arimathea is sufficient to show the embarrassment of the Evangelists.

c) «The indications of Mark are extremely vague: he introduces the story of the sepulchre in order to have Jesus risen from it in some way.»

d) «Matthew is alone in saying, perhaps alone in supposing that the sepulchre was that of Joseph» ... «The presence of the guards is passed over completely by Mark, Luke and John.»

Refutation. The four Gospels are in unanimous agreement in attesting the fact of the burial of Jesus in a particular tomb. Now, it is hard to conceive how the early Christians who were quite numerous in Jerusalem would not be in possession of information on

¹ A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth* II, 455—463.

² Les Évangiles synoptiques I, 223; II, 628, 701 ff.

³ Others that he brings forward have been indirectly answered in the treatment of the narratives of the Resurrection.

so important a fact as the Resurrection of Jesus. Moreover their testimony is confirmed by St. Paul. About the year 57 or 58 this Apostle is witness to the fact that Christ *was buried*, and he observes that he is delivering unto the Corinthians that which he had already preached and that which he himself had received by tradition¹. Now the word which he makes use of, is never, in the N. T. writings, employed in any other sense than in reference to an honourable burial. It is well to observe here that St. Paul wrote: «Christ died and was buried according to the Scriptures», and that here he was mainly interested in the theology of the question. Yet it is by no means certain that the words «according to the Scriptures» have any reference to the clause «he was buried». The construction of the phrase: *et quia sepultus est et quia resurrexit*, is rather suggestive of the contrary view. In any case, the substantiation of a fact by an appeal to prophecy is by no means incompatible with historical truth.

The grave of Jesus is expressly mentioned in one passage of the Acts, namely xiii. 29. In another passage of the same book, St. Peter makes a probable allusion to it. If this Apostle mentions the tomb of David and compares the Resurrection of Jesus to the fact that David did not rise from the dead, it is because he was conscious of the fact that Jesus was buried in a private tomb and not in a common pit. Again, St. Peter had need, not more than St. Paul, to employ all the proofs of the Resurrection and consequently must have spoken of the empty tomb.

a) The passion and death of Jesus were a source of great discouragement for the Apostles, but it does not follow that not one disciple became re-assured until the last moment. We do not know why Joseph of Arimathea does not re-appear in history. It might be that he occupied too unimportant a position in early Church to merit further mention, or it may be that he died soon after the occurrence of these events. The term «field of blood» finds its natural explanation in the traditional position².

b) The four Gospels agree as to the substance of their narratives. The divergence that do exist are those which generally appear in the narrative of the same event by various persons. As much as they place these divergences in detail in relief, so much the more do they afford striking testimony of the fact that Christ received an honourable burial.

c) As a matter of fact, the indications afforded by St. Mark are very precise in nature, xv. 42—47.

d) It is a violation of all the rules of sane criticism to deny the existence of a fact on the sole ground that it rests on the authority of but one witness.

349. III. *The Body of Jesus in the Tomb.* It must be admitted as certain that on Sunday morning after the death of Jesus, His body was no longer in the tomb, otherwise the faith of the holy women and the disciples in the Resurrection could find no explanation. No one would assert that the disciples before admitting a miracle of

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 3—5.

² See no. 294.

such a stupendous character, would not have made the fullest investigation at the tomb. In any case, the Sanhedrists would not have failed to make all possible inquiries so as to be able to give, if possible, an unanswerable denial to the pretensions of the Galileans that their Master had risen from the dead. Over and above this the four Evangelists record the visit of the holy women to the empty grave, and this fact clearly supposes a tradition which must be regarded as certain.

The denial of the reality of the Resurrection supposes the admission of a number of improbabilities in order to explain the disappearance of the body of Jesus. Leaving aside for the time being the data that the guards and the seal placed on the grave afford us (no. 329), it must be admitted that the *disciples* did not steal the body of Jesus from the tomb. «When one knows the state of mind of the Apostles on the day that followed the events of the Passion, their profound discouragement, their first hesitancy in accepting the story of the women who detailed for them the wonderful happenings at the tomb, not for one moment is it the least probable that they had plotted to steal away the body of their Master.»¹ What reason would they have for so doing? Had not their friend received an honourable burial? And if they have stolen away the body, how can they believe that He has risen? Lastly, the fact that the bands were rolled together and folded neatly in the tomb (no. 334), argues that the victim had wakened from a peaceful sleep, rather than that a sudden removal of His body had taken place.

It has been alleged that the Sanhedrists carried the body of Jesus away, because «the fact of His burial in an honourable sepulchre was highly displeasing to them», and because they feared «that the sepulchre would become a place of reunion or a place of pilgrimage for the partisans of the Prophet of Galilee»². «Nothing can be cited to support this hypothesis; not an act, not a text, not an allusion, however fleeting, appears to give a degree of value to it. It is gratuitous in the strongest sense of the word. More than that, it is in the highest degree improbable; for it would have been singularly maladroit of the high priest to take the trouble, of his own motion, to furnish the Apostles with any reason for believing in the Resurrection.»³ Finally, had such a removal taken place, it could not explain the faith in the Resurrection⁴.

We have not time to examine the position of J. Holtzmann who supposes that *Joseph of Arimathea*, after the Sabbath had passed,

¹ *A. Réville*, *Jésus de Nazareth* II, 459.

² This is the position of *A. Réville* l. c. II, 460—463, and *Le Roy*, *Dogme et Critique* 189 ff., thinks that «it is defensible».

³ *Stauffer*, *The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ* 229, 230.

⁴ See no. 351.

came to the tomb, removed the body of Jesus and carried it, unknown to the whole world, to Arimathea, two leagues from Jerusalem, and that in the meanwhile he died or went to live in another land. This explanation does not rise above the romantic, and is contradicted by all the Gospel texts.

350. IV. *The Reality of the Apparitions of Jesus.* —

A. Proof. — **I. THE DATA.** The majority of the apparitions are attested by several authors who are independent one from the other, namely St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, St. John, St. Paul, and even the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Now *St. Matthew* and *St. John* were witnesses of several of the apparitions. St. Mark reproduced the preaching of St. Peter (no. 47), and although he omits the appearance accorded this Apostle, we must remember that the ending of his Gospel, xvi. 9—20, has not been exactly reconstructed, and it may have well contained this detail (no. 49). Many critics maintain, as we know, that the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel is an addition due to the early Church. But even granting this hypothesis, it is not without value in the present discussion; for it contains a resume of the Gospel of St. Luke and that of St. John, and hence attests the authority with which the early Church clothed these accounts. As regards *St. Luke*, he, in all probability, drew his information in regard to the passion and the apparition of Jesus from Joanna, the wife of Chusa, one of the attendants of Herod; for he mentions her name among the women who went to the sepulchre, and shows himself particularly informed in regard to the court of Herod Antipas¹.

The testimony of *St. Paul* has a value all its own. Somewhere about the years 57—58, he brings back to the minds of the Corinthians the teaching which they had received from him, in 52 or 53 A. D., in regard to the apparitions of the risen Jesus², and also that he himself had *received* it, probably from the Apostles, some three years after his conversion³. Now his conversion took place about four or five years after the death of Jesus, or, as several scholars maintain, in the very year that Jesus died, or the year following.

St. Paul mentions but five apparitions, yet he does not exclude the others; for he seems to select only those for detailing which in some way were favourable to the future preachers of the Resurrection⁴. The Epistles to the Thessalonians, the oldest books of the N. T., affirm the Resurrection of Jesus, and upon this fact base our future resurrection⁵. Then again, according to the Acts, the Apostles, from the very beginning of the Church as a society, preached the doctrine of the Resurrection of Jesus over and above any other

¹ Lk. viii. 3; xxiii. 7—12; xxiv. 10.

² 1 Cor. xv. 1—9.

³ Gal. i. 18.

⁴ Acts i. 22; iv. 33; 1 Cor. xv. 15.

⁵ 1 Thess. i. 10; iv. 13, 14.

teaching¹, and, what is quite remarkable, there was not one heretic that called the dogma into question².

2. THE NUMBER OF THE APPARITIONS. There are twelve appearances that have been preserved for us in the N. T., namely; one to Mary Magdalen (Mark, John), one to the holy women (Matthew), one to the disciples of Emmaus (Mark, Luke), one to St. Peter (Luke, Paul), one to the Apostles on the night of the Resurrection, as they were gathered together in the Cenacle (Luke, John, Mark, Paul), one to the Apostles on the octave of the Resurrection (John), one to the seven disciples on the shores of the Sea of Galilee (John), one to the Apostles upon a mountain in Galilee (Matthew), one to more than 500 of the brethren (Paul), one to James (Paul, Gospel according to the Hebrews)³, one to the disciples on the day of the ascension (Luke, Mark, Paul who always supposes the glorified Christ in his accounts), one to Paul on the road to Damascus (Luke, Acts ix, xxii. xxvi; Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 8). The notice of St. Luke that Christ appeared to His Apostles during the forty days, seems to insinuate that the appearances were rather frequent⁴.

3. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE APPARITIONS OF JESUS. The circumstances which surrounded the apparitions of Jesus were of such a nature as to preclude all doubt as to their reality. Magdalen saw the risen Saviour and heard His voice; the holy women embraced His feet; the disciples of Emmaus spoke with Him, walked with Him, and ate with Him; He showed His pierced hands and feet and His open side in the Cenacle, and spoke and ate with His disciples; on the shores of the Sea of Galilee He did the same; He told Thomas to put his fingers in His wounds and his hand in His side, and not to be incredulous; every one is asked to behold that He was not a phantom, to touch Him and to feel Him; «for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see Me to have»⁵. Of course it has been asserted that all these indications are purely subjective, greatly magnified, altered and *materialized* by legend for an apologetical purpose, but these assertions which are wholly gratuitous suppose the problem already solved. In the course of this discussion we shall attempt to show their fallacy.

351. B. Rationalistic Explanation of the Resurrection of Jesus. During the 19. century, various attempts were made by those imbued with Rationalistic principles, to explain the faith of the early Church in the Resurrection of Jesus, without admitting the fact of the Resurrection. Many of these explanations have been

¹ Acts i. 22; iv. 33. ² *Iren.*, Adv. haer. I, xxvi, 1, 2.

³ No. 32; *Hier.*, De vir. ill, II: P. L. XXIII, 611, 613.

⁴ Acts i. 3.

⁵ Lk. xxiv. 39.

abandoned. But two theories hold sway at the present time, and they are the theory of hallucination, and the theory of pneumatic vision.

a) **The Theory of Hallucination.** — 1. STATEMENT OF THE THEORY. This theory which is held, with more or less difference in detail, by Strauss, Renan, Pfeiderer, A. Réville . . . , maintains that on the morning of the Sunday after the crucifixion the tomb of our Lord was empty. Deceived by its intense love and by the Messianic hope which were, for a time eclipsed, only to rise to new life at the sight of the empty tomb, «the little Christian society wrought the veritable miracle; it resurrected Jesus in its heart, because of the intense love that it bore Him»¹. «The strong imagination of Mary Magdalen played in this circumstance an important part. The passion of one *hallucinated* gave to the world a resuscitated God.»² «The different scenes of the Resurrection must be described as the outcome of ecstasies, which possessed for those who participated in them, all the value of external reality. A disinterested spectator, an enemy or one who was totally indifferent, would have seen nothing.»³

Meyer makes the apparition of our Lord to St. Paul on the road to Damascus the starting point of his explanation. This Apostle was a genius in every sense of the word, and at the same time was afflicted with some malady. He firmly believed that he had seen the living and glorious Christ: the Master in all probability under the form of an ethereal phantom appeared to him with a luminous body, which differed essentially from the body that had been placed in the tomb. In fact this body is of the same nature as ours shall be when we rise from the dead, and we know that our bodies shall be spiritual; for flesh and blood cannot enter the kingdom of heaven⁴. At the time that St. Paul wrote, there was little discussion as regards the re-animation of the body. The so-called vision of the Apostle, at its basis, lay in his subconsciousness, in the subliminal consciousness, in that mysterious region where the highest and most extraordinary phenomena of our religious and mystic life work themselves out slowly and gradually.

The apparitions which were accorded to the other Apostles and to the holy women were of the same nature, and had either the same object or the same cause; for St. Paul places them all in the same category⁵. It was not long before legend began to play its part. The various elements were amplified, so that from a simple substratum we had our present Gospel accounts, especially the fact

¹ *Renan*, The Apostles 3. ² *Renan*, Life of Jesus 328.

³ *A. Réville*, Jésus de Nazareth II, 453—478.

⁴ Phil. iii. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 44, 50. ⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 3—9.

of the re-animation of the body. The Apostles, who were Jews and believed in the resurrection of the flesh, made the mistake of identifying the glorious body of Christ which they thought they saw, with the body that had been placed in the sepulchre.

2. REFUTATION. This explanation rests on a denial of all miracles (no. 14), especially that of the Resurrection, «a miracle of such magnitude, the reality of which the reasoning of our day deems incapable of admission. The idea of the real resurrection of a real corpse», says a well-known Rationalist, «cannot be subscribed to, except in a period of history and by men who were not in possession of the physiological data which since then have been placed at our disposal»¹.

This theory of hallucination is refuted by both psychology and history. Neither the disciples, nor the holy women expected the miraculous return of Jesus to life. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea embalmed their Master and covered the opening of His tomb with a large stone². The holy women journeyed to the sepulchre on Sunday morning to complete the work of embalment³, and, as has been said, «no one would embalm a body whose resurrection to life was expected to occur at any moment». Magdalen who has been given the honour of inventing the story of the Resurrection, believed when she saw the empty tomb, that the body had been stolen⁴. When the holy women announced the fact of the Resurrection, the Apostles looked upon their speech as that of those who had been dreaming, and they consequently refused to credit their experience⁵. The disciples of Emmaus were so cast down that our Lord asked them the reason for their sorrow⁶. St. Thomas refused to believe unless he saw the wounds of his Master⁷. At first, the disciples and the holy women failed to recognize their Master⁸. With all these facts, even granting that «expectation begets its object», it is not at all possible that the disciples could only have imagined that they saw Jesus, and thus could have created His material presence.

The theory that St. Paul laboured under a hallucination is in direct contradiction to history of the most authentic nature.

This Apostle never denied that the glorious body possessed something of the material. As a matter of fact, he expressly teaches that our mortal and corruptible bodies shall be transformed and subsist after the resurrection, clothed, however, with immortality and incorruptibility⁹. If he says that they shall be «spiritual» and shall no longer be «neither flesh nor blood», he means that they shall no

¹ *A. Réville* l. c. II, 453, 454.

² Lk. xxiii. 51—53; Mk. xv. 46.

³ Mk. xvi. 1; Lk. xxiv. 1.

⁴ Jn. xx. 1, 2.

⁵ Lk. xxiv. 11.

⁶ Lk. xxiv. 17.

⁷ Jn. xx. 25.

⁸ Jn. xx. 11 f.; Lk. xxiv. 37.

⁹ 1 Cor. xv. 35—54.

longer be an obstacle to the spiritual and the higher life of man. Moreover, in the passage in which St. Paul is speaking of the Resurrection of Christ¹, the structure of the phrases clearly shows that the same Christ who died and was buried is the Christ that rose from the dead and the Christ that he himself saw.

352. 3. OBJECTIONS. At this particular time, under the influence of the prevalent Jewish beliefs it was not very hard to express a belief in resurrection from the dead². The re-awakening of the confidence and the faith of the disciples, at the sight of the empty tomb, could have produced the miracle of the Resurrection, and as a matter of fact did produce it³.

No one will deny that under the circumstances a re-awakening of the disciples' faith was possible. And it may also be granted that persons afflicted with nervousness are subject to hallucinations, imagine that they see objects and hear sounds which really do not exist. But, when a great number of persons, with no nervous disorder, perfectly sane, are influenced by the same hallucination, not once, but several times, then we must admit that we are in the presence of an experience and an example that has no parallel. We have said that the witnesses of the fact of the Resurrection were numerous and were sound both in mind and body.

Examples which show the effects of epidemic diseases which produce convulsions (as the St. Guy's dance and the spasms of St. Medard), and the hallucinations of the Camisards, who were persecuted in the reign of Louis XIV., under the influence of which they heard roll of drums and the chant of Psalms, have been cited, in order to show what effect the imagination can produce. «The history of all great religious crises prove that these kinds of visions become contagious.» We admit that a collective hallucination is real and can communicate itself to others. But the examples that have been brought forward only «serve to place the contrast between the actual state of hyperexcitation noticeable in cases above cited, and the calm, cool, serious, practical tone and the perfect good order of the Apostolic Church, in a better light. There is no community which appears less ignorant and less fanatical, than the Apostolic Church. It seems that the great calmness of Jesus pervades the Apostles and the faithful. Everybody knows what the symptoms of hyperexcitation are, the cries, the groans, the cramps, the fainting fits which are found present so often in the so-called revivals. But there is no trace of such phenomena in the Church on the day of Pentecost.»⁴

The example of the Camisards is not at all like the communications of our Lord with the Apostles and the holy women. The Apostles saw Jesus, spoke to Him and ate with Him; the apparitions took place in full daylight on several occasions; and the conversations which were held were by no means short and always had a definite object (nos. 333 f.). Lastly, if the Apostolic hallucinations were due to a feverish and contagious enthusiasm, these visions should not have stopped all of a sudden. During the time that the apparitions were seen, we find a remarkable gradation: first of all they were vouchsafed to individuals (Mary Magdalen, Peter, and the disciples of Emmaus), and then to an assembly of persons (10, 11, 7, 500). Then too, when the disciples dispersed and came in contact with

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 3—8.

² Mk. vi. 14; Mt. xvi. 14; xxvii. 52; Apoc. xi. 3—12.

³ A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth* II, 473, 474, 464, 465.

⁴ Godet, *Comm. s. St. Luc* II³, 592.

other people, they should, if they were afflicted with some nervous disease, have caused others also to become infected. But we know that after the Ascension the apparitions ceased abruptly, or rather, they were accorded to no one, except St. Paul and that on the occasion of his miraculous conversion. «In view of this fact, it becomes evident that an external cause influenced all these outward manifestations, and that, the cause failing to act, the phenomena came to an end.»¹

In order to prove that the witnesses of the Resurrection were in a state of exaltation, appeal is made to those incidents in which «the Apostles saw Jesus walking on the waves, or when they saw Him transfigured into a celestial being, emitting a dazzling brightness, and conversing with Moses and Elias», as also to the happenings on Pentecost Sunday, to the *gift of tongues* which played such an important part in the Apostolic era, to the ecstasy of St. Peter at Cæsarea², and to the numerous visions of St. Paul³. But all this rests on a gratuitous assumption, since these phenomena are ascribed to a too lively imagination or to a diseased state of mind simply because miracles are rejected *a priori*, and further since these very incidents are made to be of the same nature as the apparitions in the Resurrection.

353. b) The Theory of Pneumatic or Spiritual Vision. —

1. STATEMENT OF THE THEORY. The body of Jesus did not rise from the tomb; what really did become of it is not known. The apparitions were real, but must be attributed to the realm of the psychological, and inward experience. «To use the language of the schools, the Resurrection of Jesus was at once objective and subjective. Objective; for 'it pleased God' to procure it: It was not the Apostles who created the vision of the Risen Lord, it was God who raised His Son. Subjective, because it was 'in them', in His Apostles, that it pleased God to reveal His Risen Son. The passage, Gal. i. 15, is of inexorable clearness in this respect.»⁴ The witnesses of the apparitions saw with the eyes of their soul, not the flesh in which Christ had lived and which was endowed with life again, but a spiritual and celestial body, entirely detached from a material and earthly body.

«Paul saw no difference between the appearance to the Twelve and the one with which he had been favoured; quite the contrary he treats them all as precisely the same.» «He was convinced that Jesus had really appeared to him. But it was not the material body of Jesus of Nazareth that had been shown him; God had revealed Jesus Christ 'in him'. He says this in the most explicit manner and without opening a possibility of attributing another meaning to the term of which he makes use» (Gal. i. 15)⁵.

2. REFUTATION. This system is not as erroneous as the system of hallucinations. Nevertheless it is contrary to the Gospel accounts,

¹ Godet, Comm. on St. John III, 658.

² Acts x. 9—20.

³ 2 Cor. xii. 1; 1 Cor. xiv. 18.

⁴ Stapfer, The Death and Resurrection of Jesus 241.

⁵ Stapfer l. c. 206, 211.

since, as we know, the Apostles saw our Lord, spoke to Him, ate with Him, were asked to touch His wounds, etc.¹

It is hard to see how the Apostles could have made merely spiritual manifestations have all the characteristics of outward and corporal apparitions, without calling into question their sincerity and their good faith, and this cannot be done.

On the road to Damascus, Paul was favoured with an outward and real apparition. Many visions had been granted him, and he explains them as being spiritual, yet he affirms that he was the last to see the Risen Saviour, and then but once, and his language is most explicit in showing that he saw an earthly apparition². «Were not this the meaning of the phrase: *novissime autem omnium visus est mihi*, it would literally express a false idea; for the Lord did appear in vision to others after St. Paul's conversion, as for example, to Ananias.»³ Finally, the Apostle looked upon the Resurrection of Jesus as the foundation of the resurrection of our bodies⁴. Now if the former was merely spiritual, his conclusion would necessarily have to be that the soul was immortal; for he could have never argued the resurrection of the body from such premises.

¹ Nos. 338—340.

² Acts xviii. 9: ἐν νυκτί; xxii. 17: ἐν ἐκστάσει; xxiii. 11: νυκτί; 2 Cor. xii. 1—2; 1 Cor. xv. 8.

³ Godet, Comm. on St. Luke II, 583.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 1—8, 12 ff.

Book II.

**THE SUPERNATURAL WORKS
OF JESUS CHRIST.**

ART. I.

THE MIRACLES OF JESUS CHRIST.

**PRELIMINARY REMARKS: THE MIRACLES OF JESUS CHRIST
IN GENERAL.**

354. 1. Number and Classification of Christ's Miracles.

There are about forty miracles of Christ that have been detailed for us at some length by the Gospel writers. This does not mean to say that these are the only miracles that Christ performed; for in many passages, we have indications which point to the fact that the number was very large, the Evangelists not deeming it necessary to enter into detail concerning them¹.

As regards their classification, they may be arranged in four main groups:

1. The deliverance of those possessed by the devil (8).
2. The miracles wrought upon nature (10).
3. Cures in the proper sense of the term (16).
4. Resurrection of the dead (4, counting the Resurrection of Jesus and His apparitions).

To this list might be added all those wonders which if not wrought by Christ directly, were at least produced because of His personality and His dignity, serving as a proof of His divine mission. These are: the apparition of angels at various periods of His life², the star of the Magi³, the voice of His Father at His Baptism, at His Transfiguration, and in the Temple⁴, the appearance of the Holy

¹ Mt. ix. 23; xi. 5; xxi. 14; Mk. iii. 10; Lk. iv. 23; v. 15—17; vi. 18, 19; Jn. ii. 23; iv. 45; vi. 2; vii. 31; xi. 47; xx. 30; xxi. 25.

² Mt. i. 20; ii. 13, 19; iv. 11; xxvii. 2, 5; Mk. i. 13; Lk. i. 11, 26—38; ii. 9 to 13, 15; xxii. 43; xxiv. 23; Jn. xx. 12.

³ Mt. ii. 2, 9.

⁴ Mt. iii. 17; Mk. i. 11; Lk. iii. 22; Mt. xvii. 5; Mk. ix. 6; Lk. ix. 35; Jn. xii. 28.

Ghost under the form of a dove¹, the appearance of Moses and Elias at the time of the Transfiguration², the darkness which covered the earth in the hour of the crucifixion³, the rending of the veil of the Temple⁴, the quaking of the earth and the overturning of the rocks⁵, and the resurrection and appearance of many of those that had been dead⁶.

2. The Character of the Miracles of Jesus. Two main features stand out prominently in all the miraculous works of Christ. They are His modesty and His sympathy. Unlike other wonder-workers, Christ sets aside all ostentation, and avoids all that would savour of the pompous and the showy. He refused absolutely to perform prodigies when tempted to do so, or when asked for a sign from above⁷; for He knew they would have no other result than to satisfy curiosity and enkindle an uncertain enthusiasm⁸. Very often He imposed silence upon those whom He had healed⁹. Again when He did show forth His power, it was always in answer to the cry of the unfortunate¹⁰, or to satisfy the needs of His fellow beings¹¹, or to show the truth of the doctrine He taught¹², or to strengthen the faith of His disciples¹³. It is a noticeable fact that not one of His miracles did He perform solely in His own behalf. Quite a number of them were wrought for an apologetical purpose, namely to prove His Messianic and divine character¹⁴.

Altogether different are the miracles as portrayed by the apocryphal Gospels. There Jesus works wonders in order to cause astonishment, to frighten, and even to revenge Himself upon His enemies. He appears as a supernatural spectre without mercy. His wonder-working is material, mechanical, immoral, and has the appearance of the tricks of magicians. Wherever He goes, He is possessed of a magnetic power, and all nature is deranged by the effect of His presence. Every one of His words is followed by miraculous events which strike both the good and bad alike.

355. 3. Figurative Sense in the Miracles of Christ¹⁵. The miracles of Jesus wrought for the good of men's bodies, are an indication, and as it were a figure of what was soon to be done in

¹ Mt. iii. 16; Lk. iii. 22; Jn. i. 32.

² Mt. xvii. 3; Mk. ix. 3; Lk. ix. 30.

³ Mt. xxvii. 45; Mk. xv. 33; Lk. xxiii. 44, 45.

⁴ Mt. xxvii. 51; Mk. xv. 38; Lk. xxiii. 45.

⁵ Mt. xxvii. 51.

⁶ Mt. xxvii. 52, 53.

⁷ Mt. iv. 6, 7; xvi. 1.

⁸ Mt. xvi. 1—4; xxvii. 42; Mk. viii. 11—13; Lk. xxiii. 8, 9; Jn. vi. 30; vii. 4, 6.

⁹ Mt. viii. 4; xvii. 9; Mk. v. 43; vii. 36; viii. 26, etc.

¹⁰ Mt. viii. 2; xv. 28.

¹¹ Mt. xv. 32, 36; Lk. vii. 13; Acts x. 38.

¹² Lk. v. 14; Jn. xi. 42.

¹³ Jn. iv. 48; xi. 15, 42.

¹⁴ Jn. ii. 18, 19, 21; x. 38; xi. 41, 42; Mt. ix. 6; xi. 4, 5.

¹⁵ Non frustra fiebant miracula, et aliquid nobis pro salute aeterna figurabant. *St. Aug.*, *Serm.* 124, 1: P. L. XXXVIII, 687; *St. Thom.*, *S. th.* 1, q. 1, a. 10.

behalf of souls in a permanent manner. When He casts out the devils from the bodies of the possessed, He thereby makes an implicit announcement of His purpose to deliver all the souls of the children of Adam from hell's tyranny. In giving health to the sick, He typifies that supernatural succor that He will accord us for our weakness, as also the remedy which He holds out to us for all our infirmities. All these miracles are then eminently significant; and it is here especially that we may apply the words of Origen to the Saviour's history, viz. that it is spirit and body, even as His person.

356. 4. The Explanation of the Incredulity of the Jews who witnessed the Miracles of Jesus. Moral truth, be it ever so clear, does not by that fact gain the assent of the intelligence, much less the submission of the will. Thus does it happen to all who are resolved to blind themselves and lose their souls: *Evangelium in iis qui pereunt est opertum*¹. The Jews saw the miracles of Christ², they did not dispute one of them³, they were voluntary witnesses, but yet they possessed prejudices and passions which they refused to renounce, and consequently attributed to the agency of the devil what they knew to transcend the laws of nature⁴. They closed their eyes and their hearts to the light of grace, even as their fathers had done before them in the time of the prophets⁵, even as their children would do later in the time of the Apostles⁶, and even as the unbelieving and the atheistical do in our own day.

One can conceive then why a great number should be incredulous⁷; for this incredulity had been foretold, and one can see also why this incredulity should serve as an aid to a firmer faith rather than to its weakening⁸. But that which shall never be explained, except by a clear insight into the truth and a sincere and deep conviction, is the conversion of so many upright, intelligent, virtuous souls, who have expressed their belief in the Saviour, despite the interest they had, *not* to believe, who have made their faith the rule of their conduct, who have given their lives to serve it and to spread it, and who have preferred death rather than renounce it⁹.

5. Reasons why Jesus wrought His Miracles on the Sabbath Day. In the Gospel account we find that a goodly number of Christ's miracles were wrought on the Sabbath day. He chose this day in preference to the others for two main reasons:

1. A first reason was to counteract the prejudices of the Jews and to prepare them for the abrogation of all ceremonial observances,

¹ 2 Cor. iv. 3. ² Jn. vii. 31; xi. 45.

³ Mt. xxvii. 32; Jn. xi. 47; Acts ii. 22. ⁴ Mt. ix. 34; xii. 24.

⁵ Mt. xxiii. 37. ⁶ Acts iv. 16, 17; vii. 51, 52. ⁷ Jn. iii. 10.

⁸ Videntes videbitis et non perspicietis . . . Is. vi. 9. This sentence is related six times in the N. T. ⁹ Acts xxi. 20.

as also for the future transfer of the Sabbath¹. Every miracle that was wrought on that day was to make them realize that the rigour of their doctors was an exaggeration, that the honour of God and the law of charity were far more important than their law of Sabbatical rest, which at best was but a positive precept².

2. Secondly in order that the people might regard His miracles, and listen to the instructions that accompanied them, more attentively. On this day the people had ample opportunity to give themselves to thoughts of religion. Usually they gathered in groups around the synagogues, and there was nothing then to distract them from any discourse or works that might prove of interest to them³.

I. THE DELIVERANCE OF THE POSSESSED.

I. THE GOSPEL ACCOUNTS.

357. 1. The Number and Condition of those delivered from possession by Our Lord. We have already pointed out that the Gospels record eight miracles by which our Lord cast out devils that had taken possession of human forms. It is quite certain that the number exceeded this⁴; for we find St. Peter telling us: «Jesus went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed by the devil»: *Pertransivit benefaciendo, et sanando omnes oppressos a diabolo*⁵.

The state of one possessed is a most pitiable one. First of all he is not the master of his own actions; for he is, either continuously or intermittently, under the power of one, sometimes several devils, who use his body as an instrument. Besides, in all the Gospel records of these unfortunate people we find that, over and above this infliction, they are also cursed with some disease, as blindness, muteness, insanity, epilepsy, or paralysis. Sometimes the devil brought on these infirmities, sometimes he aggravated them, sometimes he took advantage of pre-existing maladies or of a morbid disposition as a means of gaining admittance into the body of possessed⁶.

2. The Possessed of Capharnaum⁷ (Mk. i. 23—28; Lk. iv. 33—37). As Jesus was discoursing on a certain Sabbath day in

¹ Mt. xii. 11, 12.

² There were 39 kinds of works forbidden on the Sabbath day, and there were 1279 rules in regard to the Sabbatical rest. Cf. *Edersheim*, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life* 381—387.

³ Jn. v. 16; ix. 14; xviii. 20.

⁴ Mt. iv. 24; viii. 16; Mk. i. 39; Lk. vi. 18, 19; vii. 21; viii. 2; xiii. 32.

⁵ Acts x. 38.

⁶ The Gospel does not use the word «possessed»; it uses more energetical terms in order to express the total submission of the possessed persons to the demons: *δαμονιζόμενοι, δαμονισθέντες, ἔχοντες δαιμόνιον or πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρον*. In the Acts we read: *καταδυναστευόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου* (x. 38).

⁷ We find a parallel report in Acts xvi. 16—18.

the synagogue of Capharnaum, He was interrupted by the shriek of a demoniac possessed of an unclean spirit (*ἀκάθαρτος*, in opposition to saint, *ἅγιος*), who cried out: «What have we to do with Thee, Jesus of Nazareth? Why do you not leave us in peace? You are come to destroy us, to torment us, and to ruin our power.» And then forced by what he saw, yet without believing it, the unclean spirit added: «I know that you are the Holy One of God, the Messiah.»¹ Not caring to have Himself praised by the father of lies, nor desiring to have disciples taught by such a master, or better not wishing to have His Messianic dignity made manifest to a multitude not prepared for its reception, Jesus commanded the devil to be silent and to go out of the man. The unclean spirit tore his victim with great violence, and with one great cry of agony and rage, left his body.

3. **The Demoniacs of Gerasa** (Mt. viii. 28—34; Mk. v. 1 to 20; Lk. viii. 26—39). In the land of the Gerasenes (no. 219), situated on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, there were two demoniacs who abode in the sepulchres of the dead. They were of such a violent nature that no one dared to pass that region. One of them, probably the most frenzied, and better known than his companion, and hence the only one indicated for this reason by St. Luke and St. Mark, was possessed by such a great number of devils, that they were designated as *legion*. Entirely naked, for he wore no clothes, his strength was so great that no chain could keep him captive. Bereft of all reason, day and night he wandered in the mountains or among the tombs, ever crying out and even cutting his body with stones.

When Jesus landed in that region, both demoniacs ran up before Him. They begged Him not to drive them out of the country, nor make them return to the abyss of hell, but rather to permit them to enter a herd of swine that were not afar off. Their pleadings were granted. The devils entered the herd of swine, which immediately realizing that they were invaded by a strange force, ran to the seashore and plunged into the water, all of them, numbering 2000 perishing.

«On what ground, it may be asked, is this which the Lord here wrought, made more the subject of cavil than any other loss inflicted on men . . . ? Men might object with as good a right against the murrain which causes cattle to die, the inundation which destroys the fruits of the field, or any other natural calamity wherewith God chastens His children, punishes, or seeks to make contrite the hearts of His enemies.»²

¹ Dan. ix. 24.

² *Trench*, Notes on the Miracles of the Lord 184.

358. 4. The Possessed Lunatic (Mt. xvii. 14—20; Mk. ix. 13 to 28; Lk. ix. 37—44). Some time later, our Lord cured a youth possessed by a deaf and dumb spirit, that is a spirit who made the youth deaf and dumb. According to the Gospel account his father brought him to Jesus that He might heal him. According to his version, which Christ neither approved nor disapproved, this child of his was a lunatic, in the sense that his crises came upon him periodically, either at the full moon, or the new moon, or perhaps they depended on some other movement of the moon. Wherever the spirit took possession of him, he forced him to give vent to loud cries, cast him upon the ground, into water, into fire, and tore and shook him so violently as almost to kill him. The poor boy suffered cruel torments, he foamed at the mouth, ground his teeth, pined away in health, and the devil departed from him only after bruising him terribly. This misfortune, which can be identified with epilepsy, had been his since his infancy.

Jesus threatened the unclean spirit, and commanded him to depart from the boy and not return again. The devil sent forth a great cry, wracked the body with one great convulsion, and departed from the youth's body leaving him apparently dead. But Jesus took him by the hand and raised him up, and from that moment he was cured of his infirmities.

5. Other Demoniactal Possessions. The five other cases of demoniactal possessions are: the deliverance of Mary Magdalen in whom were seven devils¹, the deliverance of a dumb man², the cure of a man both blind and dumb³, the case of the daughter of the Chanaanite woman who was freed at a distance⁴, and lastly a woman «who had a spirit of infirmity for eighteen years, and was bound together, neither could she look upwards at all»⁵.

II. THE SUPERNATURAL CHARACTER OF THE DELIVERANCE OF THE POSSESSED.

359. OPINION OF RATIONALISTS. According to all Rationalists and liberal Protestants, demoniactal possessions as recorded by the Gospels, as well as those of later, and even earlier history in general, are nothing more than neurasthenia, dementia, paralysis, in a word, hystero-epilepsy, all of which can be cured by a violent and sudden shock upon the nerves.

I. Proof. — **I. THE REALITY OF DEMONIACAL POSSESSION.** Rationalists deny the existence of the facts that we have indicated above, because they reject the idea of possession by the devil. But

¹ Mk. xvi. 9; Lk. viii. 2. ² Mt. ix. 32—34; Lk. xi. 14, 15.

³ Mt. xii. 22, 23. ⁴ Mt. xv. 21—28; Mk. vii. 24—30.

⁵ Lk. xiii. 11, 13, 16.

the reality of diabolical possession is firmly established by the N. T. as well as by the early Church writers, and contemporaneous history.

a) Besides the examples we have already given, we have others which are found in other books of the *New Testament*. The Acts tell us explicitly that the Apostles cast out devils. No one nowadays questions the good faith of the sacred writers; for in many other particulars their accounts have been verified and their general trustworthiness freely conceded¹.

b) The writings of many of the *Church writers* of antiquity attest the reality of demoniacal possession, and insist strongly on the power of the name of Jesus in casting them out². They refer to their frequency, mention them as public facts which they themselves have been witness to, that they have been the occasion of wonderful and sudden conversions, and moreover they used these very incidents as arguments in favour of Christianity against the pagans³. Many of these writers were famed for their learning and for their talent, and it is very unlikely that they would have been so far deceived as to mistake other diseases for possession by the devil. According to the Roman ritual⁴ the marks by which this misfortune can be ascertained are the following: 1. to speak and understand languages that the subject never studied or spoke before; 2. to reveal future events and to discover lost articles; 3. to manifest powers out of all harmony with the age and condition of the person afflicted, as for instance to rise in the air and remain there without any visible means of support, to walk on one's head, to carry a load which several persons could not lift, etc. On the one hand, it is out of the question to impute such acts to man left solely to his own natural forces; and on the other, there are many circumstances which preclude the idea that either the angels or God are the influencing power, especially if they are facts that are performed for no reason at all, or if they injure God in some way, or hurt our neighbour. Such facts as these are cited by the Fathers. St. Paulinus tells us of one who walked, his head on the vault of a church, without any of his garments becoming deranged⁵, and Sulpicius Severus says that he saw a demoniac elevated in the air, with arms extended at the approach of the relics of St. Martin⁶.

¹ Mt. x. 1, 8; Mk. vi. 7, 12, 13; xvi. 17, 20; Lk. ix. 1; x. 17—20; Acts v. 16; viii. 7; xvi. 16 f.; xix. 11 f.

² *Just.*, 2 Apol. 6; Dial. 85; *Iren.*, Adv. haer. II, xxxii, 4; *Tertull.*, Apol. 23; *Eus.*, H. E. IV, vii; VII, x.

³ *Tertull.*, Apol. 23; P. G. I, 410 f.; *Iren.*, Adv. haer. II, xxxii, 4; P. G. VII, 829; *Lactant.*, Div. inst. V, xxii; P. L. VI, 623.

⁴ De exorcizandis obsessis.

⁵ Cf. In St. Felic. carmen VII, poema xxiii; P. L. LXI, 610.

⁶ Dial. III, 6; P. L. XX, 215.

c) *Missionaries* have evidenced, and that quite often, facts occurring in heathen countries which bear upon their face indisputable signs of demoniacal possession. Even in Christian countries analogous cases have by no means been rare. No one will deny that between this affliction and certain diseases, as hystero-epilepsy, there are some resemblances, since the devil possesses the power to bring on these maladies. Besides, as often happens, he takes advantage of pre-existing maladies of this kind or of a morbid predisposition to them, in order to gain ingress into the body. But these resemblances are inadequate to meet the facts of a real demoniacal possession. In these cases, it is impossible to satisfactorily explain several phenomena, unless we admit the intervention of a supernatural being, which at the same time is diabolical, who so possesses the body of man, that it becomes a mere instrument.

2. THE SUPERNATURAL CHARACTER OF THE DELIVERANCES OF CHRIST. a) The Gospel writers have not mistaken certain diseases and given them the aspect of diabolical possessions; for they distinguish one from the other quite distinctly¹. One of their number was a physician, and was in a position to judge, and they all bear the marks of reliability. If they confounded the two, why should they record miracles in which the paralytic, the halt, the deaf, the dumb, the blind . . .² were healed without asserting or even hinting at an assertion that these men were under the devil's power?

b) Hypnotic suggestion could never effect the cure of such frenzied madness as was displayed by the Gerasene demoniacs³; nor could it heal a patient from a distance, and moreover unknown, as happened in the case of the daughter of the Chanaanitish woman. That indeed cannot be called a natural disease which suddenly leaves the body of a man and passes over into animals, or which at the time of the cure casts a man upon the ground and leaves him to all appearances dead. One more remark must be made and it is that these cures were not temporary but permanent. Most of them took place in Galilee, where, because of their frequent journeyings in this section, the Apostles were in a position to know that a lasting effect had been produced.

360. II. Principal Difficulties against the Gospel Accounts of Demoniacal Possession.

I. DIFFICULTY. a) It is very unlikely that almost all the possessed lived in Galilee outside of Judea. — b) Again only the Synoptics record these

¹ Mt. viii. 14—17; xii. 9—14; iv. 24; Mk. iii. 10, 11; Lk. vi. 18.

² Mt. ix. 1, 2; ix. 27; xii. 10; Mk. ii. 3; iii. 1; vii. 32; viii. 22; x. 46; Lk. v. 18; vi. 6; xiv. 2; xviii. 35. . . .

³ Eusebius who visited, in 295, the land of the Gadarenians, attests that the ridge is shown, from which the pigs precipitated themselves into the sea: *Hier.*, De situ et nom. hebr., Gergesa: P. L. XXII, 903.

events, while St. John passes them over in silence. Hence these facts cannot be real.

ANSWER. a) If diabolical possession were a phenomenon of the purely natural order, one would expect the proof that at certain times and certain countries it really did exist, just as leprosy, or those very disorders with which some seek to identify diabolical possession. We must remember that here we are confronted with an action of the devil, and that this action is only exercised in certain exceptional circumstances, determined by the perverse will of the devil himself and the power which God permits him. . . . If at the time of Christ these phenomena had increased in intensity and number, it is because the powers of darkness massed all their strength against their Conqueror and endeavoured to rouse against Him all the hostility of men whom He had come to redeem. . . . Hence there is a reason why Galilee should have more of these unfortunates than other countries; for here there always existed a current of sympathy for the person and the work of the Saviour, whereas in Judea the arrogance of the Pharisees and the chief priests waged such an opposition against Christ that it ended in His condemnation to death. All this was in line with the projects of Satan, and they were doing his work without his being forced to take possession of them and employing them as his instruments.

b) In regard to the silence of St. John, nothing can be proved from this against the reality of the demoniacal possession as recorded by the Synoptics. There are, indeed, so many gaps in his Gospel! Besides, it must be born in mind that St. John concerns himself chiefly to giving the ministry of Jesus in Judea where as, we have said, these phenomena were rare. Finally, he does make some allusion to such facts; for he makes the observation that the Jews accused our Lord of having a devil¹.

2. DIFFICULTY. In early times, such diseases as epilepsy, mental and nervous disorders², in which the patient seemed to be beside himself, and infirmities the cause of which was not apparent, like deafness, dumbness³, were explained as possessions by the devil. Our Lord did not deem it necessary to correct the ideas of the father of the demoniacal lunatic⁴, on this point, but rather accommodated Himself to the ideas and language of His time. He speaks of devils and appears to cast them out, although He does not Himself share in the popular fallacy.

ANSWER. a) It is quite certain that in questions the import of which is scientific or which bear upon a matter not connected with religion, our Lord did adopt the language of His time, which was true inasmuch as it expressed the appearances of things: *solem suum oriri facit*⁵. But it is most unlikely that He would pursue this course when there was question of something essentially religious as the idea of demoniacal possession was.

b) As a matter of fact, Jesus, who could neither deceive nor be deceived, spoke and acted in a manner which leaves no doubt that He believed and accredited such a phenomenon. In every instance He supposes that the possessed are subjected to a personal and evil spirit. He addresses this spirit in words; He gives it orders, and He threatens it. He affirms that it is a part of the kingdom of Satan; He gives His Apostles power over evil spirits, and He assures us that He saw Satan cast from heaven⁶. Far from giving the impression that their Master was speaking in figure, the Evangelists confirm the words of Christ by a variety of

¹ Jn. x. 20, 21.

² *Jos.*, J. W. VII, vi, 3.

³ Mt. ix. 33; xii. 22; Mk. ix. 16, 24; Lk. xi. 14.

⁴ Mt. xvii. 14.

⁵ Mt. v. 45.

⁶ Lk. x. 17, 18.

details. Thus they tell us that the devil asked a favour, that he gave homage to Christ as the Son of God, that he proclaimed His holiness, that he asked for a delay, and lastly that he went into a herd of swine and cast them into the sea. As a final remark we add that the Church has, at all times, seen in these accounts real diabolical possessions, and that it would be contrary to the rules of hermeneutics as well as the decrees of the Council of Trent to interpret the Sacred text in a manner different from that in which it has always been taken and explained¹.

II. MIRACLES WROUGHT UPON NATURE.

I. WATER CHANGED INTO WINE AT THE MARRIAGE FEAST OF CANA.

361. 1. The Gospel Account (Jn. ii. 1—11). In the early part of His ministry, Jesus took part in the festivities of a certain wedding feast at Cana in Galilee. There, in order to save the bridegroom embarrassment, because his supply of wine had run out, He bade six stone jars be filled with water, which He then changed into wine. These jars were used by the Jews for the purpose of performing the ablutions prescribed by their traditions². Each of these vessels had a capacity of two or three measures, i. e. two or three firkins³.

2. The Supernatural Character of this Miracle. Rationalists have set aside the miraculous element of this event in different ways. It has been said that our Lord had some agreement with a merchant whereby wine was brought to Him secretly while the repast was going on, which was served to the guests mixed with water (Paulus). Renan tells us that Christ desired merely «to enliven a wedding feast at a small town». Weiss' idea is that He procured the wine for the guests through friends who had relations in Cana. Strauss rejects the whole story as a myth which owes its origin to some features of the O. T., for example, the changing of the water of the Nile into blood by Moses. This whole account, according to Baur, represents the connection of the Baptism of John (water) with that of Jesus (wine). According to H. Holtzmann, it represents the substitution of the new Law for the old, the Church for the Synagogue. . . .

No one denies that this miracle, like many others, contains a figurative sense. But we are not ready to admit that this symbolism excludes all fact from the account. All the Rationalistic explanations are gratuitous and forced and some mentioned are silly. St. John whose whole Gospel is characterized by a marked precision, really intends to recount a miracle here. His final words are a sufficient proof of this intention: «This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee and manifested His glory, and His disciples believed in Him.» Now he could have not been deceived; for he was present at this wedding feast of Cana⁴. Shall any one say that Christ left this fact enveloped in obscurity in order to deceive His disciples? But «the reality of the Gospel history is a protest against all these parodies which end in making Jesus a common charlatan».

¹ Conc. Trid. sess. IV: De usu sacr. libr.: *Denzinger* no. 668.

² Mt. xv. 2; Lk. xi, 38; Mk. vii. 3, 4.

³ The measure or metrix was almost equal to a «bath» כֶּזַי, for the LXX translated the Hebrew «bath» by «measure» in all the O. T. passages, where the word occurred. *Jos.* (J. A. VIII, ii, 9) says that the *bath* contained 72 ξέσται (sextarii).

⁴ Jn. ii. 2; i. 37—40.

II. THE MIRACULOUS DRAUGHTS OF FISHES.

(Lk. v. 1—11; Jn. xxi. 1—13.)

362. 1. Resemblances between the two Draughts of Fishes. We know that there are two miraculous draughts of fishes recorded in the Gospels, and both agree in several points of detail: both took place on the sea of Tiberias, the most famous fishery in the world¹. In both cases Peter is the head fisherman, and the sons of Zebedee are with him as companions. In both instances they worked at night, the most favourable time for fishing², and when day had come, at the bidding of their divine Master, they let down their nets and were rewarded with a sudden filling of their nets with a large number of fish.

2. Differences between the two Events. Side by side with these coincidences there are also some differences. The first draught took place at the beginning of the preaching of the Gospel, while the other was made in the presence of the risen Saviour. The first took place in deep water, εἰς τὸ βάθος³, while the second took place nearer the shore, οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς⁴. On the first occasion, a second ship came to help in lifting the net, but on the second occasion the net was dragged to shore by the disciples. The effect of the first miracle was to strengthen the faith of the Apostles and to fill them with confidence in the work of their divine Master, while the second enkindled their hope and gave them a clearer insight into their work and also made them see the fruits that would soon result therefrom⁵. Finally after the first draught, our Lord announces to Peter that henceforth he shall become a fisher of men (homines capiens, ζωγρῶν)⁶, but after the second He makes him His vicar and commands him to take complete charge of the government of the entire Church. Therefore they must be distinguished, and one cannot be identified with the other, as several scholars would have us believe⁷.

363. 3. The Figurative Sense of the two Miraculous Draughts. It is quite evident that these two miracles embody a figurative meaning:

a) Our Lord points out the meaning of the *first* when He tells Peter that from that time forward he would become a fisher of men. The great number of fishes then represents the great number of souls which the Apostles under the guidance of their leader shall

¹ Jos., J. W. III, x, 7, 8.² Plin., Hist. nat. IX, 23.³ Lk. v. 4.⁴ Jn. xxi. 8.⁵ Cf. Mt. xiii. 47, 48.⁶ ζωγρῶν, catch living ones, from ζῶς, living, and ἀγρῶ, to catch.⁷ Weiss, Meyer, Loisy.

snatch from the abyss of infidelity and unbelief thus bringing them into the Church.

b) The *second* is a figure, in a special sense, of the elect which St. Peter and his companions in labour shall lead into heaven.

4. **The Miraculous Character of the Draughts.** The assertion of Strauss, A. Réville, Loisy, that the miraculous draught is a legend which grew from the words of our Lord to His Apostles: «I shall make you fishers of men», is unfounded.

III. THE MIRACLE OF THE STATER IN THE MOUTH OF THE FISH.

(Mt. xvii. 23—26.)

364. 1. The Gospel Account. On a certain occasion, at Capharnaum, the collectors of the didrachma, the Temple tax, came to Peter and asked him if his Master did not pay the required sum. Upon this the Saviour observed, that being the Son of God He was not subject to the tax: «The kings of the earth receive tribute or custom from strangers; the children are free.» In order not to scandalize those, however, who knew not His divine origin, He agreed to pay the tribute, but in this act of condescension He performed a miracle¹. He said to Peter: «Go to the sea and cast in a hook, and that fish that shall first come up take; and when thou hast opened its mouth, thou shalt find a stater; take that, and give it to them for Me and thee.»² Notwithstanding the silence of the Gospel on this point, it is quite certain that Peter did as he was told, and that he found the piece of money in the mouth of the fish, as the Lord said he would.

2. **The Miraculous Character of this Fact.** The far-fetched interpretation of Paulus, according to which Jesus ordered Peter to sell a fish for a stater, is nowadays rejected by even Rationalistic critics as «doing too much violence to the text»³. It is also contrary to the meaning of the text and the context to say that this miracle «breathes forth the perfume of a pure legend and has no importance except to bring out the attitude adopted by our Lord in face of the political government of His time»⁴.

¹ *Reddit census, sed ex ore piscis acceptum, ut cognoscatur maiestas. . . . Sic persolvit mortem: non debat et persolvebat.* *St. Aug.*, *Serm.* 155, 7.

² A stater was equal to four drachmas.

³ «It is probable», says Loisy (*Les Évang.* syn. II, 66), «that this miracle . . . has been superadded (to the narrative), and that, in the primitive redaction, Jesus told Peter to go and fish, and thus *find*, that is *gain* a stater by trade. . . . The Evangelist, or perhaps the glossator, thought that Peter had found the stater in the mouth of the fish.»

⁴ *A. Réville*, *Jésus de Nazareth* II, 75, 215, 216. For other Rationalistic explanations see *Strauss*, *A New Life of Christ* 476; *Knabenbauer*, *Comm. in Matth.* II, 109.

IV. THE MULTIPLICATION OF LOAVES.

(Mt. xiv. 15—21; Mk. vi. 39—44; Lk. ix. 12—17; Jn. vi. 5—15; Mt. xv. 32—38; Mk. viii. 1—9).

365. I. The Reality of a Twofold Multiplication of Loaves.

That our Lord wrought this miracle on two distinct occasions, is proved by the following considerations: There are two facts of this miracle quite distinct, recounted separately, each in its own order, in the Gospel of St. Matthew and in that of St. Mark, and both similarly recalled, some time afterward in our Lord's reproach to His disciples.

Between the two multiplications of loaves there are notable differences. In the first, which is recorded by all four Evangelists, five loaves and two fishes are used. By His first miracle, our Lord feeds five thousand men, without counting the women and children; by the second four thousand are fed. After the first, there remained twelve baskets¹, after the second seven baskets² of fragments were gathered together. Hence the first miracle was the more striking of the two, and it is also the only one that is found in all the Gospels.

2. The Figurative Sense of the Multiplication of Loaves.

Adopting the opinion of the holy doctors, these miracles prefigure two things: the multiplication which the Saviour would make of His body and His blood in nourishing souls; and the multiplication or rather the propagation of revealed truth, the food necessary for the supernatural life of souls.

3. The Miraculous Character of the Multiplication of Loaves. —

a) ERRORS. According to Rationalistic critics, Jesus and His disciples were supplied with all the provisions used; they shared them with their neighbours, and these in turn did the same so that it came to be believed that all had been satisfied. Renan puts it another way: «Jesus . . . took the precaution to retire to the desert. Many people followed Him thence. Thanks to a strict frugality, the holy band succeeded in living there, and in this there was naturally seen a miracle.»³ These explanations are at best but parodies on the Sacred Text and deserve less than a mention.

Following in the wake of Strauss, Rationalists of the present day insist that this is nothing but a myth based on analogous facts of the O. T., such as the multiplication of the oil and flour by Elias, and bread by Eliseus⁴ (H. Holtzmann, Weiss, Hase, Keim), or developed from the teaching of Jesus. The whole story could have easily arisen from such figurative language as: Blessed are they that hunger; for they shall have their fill (Schmiedel). It is likely that our Lord said «something like this: The doctrine of the kingdom is like unto five or seven loaves of bread which they have procured with which to nourish thousands of men; but this appeared as nothing; for not only did this suffice, but here remained over and above twelve baskets». «One is inclined to believe that the miraculous

¹ *Κοφίνος*, a small basket used by the Jews, a term properly employed by the four Evangelists.

² *Σπορίδες*. Cf. Acts ix. 25. ³ Life of Jesus 187.

⁴ 3 Kings xvii. 8—16; 4 Kings iv. 1—7, 42—44.

multiplications have been suggested with the aid of O. T. reminiscences, by the tendency to transform into a real and material fact that which was originally and simply a very beautiful idea, profound as great, expressed under a figurative form and compared to a fact altogether recent.» According to Loisy, «the two narratives of the multiplication of loaves are a symbolical instruction whose theme was furnished by the O. T.» These so-called miracles are a figure in a special sense of the nourishment of souls by the divine word. But «the part that allegory plays in the narrative, together with that still greater part whose existence can be inferred here, with great probability, furnishes no clue for the determination of the precise incident which gave rise to the narrative of the multiplication of loaves, supposing for the time being that it was an incident of this kind, and not the words of Christ, which taken in connection with the memory of meals in common presided over by Him, formed the starting point of the tradition.»¹

b) REFUTATION. The first multiplication is recorded by the four Evangelists, who, notwithstanding some difference in detail, are in agreement as regards most of the facts, whilst the second is recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark. Now, St. Matthew and St. John were eye-witnesses and hence were in possession of authentic information on this point, and St. Mark and St. Luke were in close relation to men who also were eye-witnesses of the event.

These two miracles are closely woven into the plan of the sacred narrative, so much so that their genuineness is confirmed by other Gospel facts which are incontestible. The first miracle made such an impression on the people that they wanted to proclaim our Lord king², and again, some time later Christ explicitly refers to the double multiplication of loaves³.

The symbolical interpretation assigned to these facts by Rationalists cannot be proved. Moreover such a position is in contradiction to the exact character of the narrative, which instead of being drawn out in an abundance of grand circumstances, or told in the vague and shifting tone of symbolical history, presents, on the contrary, circumstances determined in time, in place, and in vividness of detail, such as are characteristic of all real and true history.

V. THE TEMPEST APPEASED. THE WALKING UPON THE WAVES.

366. 1. The Tempest Calmed the First Time (Mt. viii. 18 to 27; Mk. iv. 35—40). On a certain day, Christ and His Apostles left the shores of Gennesaret and set sail for the country of the Gadarenes, which was situated on the eastern side of the lake. Lying «in the hinder part of the ship» with His head upon a pillow, Jesus slept. All of a sudden, a violent tempest broke over the usually tranquil waters, and placed the lives of all in danger. In their distress, the disciples awakened their Master, and He in turn, commanded the winds and angry waves to be still, so that there came a great calm.

2. The Tempest Calmed a Second Time; The Walking upon the Waves (Mt. xiv. 23—33; Mk. vi. 47—52; Jn. vi. 16—21).

¹ Cf. nos. 44, 47, 50, 64. ² Jn. vi. 15. ³ Mt. xvi. 9, 10; Mk. viii. 19, 20.

A few months later, the Saviour was with His disciples in the desert of Bethsaida where the miracle of the first multiplication of loaves took place. Night having come, He went up into the mountain to pray, while His disciples set sail in the direction of Bethsaida¹, where they were to wait for Him. Now, the sea churned by a great wind became stormy and rolling, and the ship was tossed about by the waves. The disciples had rowed about twenty-five or thirty furlongs. Seeing that they could scarcely row against the wind, Jesus came to them about the fourth watch (between three and six o'clock) walking upon the waves, and made as if He would have passed them.

The disciples took Him for an apparition and immediately became frightened. But Jesus made Himself known and once more re-assured them. Peter asked that he be permitted to walk out and join Him. As the wind blew with great force, the Apostle was filled with fear, and he began to sink. «Lord, save me», he cried out. The Saviour stretched forth His hand and took hold of him, at the same time reproaching him for his doubt and little faith.

Jesus entered the ship, and immediately the wind ceased, and soon the occupants of the boat were on the shore of Gennesaret at the place they desired to land (no. 222).

367. 3. The Figurative Sense of these Miracles. This prodigy is the figure of the wonders which Jesus works in behalf of His Church unceasingly. Often tossed about by the tempest of persecution, the Church shall weather all storms, thanks to the protection that Jesus has cast round about her².

4. The Supernatural Character of these Events. The explanation proposed by Rationalistic critics in order to rob these facts of their supernatural element, are in themselves contradictory and do violence to the texts. These accounts are not, indeed, an allegory pure and simple, destined to show that the Church would be subjected to trial, and that Jesus would always be near to render assistance (Weisse, Weizsäcker, Keim); nor is it fair to make them unreal and mythical, by stating, as has been done (Strauss, H. Holtzmann) that they are based on similar occurrences found in the O. T., where Moses, Josue, Elias and Eliseus walked dry-shod across the waters of the sea, God making of the sea a sort of roadway³. Moreover it is not a legend which took its origin from words of Jesus analogous to these recorded by St. Mark and St. Luke⁴: «If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, then shall ye be able to command the storm, and it will obey, and ye shall be able to walk unharmed upon the troubled sea of live.»⁵ In like manner, it is just as unwarrantable to claim that the narrative wherein Christ and Peter are portrayed as walking upon the

¹ Mk. vi. 45. ² *Fouard*, *The Christ, the Son of God* I, 308.

³ Ex. xiv. 15—31; Jos. iii; 4 Kings ii. 8; Ps. lxxvi (lxxvii). 20.

⁴ Mk. xi. 22—24; Lk. xvii. 6.

⁵ *Schmiedel*, art. *Gospel*, in *Encycl. Biblica* II, 1883.

waves, is not founded in fact, but must be considered as «purely symbolical» (Loisy) or must be taken as «a reflection of a vision born of the ever exalted idea which the disciples formed of their Master, . . . and the fact that Jesus walks in calm serenity upon the stormy waters, is only a very striking image of His moral grandeur and His superiority over all the opposition that is brought to bear against Him» (A. Réville)¹.

Interpreted in its natural sense, the Gospel gives clear indication that Christ on two distinct occasions calmed the tempest, and that He walked upon the waves, as did Peter also. If acceptance of these facts be refused, no explanation, except by subtle improbabilities, is possible, in the light of the minute details that the Gospels afford us, such as: «Jesus was asleep in the hinder part of the ship», «The Apostles had rowed about 25 or 30 furlongs», «It was the fourth watch», etc.

VI. THE WITHERED FIG-TREE.

(Mt. xxi. 18—21; Mk. xi. 12—14, 20—22.)

368. I. The Gospel Account. On the Monday morning of Holy Week, Jesus journeyed with His Apostles from Bethany to Jerusalem. On His way He became hungry, or at least He feigned that He was hungry. He saw a fig-tree in the distance, which was covered with leaves². Jesus then drew near it, to see if it bore any fruit. Not finding any figs, He forthwith cursed the fig-tree, so that no one should ever eat of its fruit. Then the fig-tree withered away³. The time was not the season for figs. Nevertheless «the rich foliage of the fig-tree promised an abundant picking; for this tree bears its fruit before its leaves appear»⁴, and in the Orient produces its first fruit in the spring. Thomson, the English missionary, tells us that he himself plucked the fruit, as early as May, «from trees on Lebanon, a hundred and fifty miles north of Jerusalem, where the trees are nearly a month later than in the south of Palestine»⁵. Besides, very often the autumnal fruit could be found hidden in the leaves; for they remained upon the tree during the winter which as a rule was not at all severe.

2. The Figurative Sense of the Malediction of the Fig-tree. This miracle might be called a parable in action. The fig-tree is a symbol of the Jewish people, in whom Christ found nothing but an empty and hollow religion, and who because of their sterility would very soon be condemned.

¹ Jésus de Nazareth II, 203, 204.

² Fig-trees were plentiful in this locality, as is clear from the name of the town Bethphage, which literally means «house of figs».

³ According to Matthew's account, the fig-tree withered away instantly and before the eyes of the onlookers. Mark, however, implies that it was not until the next day when it was seen that it had withered. This is only another of those instances where the Evangelists reproduce but the *substance* of facts and bother very little about minor details. Cf. no. 89.

⁴ Pliny, Hist. nat. XVI, 49.

⁵ The Land and the Book I, 538.

3. **The Supernatural Character of the Malediction of the Fig-tree.** According to Rationalists, such as Strauss, H. Holtzmann, A. Réville, Loisy, this miracle, like several others, is the translation of some word of Jesus into a prodigious fact, which has become its concrete illustration. «The teaching of the parable of the withered fig-tree, Lk. xiii. 6—9, has been transformed into a material and miraculous fact, symbolical of, and identical with the word that have suggested it, yet possessing an entirely different nature.»¹

This explanation is so unfounded and so contrary to the Gospel that it bears its refutation on its face. There is nothing in the text which even hints at this so-called transformation of the parable of the fig-tree into a material fact.

VII. THE TRANSFIGURATION.

(Mt. xvii. 1—9; Mk. ix. 1—9; Lk. ix. 28—36.)

369. I. The Mount of Transfiguration. The popular and so-called traditional opinion places the scene of the transfiguration on Mt. Tabor, a beautiful and picturesque hillock, situated to the southeast of Galilee, rising about 1550 feet above the Mediterranean. Most commentators and geographers are of the opinion and rightly so, that this miracle took place upon one of the heights of the Anti-Lebanon range, perhaps upon the Great Hermon.

a) The oldest witnesses of the popular opinion are Origen, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and St. Jerome². However in the year 333, the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, who journeyed to Palestine, placed — though wrongly — the transfiguration on one of the summits of Mt. Olivet. From all this it can be gathered, that in the beginning of the 4. century, there was no fixed tradition upon which writers agreed in regard to the scene of this miracle.

b) Two centuries before Christ, Mt. Tabor (Itabyrion) according to Polybius³ was surmounted with a strong fortress built by Antiochus the Great. Whether this was in existence in the time of Christ is not known. In any case, however, Josephus, in the year 67 A. D., speaks of the inhabitants of Tabor⁴. This then cannot be the place to which Jesus retired as His longed — for retreat. There is, however, no writing which tells us that the entire summit of this mount was covered with dwelling-places.

c) At the time of the memorable confession of St. Peter, the Apostolic band was at Cæsarea Philippi⁵ and we know that the transfiguration did not take place for some six or eight days later⁶, thus making it possible for the small band to make its way to the southern part of Galilee. But there is no proof which can show that this journey ever took place. The Gospels — seldom marked with precision, it is true — give us no indication of its having taken place. They do not mention Christ's being in Galilee

¹ A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth* II, 70, 71.

² Origen, Ps. LXXXVIII. 13; Cyril, Catech. XII, 16: P. G. XXXIII, 744; Jerome, Letters 46, 12; 108, 13: P. L. XXII, 491, 889.

³ Book V, c. lxx, 6.

⁴ Incolis non erat aqua præter pluviæ (J. W. I, i, 8).

⁵ Mt. xvi. 13; Mk. viii. 27. ⁶ Mt. xvii. 1; Mk. ix. 1; Lk. ix. 28.

after this event¹; nay more, Christ having departed from Galilee and having retired to the country of Cæsarea Philippi because He was in fear of His enemies, is it at all likely that eight days later He would have been still in Galilee?

d) The strongest argument, in favour of the popular view, is that almost immediately after the transfiguration we have the incident of the cure of the epileptic youth², of which both scribes and Pharisees were witnesses. This supposes then that the Apostolic band was still within the confines of Galilee. Still it must be borne in mind that Cæsarea Philippi had a Jewish population³, and hence had both synagogues and scribes. A few days were sufficient to gather a large crowd around our Lord, since His reputation had spread throughout all Palestine.

370. 2. The Gospel Account of the Transfiguration⁴. Jesus took the most important members of the Apostolic group, Peter, James the Greater⁵, and John⁶, and with them ascended a high mountain there to give Himself to prayer⁷. While He prayed, Jesus was transfigured before His Apostles. His face changed in aspect and shone like the sun. His garments became as dazzling and as glistening as the driven snow (Vulg., or better as a brilliant light, as the Greek has it); «so as no fuller upon earth made whiteness like this», says St. Mark.

For the space of a few moments, the divine Word laid aside His servant's form and assumed the character of the only-begotten Son of God, and thus the glory of the soul and divinity of Jesus streamed through the veils of His flesh. In thus manifesting His glory to His Apostles, the Saviour wished to animate their courage, strengthen their faith, provide them against the scandal of His Passion; for the twelve, Peter in particular, could not grasp the idea of a suffering and dying Messiah⁸.

Moses and Elias, the two great representatives of the Old Covenant, appeared beside Him, dazzling and transfigured, and spoke to Him, concerning His departure from the world (the Passion, Death, Resurrection and Ascension) which would take place at Jerusalem. They came to extend their homage to the Messiah, and to testify that He was the great Object of the Law and the Prophets. The three Apostles had by this time yielded to sleep, a fact which leads to the belief that the Transfiguration, like the agony in the garden, took place at night. Awakened from their slumbers, they beheld the glory of Jesus and with Him Moses and Elias, whose identity was made known to them by an inward inspiration. As the majestic visitants were about to retire, Peter desirous of prolonging

¹ Mt. xvii. 21; Mk. ix. 29.

² Mk. ix. 13.

³ Jos., Vita 13.

⁴ St. Thom., S. th. 3, q. 45, 1—4.

⁵ Acts xii. 2.

⁶ No. 96.

⁷ It was also upon a mountain that God revealed Himself to Moses and that He appeared to the prophets. Cf. Ex. iii. 1; xix. 3; 3 Kings xix. 8; 4 Kings iv. 25.

⁸ Mt. xvi. 22, 23; Mk. viii. 32, 33.

the happy event, said to Jesus: «Lord, it is good for us to be here.» Then for the time being forgetting his own and his companions' presence, he said simply: «If thou wilt, let us¹ make here three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias.» His idea was to delay the presence of these three great figures upon the mountain heights, thinking that the Saviour would not go to Jerusalem where the Sanhedrists sought to put Him to death². But St. Mark informs us that he knew not what he said; for all three Apostles were now bewildered with fear at what they had seen.

Peter was still speaking when a bright cloud, the symbol of the divine majesty³ and a sign of the special presence of the Lord⁴, overshadowed Jesus, Elias and Moses. From the cloud the voice of the Father spoke, even as it had spoken at the time of the Baptism⁵: «This is My well-beloved Son in whom I am well-pleased. (He is the Lawgiver of the New Covenant); hear ye Him.» Upon beholding the bright cloud and hearing the voice, the Apostles became extremely frightened, and in their fear they fell upon their faces. Looking up they saw, now, no one but Jesus. Their Master re-assured them and commanded that they tell no man of the vision until after the Resurrection. The Apostles, as we know, remained faithful to this command. We have explained, elsewhere, what reason Christ had in being so reserved in regard to the manifestation of His Messianic dignity and divinity⁶. In regard to the command given here, the following additional and particular reason deserves mention: Our Lord thought that, after His Resurrection, the testimony of the Apostles would appear less doubtful and that it would lose much of its seemingly improbable character, because then the glory which surrounded His name would be more marvellous than that which radiated from His Person, at this particular time.

371. 3. The Supernatural Character of the Transfiguration. —

a) ERRORS. In the opinion of Rationalists, the Transfiguration is a vision pure and simple (Neander), a play of atmospheric light at a time when Jesus was conversing with two strangers on the mountain-top (Hase, Schleiermacher, Paulus), a myth traced on the lines of the Mosaic legend⁷ the purpose of which was to demonstrate the superiority of Jesus over Moses (Strauss), a legend originating from the teaching of Jesus concerning His relation with Moses and Elias (Schenkel), «a wholly subjective vision» which in its make-up amounts to this, that «Jesus, in the conviction of the three Apostles, is confirmed in His authority by the Law and the Prophets, of which Moses and Elias are respectively the traditional types, and which, He said, He came not to abolish, but to fulfil» (A. Réville). According to others (Schmiedel), the participation of Peter, James, and John was less

¹ Greek: Let me make.

² Mt. xvi. 22.

³ 1 Tim. vi. 16.

⁴ Ex. xvi. 10; xi. 32; Num. x. 34.

⁵ Mt. iii. 17; Ps. ii. 7; Is. xlii. 1; Deut. xviii. 15.

⁶ No. 227.

⁷ Ex. xxxiv. 29.

active than the Evangelists suppose. «That they were present need not be denied, but their activity would then be limited to this that, after awakening from sleep perhaps, they received a powerful impression of the wondrous majesty with which Jesus came to meet them after He had heard the heavenly voice. The voice itself, they would not in that case have heard directly for themselves, but would have afterwards learned of it from the mouth of Jesus.»¹

b) REFUTATION. 1. There is no miracle better attested than this; for not only it is described by the three Synoptics, but it is recorded by St. Peter, and probably by St. John who having seen the event with their own eyes were in a position to be well-informed concerning it². 2. As in the accounts of other miracles, the narration of this is marked by a precision in detail which gives it the character of true history. Thus we are told that there were *three* Apostles with Jesus, that it took place *six* or *eight* days after the confession of St. Peter, etc. There is no doubt at all that a symbolical and unreal story may have a certain appearance of being exact. But if this were a legend, we would hardly expect to be told that Peter knew not what he said, that the Apostles were asleep, and that they kept the miracle a secret until after the Resurrection. All these details scarcely carry a symbolical meaning. 3. It is hardly worth while to recall the contradictions of the Rationalistic explanations, which only serve to confirm their arbitrariness and their fallacy³.

III. CURES IN THE PROPER SENSE, BY JESUS CHRIST.

I. THE GOSPEL DATA.

372. 1. Leprosy (Mt. viii. 1—4; Mk. i. 40—45; Lk. v. 12—14; xvii. 12—19). During the course of the Galilean ministry, the Saviour, by a mere word and a touch, instantly cured a man entirely covered with leprosy. Some time after this, ten lepers came to Him and begged Him to have pity on them. He commanded them to show themselves to the priests; for the Law prohibited a leper from mingling with other people until the priests had established the fact of his cure⁴. Accordingly they went, and on their way they were freed from their malady. Leprosy in itself is a fatal disease, caused by the entrance of particular bacilli, very much in appearance like the tuberculosis germ, into the organic tissues. It is contagious in the localities where until lately it was not combated, and where the germs have maintained all their virulence. It was frequently met with in Palestine in the 1. century, even as it is at the present time (Fig. 67).

2. Paralysis. Three cures of paralytics are recorded for us in the Gospels. At Capharnaum Christ bade a paralytic lying upon a pallet: «Take up thy bed and go into thy house.» And immediately the sick man was cured⁵. In the very same city, a centurion came to Him on one occasion and besought Him to cure his servant who

¹ Art. Simon Peter, in *Encycl. Biblica* IV, 4570, 4571.

² 2 Pet. i. 17 f.; Jn. i. 14: We saw His glory (*vidimus gloriam eius*).

³ Cf. *Knabenbauer*, *Comm. in Matth.* II, 94, 95.

⁴ Lev. xiv. 1—8.

⁵ Mt. ix. 1—7; Mk. ii. 1—12; Lk. v. 18—26.

was a paralytic, and then at death's door. The Saviour, without entering his house, said to the centurion; «Go, and be it done unto thee, as thou hast believed.» The cure took place that same hour¹. At Jerusalem, Jesus gave health to the paralytic of Bethsaida. There was in Jerusalem, to the north of the Temple, near the Sheep-gate — according to the Greek — a pool, which in Hebrew was called Bethesda (no. 209)² and which the manuscripts have designated as Bethsaida or Bethzetha. It was surrounded by five porches, under which the sick lay in great number. All were there, the blind, the halt, the paralyzed, waiting for the movement of the water, for an



Fig. 67. Lepers in Palestine. (Phot. Bruno Hentschel, Leipsic.)

angel of the Lord came to the pool at a certain time each day and stirred it. The first to immerse himself in the water, after it had been so moved, was cured of his infirmity, no matter of what nature it might be³. Among the expectant multitude of sick there was a man who, as the context shows, was a paralytic for thirty-eight years. There was no one that would aid him to be the first to immerse himself in the «troubled water», and it always happened that while he was going himself, another went in before him. Jesus, when told his story, said to him: «Arise, take up thy bed and walk.» And at that very instant the man was cured⁴.

¹ Mt. viii. 5—13; Lk. vii. 2—10.

² House of Mercy.

³ For the genuineness of this passage see no. 107.

⁴ Jn. v. 1—9.

All critics of Rationalistic tendencies and a few Catholic scholars look upon the last half of verse 3 and all of verse 4 of the fifth chapter of St. John as a popular explanation of a natural effect produced by the virtue of the thermal character of the water, and they maintain that St. John adapted himself to this popular belief, in relating the event, without guaranteeing its genuineness¹. But this opinion is contrary to the explanation given by the holy doctors, and if verse 4 be elided, it is in open contradiction to the Gospel. St. John does not say that it was a common opinion, but he does point to what had taken place in unmistakable language. Besides, if it was question here of the medicinal qualities that the water possessed, would it have been beneficial for all diseases? Would it have produced its effect immediately? Would it have power to cure only at certain times, and then only for one sick person at a time?

Following the view of Tertullian, we say that these miraculous cures and these appearances of the angel were a sign which God vouchsafed the Jews, indicating the coming of the Saviour, and this sign was soon taken away from them because of their unbelief. Perhaps its brief existence after this miracle is the reason why it is mentioned nowhere else, neither in the Sacred Books nor in profane writings. Again it is not necessary to claim that the angel manifested himself visibly.

373. 3. Blindness. Jesus gave sight immediately to at least seven blind men, one of them being blind from his birth. Four He healed by merely touching their eyes, upon another He imposed His hands and moistened his eyes with spittle. The man born blind He cured by anointing his eyes with clay made with His spittle and sent him to wash himself in the Pool of Siloe. St. Matthew who describes the cure of a blind and dumb demoniac, does not tell us how this miracle was accomplished².

4. The Issue of Blood (Mt. ix. 20—22; Mk. v. 25—34; Lk. viii. 43—48)³. A woman afflicted with an issue of blood for twelve years, who had sought for relief from doctors, but to no avail, was cured immediately by touching in a spirit of lively faith, the hem of Jesus' garment.

5. Other Cures. The Gospels make mention of other cures effected by our Lord, all of which were instantaneous, namely, the cure of the man with the withered hand, the cure of Peter's mother-in-law who was prostrated by a violent fever and at the word of Jesus arose and ministered at table, the cure of Malchus whose ear Peter had cut off at Gethsemane, the cure of the deaf and dumb man to whom Christ gave speech and hearing by putting spittle

¹ So Jahn, Scholtz, Sepp, Maier, Schegg, Schanz.

² Mt. ix. 27—31; xx. 29—34; Mk. x. 46—52; Lk. xviii. 35—43. Mk. viii. 22 to 26. Jn. ix. Mt. xii. 32.

³ According to the apocryphal and legendary Gospel of Nicodemus, the woman who was cured of this disease was named *Βερονίκη*, Veronica; at the trial of Jesus she gave evidence in His favour. Cf. The Gospel of Nicodemus VII; Ante-Nicene Fathers 419; also *Tischendorf*, *Evangelia Apocrypha* 239. Eusebius, the historian of Cæsarea in Palestine, affirms that she was a native of Paneas or Cæsarea Philippi.

upon his tongue, and placing His fingers in his ears, at the same time saying: «Be thou opened»¹, and the cure of the dropsical man. Whilst Jesus was at Cana, an officer in the service of the king came to Him and asked for the cure of his son, who lay ill at Capharnaum. Jesus said to the father: «Go, thy son liveth.» And in fact the same hour the boy was cured².

II. THE SUPERNATURAL CHARACTER OF THE CURES EFFECTED BY JESUS.

374. 1. The Views of Rationalists. Rationalists freely grant that a certain number of the cures performed by Jesus are real historical facts, but they attempt to explain their supernatural character away, claiming that they were performed by natural means, appealing in defence of their position to the power of psychic influence or suggestion³, and by asserting that the evangelical accounts «have been transposed, corrected and amplified, according to the liking of the Evangelists, for the sake of edification, and in accordance with the demands of apologetics»⁴.

«The scientific school of medicine, founded by Greece five centuries before, was at the time of Jesus unknown to the Jews of Palestine. In such a state of knowledge, the presence of a superior man, treating the sick with gentleness, and giving him by some tangible sign the assurance of his recovery, is often a decisive remedy. Who would dare to say that in many cases, excepting of course, certain peculiar injuries, the touch of a superior being is not equal to all the resources of pharmacy? The mere pleasure of seeing such a one cured. He gives what he can — a smile, a hope, and these are not in vain.»⁵ If there are several occurrences still inexplicable, it is because we are ignorant of all the forces at play in nature, and fail in recognizing their reciprocal action, one upon the other⁶.

2. Proof of the Supernatural Character of the Cures wrought by Jesus.

A. GENERAL PRINCIPLES IN REGARD TO THE THERAPEUTIC POWER OF SUGGESTION. From the point of view which we maintain, diseases are distinguishable into two classes, namely: those which take their rise in the nervous system, and those which lay hold on the tissues of the body. No one denies — for experience is sufficient attestation of the fact — that a strong emotion or influence can arouse the latent forces of a living organism whose natural resistance is thereby increased tenfold. Nor will it be denied either that suggestion, produced by means of hypnotic sleep, does cure or at least alleviates

¹ Dropsy is a disease resulting from the abnormal accumulation of serous liquids in the cellular tissues.

² Mt. xii. 9—13; Mk. iii. 1—5; Lk. vi. 6—10. Mt. viii. 14, 15; Mk. i. 29—31; Lk. iv. 38, 39. Lk. xxii. 50, 51. Mk. vii. 31—37. Lk. xiv. 1—6. Jn. iv. 46—54.

³ *Schmiedel*, art. Gospels, in *Encycl.* II, 1884—1885.

⁴ *Loisy*, *Les Évangiles syn.* I, 110, 183, 455, 466, 982, 1008, 1009.

⁵ *Renan*, *Life of Jesus* 224.

⁶ Cf. *Harnack*, *What is Christianity?* 32.

to a great extent, and sometimes instantaneously, localized disorders which have taken root or have originated in the nervous system. Hypnotism does have some effect upon hysteria, neurasthenia, paralysis in one or more members of the body, internal hemorrhages, and hallucinations. But, «no one at the present day admits the direct action of suggestion and hypnotism upon an organic lesion. . . . I have no hesitation in saying with Crocq that there is nothing to prove that hypnotherapeutics have any influence upon organic lesions¹. In the last case, the action of suggestion simply affects the neuroses which are often connected with organic lesions, modifies the circulation of the blood and the secretion and the circulation of organic humours which are under the influence of the vaso-motor nerves (which determine the contraction and expansion of the vascular muscles), and thus contributes to the slow rebuilding of the affected tissues.

Suggestion, when applied in the wakeful state, produces the same results. But «they are noticeable only upon subjects who are either apt subjects for the hypnotic influence or who have had previous experience with suggestion. Yet it must not be denied that even in a conscious state suggestion really has some influence even though there has been no predisposition to its power»².

On the other hand, suggestion cannot be applied according to a general and unchanging rule except upon a subject who has consented to submit to its influence, nor can it act at a distance from the subject. «An unwilling subject neither heeds the hypnotizer, . . . nor can he be made to sleep or in the least made to follow suggestions.»³

375. B. APPLICATION OF THESE GENERAL PRINCIPLES. a) In line with the principles we have just laid down, leprosy, being a disease which breaks down the tissues of the body, cannot be cured *instantaneously* by suggestion. There can be no question that, when the Evangelists spoke of leprosy, they mean just what we mean by the term at the present day; for it was quite prevalent in Palestine in the I. century, and there was hardly a possibility that they could confound it with another disease which bore some resemblance to it. And even if they were deceived by appearances, the fact that it was cured in a single moment would argue the supernatural character of the cure.

b) Every one in a position to know will readily concede that *paralysis* can, under the influence of a violent shock, especially when the patient is extremely nervous, be cured. But no moral shock was given the paralytics of the Gospel. The paralytic of Bethesda, as he lay in his misery, did not expect that Christ was going to give him health and strength, when He took notice of him. To the Saviour's question «Do you wish to be cured?» he replied: «Lord,

¹ Grasset, L'hypnotisme 398—400.

² Ib. 124, 127, 128, 377

³ Ib. 98, 130.

I have no one to put me in the pool.» Jesus cured the servant of the centurion, without even seeing the sick man, and at the very moment when he said to the centurion that his servant was healed. The cure of the son of the officer of Capharnaum was effected in almost like manner. These cases can never be satisfactorily explained on the theory of suggestion. The third cure of this disease that Christ wrought, might be shown to have been effected by emotion produced in the patient. But in this particular case Christ Jesus wished to prove His power to forgive sins, and His honesty and sincerity precludes the idea that here He worked solely by natural causes.

c) Suggestion cannot cure blindness; for it only possesses healing power over those diseases that it can engender. The genuineness of the Gospel account cannot be called into question. Of all the miracles embodied in the fourth Gospel, those that relate to the cures of the blind are given at length and with great detail. St. John gives us as it were all the «legal» proofs which establish the genuineness of the cures; he¹ tells us that the patient in question was a blind man who was well-known to the people, and hence this miracle could be easily confirmed by those who were not actual eye-witnesses of the event. Moreover, the description given is inimitable in its naturalness. In reading the account one imagines that he is present at the whole occurrence, seeing the patient, Christ and the crowd, and hearing every word that was spoken by both the Healer and the healed. The words *abii, laui et video* are striking evidences of the truth and precision of the whole narrative. Nor is the sentence of our Lord addressed to the blind man (*Et vidisti eum*) less admirable. Lastly the cry that the poor patient sent up: *Credo, Domine*, grips the reader so intensely that he can no longer doubt that here all is given in good faith. From all this we conclude that the cure of the man born blind is real and at the same time supernatural.

d) It must be admitted that suggestion is capable of effecting a cure in cases of hemorrhage similar, if not identical, with the disorder with which the woman with the issue of blood was afflicted. Yet there are circumstances here which make it impossible to admit the influence of this means. The sudden and instantaneous cure of a disease of twelve years standing, which had defied all previous treatment, needs to be explained on some other ground than that of strong emotion or a nervous shock. Much less can we argue for this cause in the case of dropsy. Rooted as it is in the organic parts of the body, this disease can be cured only by effecting the gradual absorption of the excess liquid or by puncturing the body and producing an outward flow. Suggestion would have to exercise even a greater influence in the case of healing the ear of

¹ Jn. ix. 8.

Malchus, than the preceding diseases have demanded. Here the sudden healing of a wounded member demands the miraculous; for on no other supposition can it be explained.

Accordingly, from the cases studied, we are forced to adopt one of two positions: either we are bound to admit the supernatural element in all these cures, or we must, in opposition to all the principles of sane criticism¹, deny the historical value of the Gospels.

e) In regard to the other cures, the sacred authors do not furnish us with sufficient data to enable us to determine what part suggestion played in their production. All in a position to know will admit that blindness, deafness, dumbness, and lameness may and have been cured, and that instantaneously by some great moral shock, since in their nature they are necessarily nervous affections. Side by side with this it must be borne in mind that the Evangelists' only idea was to detail miraculous and not natural cures. Hence as there is nothing to show that these diseases were those rooted in the nerves, and as the cures which are given in detail are miraculous, there is no reason, from our point of view, to doubt the supernatural character of those which are related ever so briefly, even by a mere mention.

f) One thing remarkable in all these cures is that they were permanent. All of them excited the enthusiasm of the crowd, and that enthusiasm lasted for many months, even in spite of the teaching which Christ gave forth, which often scandalized His hearers. Besides, the Apostles, whose sincerity cannot be questioned, were in a position to know, during their sojourns and journeys in Palestinian localities, the results of all these miracles. If the Evangelists recorded them as miracles, their effect must have been permanent.

Finally, in order to be certain whether we are in the presence of a miracle, it is not necessary to know all the laws of nature. It is sufficient to know that the causes put into play are out of all proportion in their insignificance to the effect produced.

IV. THE RESURRECTIONS FROM THE DEAD EFFECTED BY JESUS.

376. I. The Biblical Account. St. Augustine was right when he said that we shall never know for certain how many people were given life by our Saviour after death had come upon them². The Gospel record furnishes us with three such occurrences, namely the raising of the daughter of Jairus, that of the son of the widow of Naim, and that of Lazarus, and each of these three is marked by some peculiar and distinctive feature³. In the first case, we have a

¹ No. 82 f.

² Serm. 98, 3: P. L. XXXVIII, 592. *Mortui resurgunt*, says our Lord (Mt. xi. 5; Lk. vii. 22).

³ Mt. ix. 18—26; Mk. v. 21—43; Lk. viii 40—56; vii. 11—17; Jn. xi.

young girl of tender years who has just breathed her last; in the second we have a young man somewhat older in years, whose dead body was being borne to the grave; and in the third, we have a full grown man, who had been buried for more than three days. By these resurrections, one more striking than the other, as one is better attested than the other, our Lord shows us that He is the sole and absolute master over life and death, and that whether in the tomb or in the coffin or even upon the death-bed all are under His hand and in His power: *Omnes enim vivunt ei*¹. Moreover these three miracles are the figure of those innumerable resurrections, wonderful as they are mystical, which the word of God is unceasingly effecting in the souls of men².

2. The Reality of the Gospel Resurrections.

A. THE RATIONALISTIC EXPLANATION. A mere mention of the extravagant and antiquated explanations, so contrary to the Sacred Text in their import, which were held by advanced critics, will suffice here. These were generally embodied in the opinion of Paulus to the effect that the people called back to life in the Gospel were not really dead. Rationalists of to-day look upon these miracles, as a rule, as myths or allegorical pictures. As the O. T. contained the narration of resurrections which were effected by simple prophets, Christ enshrined in tradition, soon became a figure around which all miracles clustered. This tradition looked upon Christ as one greater than the prophets, and in this way began to attribute to Him like powers over death (Strauss). In the opinion of Schmiedel, the two resurrections recorded by the Synoptics have their basis in a gradual formation and development of some very simple statements of our Lord. When the disciples of John the Baptist came to Jesus to find out something about His mission, Jesus charged these messengers to tell their master that the blind see . . . that the dead rise, and that to the poor the Gospel is preached. Now St. Luke failed to take Christ's words in a moral and spiritual sense, as is easily seen by the next sentence: «the Gospel is preached to the poor»; on the other hand, he was influenced by the data of the Old Law which contained the accounts of the resurrections effected by Elias and Eliseus. For this reason he imagined that they were real physical resurrections, when as a matter of fact they were spiritual resurrections, as for instance in the case of the son of the widow of Naim.

As regards the resurrection of the daughter of Jairus, its origin can be traced to a misunderstanding of the Evangelists. The words of our Saviour on this occasion: «She is not dead, but sleepeth», were twisted by the disciples, who were influenced by the stories of Elias and Eliseus, into meaning that she was raised from the dead when

¹ Lk. xx. 38.

² Jn. v. 17.

in reality Christ had merely effected her cure¹. Almost in the same manner, A. Réville looks upon this miracle as the result «of a gradual amplification of the marvellous»². According to other Rationalists, the resurrection of Lazarus took its beginning in the words of Jesus, to the effect that, if Lazarus, in the parable, would come back to life, he would not be believed (Renan), or upon the whole parable of the poor Lazarus³ (Weisse, Schenkel, H. Holtzmann); or, the whole account is an allegory (Baur) formed from the two resurrections which the Synoptics record, whose purpose was to explain the remark of Jesus: «I am the resurrection and the life» (Loisy, J. Réville).

377. B. REFUTATION. a) We have already remarked and we repeat it here that Rationalism rests on the *a priori* denial of all that is miraculous (no. 14), and that the testimony of the Evangelists who really intend to narrate real and true resurrections here, cannot be cast aside by sound criticism (no. 82 f.). To this we further remark that the accounts of the three resurrections are remarkable for their clear and precise character. St. John, in particular, mentions all the circumstances of the event⁴, the notoriety that was given it, the mass of witnesses who saw it⁵, the irritation of the enemies of Jesus, and the determination to put Him to death that followed closely upon it⁶. No inventor could be so exact and also simple and dignified in his treatment; for he would have been rather tempted, as were the apocryphal writers, to romance, and to descend to ridiculous and silly details.

b) To safely and validly deny *the resurrection of the daughter of Fairus* many difficulties must be met. Not only is it recorded by all three of the Synoptics, but it is intimately connected with the episode of the woman with the issue of blood, and the two facts stand or fall together⁷. If one is true, the other must be true. Besides, it is quite evident that we are not dealing here with a simple cure. The father of the girl explicitly says that she is dead. When Jesus arrives at the house, the flute-players and the mourners had already begun their lamentations. Everybody laughed in derision when, in mysterious language, Christ declared that the girl was not dead but asleep, that is, that He would soon bring her back to life. Now it is very unlikely that so many people would confound mere sleep with death. Again the secrecy in which Jesus veiled the wonderful event, is a guarantee of its genuineness. The only witnesses were the father and the mother of the dead child, and Peter, James the Greater, and John, and He gives strict orders that it should not be published abroad. We know from other parts of the Gospel

¹ Encycl. Biblica II, 2316.

² Jésus de Nazareth II, 68, 69.

³ Lk. xvi.

⁴ Jn. xi. 5, 6, 18, 28, 30, 32, 35, 38, 44.

⁵ Jn. xi. 19, 31, 33, 42, 45.

⁶ Jn. xi. 47—56; xii. 9, 10, 17.

⁷ Mt. ix. 18—26.

account that at this particular stage in His public ministry He manifested an extreme reserve in manifesting His Messianic dignity and His divine character¹. Again a legendary account would never have inserted the words «she sleeps», because such language would be enough to give an insight into the true character of the story. And if this resurrection really took place what grounds have advanced critics for denying the reality of the miracle at Naim?

c) The reality of the *resurrection of Lazarus* is also certain (Fig. 68). As a matter of fact this miracle plays an important part in the fourth Gospel. For it is a «necessary link leading to the final



Fig. 68. Tomb of Lazarus at Bethany. (Phot. Bonfils.)

catastrophe», and if the miracle is not real, then the Passion in all its events and occurrences must fall to the ground. «Up to this time the conflict between Jesus and the Jews followed an ascending scale; the miracle of Bethany was the last step in this gradation; and the death of the Saviour is the immediate consequence»; for the great council of the Jews assembled immediately after it had taken place, and, in its bewilderment, decided upon the death of Jesus. «Now all critics agree that in the narration of the Passion, the fourth Gospel possesses the same historical value as the Synoptics. Hence the reality of the fact which was the nearest efficient cause of the Passion, must be admitted.»²

¹ Nos. 214, 227.

² Calmes, Évangile selon St. Jean 341.

«The exactness and the abundance of historical details is fatal to the allegorical theory. It is true, that in the thought of the author, the resurrection of Lazarus symbolizes the mystic resurrection of the soul which attaches itself to Jesus¹. But what is most striking is the sober tone in which the miracle is narrated (41—44); the copious exposition demands historic antecedents. It is just the contrary that is found in allegorical teaching. Besides, many features in the account are of a striking reality. Can it be maintained that the author, adopting the form of allegory in order to express the doctrine of the mystical resurrection by faith, would insist on details so intensely human and record them as having taken place, as the emotion, the worry and the tears of Jesus?»² The account of this miracle and the parable of the poor man Lazarus are not on parallel lines at all and have nothing mutual except the identity of name, which was a very common one among the Jews, and the idea of a resurrection, and these are by far too scanty data to justify the position that the parable was translated into a miracle. Likewise it is very improbable that the account of St. John is a combination of the two resurrections recorded by the Synoptics; for there are scarcely any points of contact in all three of the miracles.

378. Objection against this Miracle. It has been urged that, if this miracle really took place, it would not, because of its striking character, have been omitted by the Synoptics. This difficulty is, however, easily explained. a) At the time of the formation of the oral tradition used by the Synoptics, prudence, if nothing else, would dictate such an omission; for its account would turn the fury of the Jews against Lazarus and his sisters³. For the same reason they failed to mention the one who struck the blow against Malchus⁴. b) After having limited themselves to the narration of the ministry of the Saviour in Galilee, the Synoptics would deem it most natural to begin the story of His Passion with His triumphal entry into Jerusalem; whilst St. John's pre-occupation was to detail all that took place in Judea and in the capital city⁵. c) Lastly, none of the Evangelists has made any pretension to giving the complete list of the Lord's miracles⁶. Nay more, there is not one Gospel that does not contain some miracle that the others have passed over in silence⁷. One of the greatest and at the same time most incontestable miracles, namely the appearance of the Saviour to five hundred of his disciples, is found only in the Epistles and has no other authoritative guarantee than the Apostle St. Paul⁸.

¹ Jn. xi. 25. ² *Calmes* l. c. 341, 342.

³ Cf. Jn. xii. 10.

⁴ Cf. Mt. xxvi. 51; Mk. xiv. 47; Lk. xxii. 50; Jn. xviii. 10.

⁵ No. 111.

⁶ Jn. xxi. 25. Cf. Mt. xii. 14—16; xiv. 13, 14, 34—36; xv. 29—31; xix. 1, 2; xxi. 14; Mk. vi. 53—56; Lk. iv. 40; v. 15; vi. 17—19; vii. 20—22.

⁷ Of 30 miracles, 15 are related by one Evangelist; 5 by St. John: ii. 1, 14; iv. 46; v. 2; ix. 1; xviii. 6; 7 by St. Luke: iv. 30; v. 1; vii. 12; xii. 11; xiv. 2; xvii. 12; xxii. 51; 2 by St. Matthew: ix. 27; xvii. 26; 1 by St. Mark: viii. 22.

⁸ 1 Cor. xv. 6.

ART. II.

THE PROPHECIES OF JESUS.

I. THE PROPHECIES OF JESUS IN REGARD TO HIMSELF,
IN REGARD TO THE CHURCH,
IN REGARD TO THE CONVERSION OF UNBELIEVERS,
IN REGARD TO HIS DISCIPLES, AND ENEMIES.

379. I. Christ's Knowledge of Things hidden to Ordinary Man. A mere reading of the Gospel will convince any one that there was nothing that the Saviour desired to know, either in the present and the future, that escaped His scrutiny. Indeed, St. John lays particular stress on this fact, quite frequently¹.

a) Christ gave frequent evidence of His perception of *the most secret affairs*. Thus He knows men's thoughts²; their opinions and designs³; the facts the knowledge of which it was less easy to acquire⁴.

b) In like manner He had full control over *the future*, as we shall show presently. Not once did He ever hesitate in regard to the course of action that He should adopt⁵; nor did He ever show Himself to be in the least disquieted about what was going to occur in the future⁶. From the very beginning of His preaching, He knew whither He was going, as He knew what work He had to do, and how it would all end. The plan and outline of His work was always before Him in spirit, and He easily foresaw the doom that was in store for Him⁷.

380. II. The Predictions of Jesus in regard to Himself.

There are quite a number of facts relative to the Person of Jesus that He foretold. He predicted His Passion, foretold the time of its occurrence, the place and the principal attendant circumstances⁸. Not content with making these predictions once, He repeats and makes them clearer and clearer, as the time of their fulfilment draws near, and He gives the reason why He pursues this course of action⁹.

¹ Jn. xviii. 4; xxi. 17, 18, etc.

² Mt. ix. 3, 4; xii. 24, 25; xvi. 7, 8; Mk. ii. 8; Lk. vi. 8; vii. 39, 40; xi. 17.

³ Mt. xxii. 18; xxvi. 10; Lk. v. 21, 22; ix. 46, 47; xx. 22; Jn. ii. 24; vi. 65; vii. 20; xiii. 11; xvi. 19.

⁴ Mt. xi. 21—23; Jn. i. 42, 47, 48; ii. 24, 25; iv. 18, 29; vi. 15, 65, 71; vii. 20, 21; xi. 13; xiii. 1, 11, 18; xvi. 32; xix. 28, etc.

⁵ Jn. vi. 6. ⁶ Lk. xiii. 32, 33; Jn. xviii. 4.

⁷ Jn. viii. 14.

⁸ Mt. xvi. 21; xvii. 12; xx. 17—19, 28; xxvi. 2, 23—28, 45; Mk. ix. 11; x. 32 to 34, 38; xiv. 28, 25, 41; Lk. ix. 22; xviii. 31—33; xx. 9; xxii. 15; xxiv. 7; Jn. ii. 19; iii. 14; viii. 28; xii. 32, 33, etc.

⁹ Ut, cum factum fuerit, credatis. Jn. xiv. 29. Cf. xiii. 19; xvi. 4.

He also foretells the desertion of His disciples¹, His Crucifixion², His Resurrection³, and His Ascension⁴.

III. Predictions of Jesus in regard to His Church. In connection with the Church Christ made several predictions⁵. In regard to these prophecies, we cannot help but notice their unquestionable authenticity, their strange and unlikely character at the time of their utterance, the unshaken confidence with which Christians looked forward to their future fulfilment, and lastly, their manifest realization.

381. IV. Predictions of Jesus in regard to the Conversion of Unbelievers. Christ adopted two methods in foretelling the conversion of the Gentiles: first He employed a method more or less veiled, namely, He taught this truth in parables, especially in those of the two sons⁶, the prodigal son⁷, the wicked husbandmen⁸, the grain of mustard seed⁹; secondly, He adopted a clearer and more explicit method in several of His discourses, where in so many words He told His hearers that this would surely occur¹⁰.

382. V. Predictions of Jesus in regard to His Disciples in general and in particular.

To His disciples in general, the Saviour foretold the graces of the Holy Ghost whom they were to receive from His Father¹¹; the trials and persecutions that were to be their portion at the hands of the world¹².

To His Apostles, He foretold their dispersion during the time of His Passion, and their reunion a short time after¹³; He predicted for them the gift of conversion¹⁴, the gift of miracles¹⁵, the gift of languages¹⁶, the gift of inspiration¹⁷, the supernatural lights that would

¹ Mt. xxvi. 31, 56; Mk. xiv. 27; Jn. xvi. 32.

² Mt. x. 38; xvi. 24; xx. 18, 19; xxvi. 2; Mk. viii. 34; x. 33, 34; Lk. ix. 22, 23; xiv. 27; Jn. iii. 14; viii. 28; x. 11, 18; xii. 32—34.

³ Mt. xii. 39, 40; xvi. 17—21; xvii. 9, 21, 22; xx. 18, 19, 23; xxvi. 32; xxvii. 62—64; Mk. viii. 31; v. 34; xiv. 28; Lk. ix. 22; xi. 30; xviii. 33; xxiv. 7; Jn. ii. 19—22.

⁴ Mt. xvi. 28; xxiv. 38; xxvi. 64; Jn. iii. 13; vi. 63; xiv. 3, 38; xvi. 16; xx. 17.

⁵ See nos. 503 ff.

⁶ Mt. xxi. 28.

⁷ Lk. xv. 11—32.

⁸ Lk. xx. 9—19.

⁹ Mt. xiii. 31, 32.

¹⁰ Mt. viii. 10, 11; xii. 17—21; xxi. 41; xxii. 2—10; xxiv. 14; xxviii. 19, 20; Lk. xiii. 29; xix. 16—24; xxiv. 47; Jn. iv. 21—23, 34—38; xii. 20, 31, 32; Acts i. 8.

¹¹ Jn. vii. 38, 39.

¹² Mt. xxiv. 9—13; Mk. iv. 17; x. 39; Lk. xi. 49; xii. 1—11; xxi. 12, 13; Jn. xv. 20, 21; xv. 2—4.

¹³ Mt. xxvi. 31; Jn. xvi. 32.

¹⁴ Mt. iv. 18—20; Mk. i. 17; Lk. xxiv. 49; Jn. xv. 16; Acts i. 8.

¹⁵ Mt. x. 1, 8; xvii. 19, 20; Mk. xvi. 17; Lk. x. 19; Jn. xiv. 12.

¹⁶ Mk. xvi. 17.

¹⁷ Mt. x. 19; Lk. xxi. 14, 15.

be theirs¹, the great battles and sufferings they would be forced to encounter², and the great success that would crown their efforts³.

To St. Peter, He foretold his Apostolic office⁴, the position that he would occupy in the Church⁵, his fall and conversion⁶, his martyrdom⁷, and the finding of the stater in the mouth of the fish⁸.

To Mary, the sister of Lazarus, He predicted the homage which the entire world would accord her⁹.

To the disciples who preceded Him into Bethphage, He foretold what would occur to them when they came into the city¹⁰.

To those who were charged with the preparation of the Pasch, He foretold the welcome that would be given them¹¹.

383. VI. Predictions of Jesus in regard to His Enemies.

Our Lord made many predictions in regard to His enemies:

In regard to Judas, He foretold His treachery¹² and his punishment¹³.

In regard to the Jews, He foretold that they would be supplanted by the Gentiles¹⁴; that they would persecute the preachers of the Gospel¹⁵; that they would be tried by God¹⁶; that from that very moment they would suffer a most terrible punishment¹⁷.

In regard to false Messiahs, He predicted their number, their miracles, and their success¹⁸.

In regard to Capharnaum, He foretold its decline and utter destruction¹⁹.

In regard to Jerusalem, He foretold its destruction, the signs that would precede that event and the reason why it was destroyed²⁰.

This last prophecy, together with that which foretells the conversion of the Gentiles are the most far-reaching prophecies that the Saviour uttered, and for this reason we shall make the prophecy in regard to Jerusalem the object of a special study.

¹ Jn. xiv. 26; xvi. 13.

² Mt. x. 16—19, 23, 28, 32, 34; xxiv. 9; Mk. xiii. 9; Jn. xvi. 20.

³ Mt. xix. 18; Lk. xii. 32; Jn. vii. 31; xv. 16; xvi. 21; Acts i. 8.

⁴ Lk. v. 10. ⁵ Mt. xvi. 17; Jn. i. 42—44.

⁶ Mt. xxvi. 34; Mk. xiv. 30; Lk. xxiii. 32—34.

⁷ Jn. xiii. 36; xvi. 18, 29. ⁸ Mt. xvii. 26.

⁹ Mt. xxvi. 13; Mk. xiv. 9. ¹⁰ Mt. xxi. 1, 2; Mk. xi. 2; Lk. xix. 30.

¹¹ Mt. xxv. 18; Mk. xiv. 13—16; Lk. xxii. 10—13, etc.

¹² Mt. xxvi. 21—25, 46; Mk. xiv. 18—21; Lk. xxii. 21—23; Jn. vi. 71, 72; xiii. 10, 18, 21, 26, 27.

¹³ Mt. xxvi. 24; Mk. xiv. 21.

¹⁴ Mt. viii. 11, 12; xi. 28—43; Mk. xii. 1, 2; Lk. xii. 28, 29; xiv. 16—24; xx. 9—19.

¹⁵ Mt. xxiii. 34—39. ¹⁶ Mt. xiii. 12—15; xxi. 44; Lk. xiii. 9.

¹⁷ Mt. xxiii. 38; xxiv. 1—21; Lk. xxi. 5—24; xxiii. 28—31.

¹⁸ Mt. xxiv. 5, 23, 24; Jn. v. 43. ¹⁹ Mt. xi. 23.

²⁰ Nos. 281 f.

II. THE PROPHECY OF JESUS IN REGARD TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

(Mt. xxiv; Mk. xiii; Lk. xxi.)

I. THE PROPHECY AND ITS REALIZATION.

384. The Object of this Prophecy and the Difficulties connected with it. The object of the greater part of this prophecy is the destruction of Jerusalem, although there is another part, the last, which bears directly on the end of the world. These two points can be regarded as admitted on all sides. But the question where critics begin to disagree is this: Are the prophecies which regard the fall of Jerusalem and those which concern the end of the world distinct one from the other? Or, did our Saviour have in mind these two events at the same time, and did He utter one simultaneously with the other, either because the words He employed are susceptible of a twofold literal meaning, or because they have both a literal and a spiritual meaning?

1. According to a certain number of commentators, the *prophecies* which relate to Jerusalem, and those that concern the end of the world, instead of being two distinct discourses, as one would at first sight be led to believe, are really *only one*, embracing the two facts so inextricably intermingled, that some features apply to the one and the other, while others only bear upon one event, others again refer primarily to the one, and secondarily to the other of the two happenings. All who advocate this view appeal to St. Jerome¹ as favouring them, and they assign as their reason the ordinary method employed by the prophets and the peculiar nature of prophetic inspiration.

2. In the opinion of the greatest number of critics, our Lord spoke of the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world *in two distinct discourses*, in language that clearly marked off their division. A mere analysis will prove this. They claim that the Apostles, according to the version of St. Matthew, asked their Master to enlighten them on two points, namely the time of the destruction of the Temple and the nature of the signs that would precede His second coming². Christ takes up the first question³ and answers it, and from it immediately proceeds to the answer to the second⁴. The answer to the latter, namely that referring to the end of the world, is short in St. Luke, because this Evangelist, having recorded the reply of Christ to this question elsewhere⁵, gives all that Christ said in that particular place.

¹ In Matth. XXIV. ² Mt. xxiv. 3. Cf. Dan. ix. 26.

³ Mt. xxiv. 4—22 or 28; Lk. xxi. 5—20.

⁴ Mt. xxiv. 13 or 29—42; Lk. xxi. 20—36. ⁵ Lk. xvii. 20.

3. Some critics even go so far as to say that the question of the Apostles embodies *three ideas*, as does also the reply of Christ, namely: the destruction of Jerusalem and the fall of the Temple¹, the inauguration of the kingdom of Jesus among mankind after this catastrophe², the triumph and full expansion of this same kingdom even unto the end of the world³.

385. 1. The Fall of the Temple (Mt. xxiv. 1, 2; Mk. xiii. 1, 2; Lk. xxi. 5, 6). On the Wednesday of Holy Week, Jesus was leaving the Temple with His Apostles, and they looking round about them, pointed to the great building and expressed their admiration at its splendour. The magnificence and wealth of this edifice had become proverbial; for no expense had been spared in either its marble or golden decorations⁴. And this is why in speaking of the Temple, the rabbis were wont to say that he who had not seen the Temple had missed seeing the most beautiful building in the whole world. But Jesus answered their admiration by telling them that all this beauty and glory would be destroyed so effectually that there would not remain one stone upon another. We shall see presently how literally this prophecy was fulfilled.

2. The Signs preceding the Ruin (Mt. xxiv. 3—14; Mk. xiii. 3—13; Lk. xxi. 5—19).

THE FIRST SIGN: FALSE MESSIAHS (Mt. xxiv. 3—5; Mk. xiii. 3—6; Lk. xxi. 7, 8). A few moments after this general declaration, Peter, Andrew, James the Greater, and John asked their Master when all these kings should take place, and what signs would precede the *Parousia* (*παρουσία*)⁵, or the second coming of Christ, and the end of the world (consummationis saeculi). It is quite likely that, in the minds of Apostles, the destruction of Jerusalem, the second coming of Christ and the end of the world would all come about the same time.

To their question the Saviour now made answer: «Many false Messiahs shall come in My name and shall seduce many people.» In the years that preceded the fall of the Holy City, there did arise as matter of fact many seducers and false prophets, such as Elimas⁶, Simon Magus⁷, and his disciples Menander and Dositheus, and also the so-called liberator Theudas⁸, although history does not tell us that they made themselves out to be the Messias. But the silence

¹ Mt. xxiv. 3—23.

² Mt. xxiv. 23—35.

³ Mt. xxiv. 36—40; xxv. *Le Camus*, Life of Christ 468—497.

⁴ *Jos.*, J. W. V, v, 6; VI, iv, 8.

⁵ The word *παρουσία*, presence, from *παρῆναι*, is read here in Matthew; it is not found in the other Gospels, but it is frequent in the Epistles in order to signify the glorious coming of Christ at the end of the world for the general judgment.

⁶ Acts xiii. 6—11.

⁷ Acts viii. 9, 10.

⁸ Acts v. 36; xxi. 38; *Jos.*, J. A. XX, v, 1; viii. 6.

of history on this point cannot be used as an argument against their use of the title; for, according to the belief of the Jews of the time, the Messias would deliver Palestine from the yoke of the foreigner¹.

Later in His discourse the Saviour declared that at the time of His second coming there would also appear false prophets who would claim to be the Messias².

THE SECOND SIGN: WARS AND OTHER WOES (Mt. xxiv. 6—8; Mk. xiii. 7, 8; Lk. xxi. 9—11). «There shall be wars», Christ continued, «and rumours of wars (namely those which would take place in Palestine and in the immediate neighbourhood, and wars which would take place in distant lands, or, wars which shall take place during the time of the present generation, and those which shall menace the nation in future times). For nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom. In various places there shall be great earthquakes, pestilence, famines, great and fearful signs and terrors from heaven. All these calamities shall be the beginning (the prelude of the great tribulation) of sorrows.»

We know that just preceding the fall of Jerusalem, Palestine seethed with wars and insurrections, which were, as it were, only the beginning of the troublous times that were to result in the city's demolition. «Every city», writes Josephus, «was divided into two hostile parties.»³ In the year 65, signs of terror appeared above Jerusalem⁴, and at the same time cruel wars bathed the whole Roman Empire in a sea of blood. «Peoples and cities flung themselves upon each other with fury; blood flowed in every land: in Gaul under Vindex and Virginius, on the Danube, in Germany, in Brittany, even to the frontiers of the Parthian Empire.»⁵ Earthquakes were frequently reported in the Roman Empire between the years 60 and 70. Laodicea, a city of Phrygia, was totally destroyed in the year 61, and a part of Pompeii, which lay near the Mount of Vesuvius, was destroyed in the year 63⁶. At the same time pestilence and famine broke out, and their ravages extended not only to Judea, but they affected the whole empire⁷.

THE THIRD SIGN: PERSECUTION, SCANDALS, APOSTASY (Mt. xxiv. 9—14; Mk. xiii. 9—13; Lk. xxi. 12—19). «But before all these things (ante haec omnia) shall take place, they will persecute you (the Apostles), put you to death because of the name of Christ which you bear, and you shall be betrayed by your parents and friends.

¹ Lk. xxiv. 21; Acts i. 6.

² Mt. xxiv. 23—26; Mk. xiii. 21—23.

³ J. W. II, xvii, 10; xviii. 1—8.

⁴ *Jos.*, J. W. VI, v, 3; *Tac.*, Hist. V, 13.

⁵ *Fouard*, The Christ, the Son of God II, 205.

⁶ *Tac.*, Ann. XIV, 27; XV, 22; *Seneca*, Quaest. nat. VI, 1; *Jos.*, J. W. IV, iv, 5.

⁷ Acts xi. 28; *Suet.*, Claud. 18; Nero 39; *Tac.*, Ann. XVI, 13; *Seneca*, Ep. 94;

Jos., J. W. V, xii, 3; VI, i, 1.

Many Christians in these times shall be scandalized and shall apostatize from the faith (if great sacrifices be necessary for its keeping); they shall betray and hate one another. Many false prophets shall arise (heresiarchs), and by their open preaching of false doctrine shall seduce a great number of the elect. The love of God (and consequently, the love of neighbour) shall grow cold in their hearts. But (faith shall gain apace with evil) and the Gospel of the kingdom founded by Jesus shall be preached in the whole known world. (When all these signs shall appear) know that the end (of Jerusalem and the world) is near.»

During the space that elapsed between the years 30 and 67 A. D., we know that St. Peter and St. John and all the Apostles were cast into prison¹, or haled before the Sanhedrin², all Christians were pursued relentlessly and dispersed³, St. Stephen and St. James the Greater were put to death⁴, St. Paul was arrested⁵, stoned⁶, scourged⁷, held in prison⁸, obliged to appear before Gallio⁹, Felix¹⁰, Festus¹¹, Agrippa¹², and Nero¹³. During the same period heresies appeared on all sides, and history has preserved for us the names of such heretics as Hymenes and Philetas¹⁴. Lastly, a great number of Fathers, among them St. John Chrysostom¹⁵, inform us that the Gospel had already spread to all the countries of the known world, and what we know of the labours of the Apostles is enough to show that our Lord's words reached their literal fulfilment. St. Mark tells us that they preached everywhere (*praedicaverunt ubique*), and St. Paul adds confirmation to this statement¹⁶.

Besides, the prediction that the Gospel would be preached throughout the whole world (*praedicabitur hoc Evangelium in universo orbe*), shall be verified at the time of the last days of the world's history, and then the Gospel shall be preached and known throughout all the countries of the world¹⁷.

¹ Acts iv. 3; v. 18—40.

² Acts iv. 7; v. 26—28.

³ Acts viii. 1—3; ix. 1, 2, 21; xxvi. 10; xxviii. 22; Rom. xv. 30, 31.

⁴ Acts vii. 58; xii. 2.

⁵ Acts xvi. 23, 24.

⁶ Acts xiv. 18.

⁷ Acts xvi. 22.

⁸ Acts xxi. 33; xxiii. 23 f.; xxviii. 30, 31.

⁹ Acts xviii. 14.

¹⁰ Acts xxiv. 25.

¹¹ Acts xxv. 9.

¹² Acts xxvi.

¹³ 2 Tim. iv. 17, 19.

¹⁴ Acts xx. 30; Gal. i. 7—9; Rom. xvi. 17, 18; Col. ii. 16 f.; 1 Tim. i. 6, 7, 20; vi. 3—5, 20, 21; 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18; iii. 6—8; 2 Pet. ii; 1 Jn. ii. 18, 22, 23, 26; 2 Jn. 7; 2 Cor. xi. 13 . . .

¹⁵ In Matth. Hom. LXX, 2; De laud. b. Pauli Hom. II; *S. Thom.*, S. th. 1, 2, q. 106, a. 4 ad 4.

¹⁶ Mk. xvi. 20; Rom. x. 18; Col. 1. 5, 23; cf. Rom. i. 8; xv. 18—21, 28; Col. i. 5, 6; Acts ii. 5, 9, 10, 11, 41; 1 Pet. i. 1.

¹⁷ Knabenbauer gives a different interpretation to Mt. xxiv. 3 f. and the parallel passages. He claims that our Lord, instead of intending primarily to depict the signs of the destruction of Jerusalem and the world, really intended to put His Apostles on their guard against all seducers. He announced that in the course of the ages there

386. 3. The Destruction of Jerusalem (Mt. xxiv. 15—22; Mk. xiii. 14—20; Lk. xxi. 20—24).

THE PROPHECY OF JESUS. When you shall see the abomination of desolation (the terrible devastation and desolation) spoken of by Daniel the prophet¹, standing in the holy place (*ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ*), when you shall see Jerusalem invested by an army, know then that the end is near.» In the language of the Bible, the «holy place» refers to the Temple proper², though sometimes it refers to the city of Jerusalem³ and in a more extended meaning denotes all the country of Judea. But in the Book of Daniel from which this passage is taken, we read *in templo* in the Vulgate, the LXX and the version of Theodotion. And for this reason it is probable that, despite the obscurities of the Hebrew text of Daniel, the expression *in loco sancto* has reference to the Temple⁴.

«When you shall see these things, flee from Jerusalem immediately. (It is necessary that the Christians be scattered; for they shall be the nucleus of the primitive Church, and the hope of the future.) There shall be then great distress in the land and wrath upon the Jewish people. (From the beginning of the world, there has not been like tribulation until now, neither shall be; for the infamy of the deicidal crime shall be visited with the most frightful punishment.) The Jews shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captives into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles, till the times of the nations be fulfilled (until the end of time). Unless those days had been shortened⁵, all mankind (*omnis caro*) would not be saved. But they shall be shortened for the sake of the elect» (for the sake of the Christians remaining in Jerusalem, or for the sake of the Jews who shall be converted after having been taught such a terrible lesson). Many commentators apply the words, «unless the days of vengeance, etc.», both to the ruin of Jerusalem and the end of the world, but more immediately to the latter.

REALIZATION OF THE PROPHECY. This prophecy, like the one preceding, was realized to the letter. The Jews revolted in 66 and 67 against the Roman power, and Vespasian was sent against them to put down the insurrection. He had already subjugated Galilee and Perea, and had penetrated into Judea, when, in July 69, he was proclaimed emperor of Rome. He repaired immediately to the capital city, but left the task of carrying on the war to his son Titus, who after a siege of seven months took the Holy City. The Temple was

would be great calamities, persecutions, etc., but before the end of the world, the Gospel will be preached everywhere (Comm. in Matth. II, 311 ff.).

¹ Dan. ix. 27.

² Acts xxxi. 28; Hebr. ix. 2.

³ Mt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53.

⁴ See Dan. ix. 27.

⁵ The prophetic past tense.

destroyed, and the city was razed to the ground, and out of all its great buildings only three towers remained as mute witnesses of the terrible scourge that had been visited upon it. During the siege, by far one of the bloodiest that history has recorded, an innumerable army of Jews fell, some by the sword, others by disease and famine. According to Josephus the death roll amounted to 1 100 000, while 97 000 were taken prisoners, who were either condemned to a torturing death, or sold wholesale into slavery¹.

The abomination of desolation did stand in the Temple; for, during the siege, we find this holy edifice defiled, for a party of «zealots» entrenched themselves there and used it as a fortress, and it became in reality a den of robbers². After the siege the Romans



Fig. 69.

Relievo of the Arch of Titus, at Rome, with the Hebrew Temple-furniture.

planted their eagles, the gods of their legions³, within its precincts, and in the place where the sanctuary stood they offered up their pagan sacrifices⁴.

387. All these facts are undeniable on historical grounds. The triumphal arch of Titus (Fig. 69), erected in Rome in honour of the conqueror, can be seen even to-day in the Eternal City. Besides we have a historian, Jewish by race, a Pharisee in tenet, who wrote of these horrors and left to posterity a detailed and undoubted narration of the misfortunes of his country. This man, Flavius Josephus, who was born a few years after the death of Jesus Christ, was an eye-witness⁵ of the events he records, and there is no reason at all for accusing him of being influenced against the conquered race, nor for doubting the reliability of his story when it is remembered that he had such great authorities as Vespasian, Titus, and Agrippa for his statements.

¹ J. W. IV, ix, 3.

² J. W. VI, iii, 6.

³ Tac., Ann. II, 17.

⁴ Jos., J. W. VI, vi, 1. For the destruction of Jerusalem see Jos., J. W. V, VI, VII.

⁵ Jos., Vita 65; Contra App. I, 9.

In its essentials the narrative of Josephus cannot fairly be called into question. For we have confirmation of his data in the great monument erected to Titus, and in the medals struck in commemoration of the victory of both Vespasian and Titus, besides the corroborative evidence that the historians Tacitus¹ and Suetonius², together with the writings of the Fathers of the East, afford us.

II. THE SUPERNATURAL CHARACTER OF THE PROPHECY OF JESUS IN REGARD TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

388. Rationalists and all advanced scholars readily grant that Jesus did prophesy the destruction of Jerusalem. But they deny that the prophecy had any thing of the supernatural in it, because He did not give the details that our Gospels claim He did, nor could He have foretold with such exactness what was to occur. For this reason, they date the composition of the Synoptic Gospels some time after the year 70, claiming as an argument for this date the too detailed description of the city's doom.

Two things are necessary before we can claim that any prophecy has any mark of the supernatural. First, it must be uttered before the event it concerns, and, secondly, the event must be such that it could not have been foreseen by any natural means. Of course to this must be added that the event find its realization in the future. All these features mark the prophecy of Jesus in regard to the demolition of the Holy City: we have already shown how literally it was realized, and what we have to show now is that the words of Jesus as contained in our Synoptic Gospels were uttered before the year 70, and that naturally He could not have known that such a terrible event was to be the city's portion.

1. The Genuineness of the Prophecy. a) We have already shown³ that our Synoptic Gospels just as we have them now, were composed before the year 70. Hence the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem really antedates the fulfilment of the event.

b) The genuineness of this prophecy is verified by three witnesses who are independent one of the other. All three of the Synoptics contain it, and although identical in substance, yet they differ in some minor details, just enough to show that the Evangelists did not copy from each other. The drift of this discourse is embodied in a great number of other Scriptural passages. It is found in the words of our Lord to the women of Jerusalem⁴, in those that He uttered over the city that would not believe in Him⁵, and over

¹ *Tac.*, Hist. V, 1—13. ² *Suet.*, Vesp. 4; Tit. 4.

³ Nos. 39, 53, 68. ⁴ Lk. xxiii. 28—31.

⁵ Mt. xxiii. 35—38; Lk. xix. 40—44.

the fig-tree¹, in His conversation with the Samaritan woman², in the parables of the wicked husbandmen³, that of the wedding garment⁴, that of the unfruitful three⁵, and that of the revolting subjects⁶.

c) To accuse the Gospel writers of having manufactured the prophecy after the occurrence of the event, would be only to fall into greater difficulties. If it is clear and striking in many passages, there are others where it is ambiguous and vague. The features which apply to Jerusalem seem to be confounded with those that shall mark the end of the world. Any man writing this prophecy after the event had happened, surely would be more exact in his terminology and would not render himself liable to objections to his story. No forger, writing after the year 70, would ever have written: *Statim post tribulationem dierum illorum, sol obscurabitur*⁷. His method would have been rather to prove the fulfilment of the prophecy, even as St. John did in regard to St. Peter⁸, and St. Luke in the case of Agabus⁹. In any case he would not have failed to record that the Temple was burned before it was destroyed.

d) We know that at the beginning of the siege, in the year 67, the faithful of Jerusalem, fully aware of what was to happen, made haste to flee beyond the Jordan; for their bishop, together with his flock, sought refuge in the city of Pella. Eusebius and St. Epiphanius are witnesses to this event¹⁰. The prophecy, therefore, must have existed before the destruction of Jerusalem.

2. The Impossibility of Foreseeing the Demolition by Natural Means. At the time that our Lord made this prediction, Jerusalem was more peaceful and flourishing than it had ever been. Pliny called it *longe clarissimam urbium Orientis*¹¹.

Like the rest of the known world it had long been under Roman domination. Such being the case, it devolved upon the Romans to safeguard their possession, and consequently to defend it and strive to keep it in peace. For this reason they made every concession in line with Jewish worship and Jewish customs¹². Who could foresee that the inhabitants of the city would be so blind as to engage in deadly conflict with the empire of the Cæsars? Who would have believed that the Roman army would take no other means to reduce the city, than to massacre its inhabitants and destroy the Temple which seemed destined to last for ever, so completely that nothing

¹ Mk. xi. 12—14.

² Jn. iv. 21—23.

³ Mt. xxi. 33, 34.

⁴ Lk. xiv. 16—24.

⁵ Lk. xiii. 6—9.

⁶ Lk. xix. 12—27.

⁷ Mt. xxiv. 29.

⁸ Jn. xxi. 19.

⁹ Acts xi. 28.

¹⁰ Eus., H. E. III, 5; Epiph., Haer. XXIX, 7.

¹¹ Plin., Hist. nat. V, 15; Tac., Hist. V, 11.

¹² Jos., J. A. XX, v, 6.

remained of it?¹ And this is just what our Lord predicted would happen. It was impossible, therefore, to foresee naturally the signs which would be a prelude to the doom of Jerusalem.

III. THE PROPHECY OF JESUS IN REGARD TO THE END OF THE WORLD AND IN REGARD TO HIS SECOND COMING.

(Mt. xxiv. 23—xxv; Mk. xiii. 28—36; Lk. xxii. 28—36; xvii. 20—37.)

389. 1. The Signs preceding the Second Coming of Christ.

a) FALSE PROPHETS. The passages, Mt. xxiv. 23—28; Mk. xiii. 21—23; Lk. xvii. 20—25, 37, and those that follow them, refer only to the end of the world and to the second coming of Christ. «Then (at the end of the world), there shall be (just as there were before the destruction of Jerusalem)² false Christs and false prophets. (With the concurrence of the devil) they shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch as to deceive — if possible — even the elect (God shall permit all this in order to test the loyalty of His servants). Take ye heed, let not yourselves be deceived. When the real Christ shall appear, there shall be no doubt as to His coming; for He shall manifest Himself suddenly and at the same time to all men, even as the lightning that cometh out of the East, and appeareth even to the West.»

«Whosoever the body (*πτῶμα*) shall be, there shall the eagles (*ἀετοί*, vultures, perhaps) also be gathered together.»³ This statement was a proverb among the Jews. It is taken from natural history observed in Palestine and we find another mention of it in the Book of Job⁴. A great number of commentators explain the passage in this wise, namely that at the very first appearance of the Saviour, all the just, flying from the false Messiahs, will eagerly flock around Him⁵, even as birds of prey gather around a dead body. But it seems more natural to interpret the words as referring to sinners whose corrupt state will call down swift punishment from heaven, and especially where there is culpable guilt will the ministers of divine justice strike suddenly.

b) UPHEAVALS IN NATURE (Mt. xxiv. 29; Mk. xiii. 24—26; Lk. xxi. 25, 26). And immediately after the tribulation of those days⁶ there shall be strange upheavals in nature. «The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven.» This last expression is a popular description of the dis-

¹ Jos., J. A. XV, xi.

² No. 282.

³ The word *ἀετός* used here may refer either to eagle or to vulture. Either will do as it has been shown that both feed on dead bodies.

⁴ Job xxxix, 27—30; Os. viii. 1; *Seneca*, Ep. 95.

⁵ 1 Thess. iv. 16.

⁶ Mt. xxiv. 21. We have already said that many commentators understand this passage about the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world.

orders in the physical world, and the sentence which follows it has the same meaning: «the constellations (*virtutes coelorum*) shall be moved»¹. «Upon the earth, there shall be distress of nations, by reason of the confusion of the roaring of the sea and of the waves; men withering away for fear, and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world.»

2. **The Coming of the Messiah** (Mt. xxiv. 30, 31; Mk. xiii. 26, 27; Lk. xxi. 27). When those great catastrophes shall have taken place and all things shall appear to be swallowed up in one great universal cataclysm, then «shall appear the sign (*τὸ σημεῖον*) of the Son of Man in heaven (which, according to the common opinion and the liturgy, is the Cross). All men shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven² with much power and majesty. All the tribes of the earth shall mourn (for some shall recognize Him the One whom they had despised, and others shall see in Him the Master whom they have faithfully served, who nevertheless shall be their unbiassed judge).

«The Messiah shall send His angels with a trumpet and a great voice³. They shall gather the elect and sinners⁴ from the four winds (from all directions), from the uttermost part of the earth to the*uttermost part of heaven», so that all men may be judged.

390. 3. The Time of the Second Coming of the Messiah (Mt. xxiv. 32—35; Mk. xiii. 28—31; Lk. xxi. 28—33).

a) THE TEXT OF THE GOSPEL. When the leaves of the fig-tree just begin to shoot forth, summer is nigh, and so when all these things shall take place, namely, when false Messiahs shall appear, and when nature shall be submerged, then the deliverance from all evil and the resurrection of the body (*redemptio vestra*, Luke), the end of the world and the second coming of Christ, the glorious phase of the kingdom of God (*regnum Dei*, Luke), is nigh even at the doors (*prope in ianuis*). This generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled.

b) THE INTERPRETATION OF RATIONALISTS. Most critics of Rationalistic tendencies maintain that Jesus was deceived in regard to the time of the end of the world, and hence laboured under false impressions as to the inauguration of His kingdom in its triumphant phase; for He held that all these things would take place in the age of the generation He addressed. There are others who place the blame upon the Apostles, claiming that their understanding of their Master's teaching was so faulty, as to make them distort it to

¹ Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3; 4 Kings xvii. 16; xxiii. 5; Is. xxxiv. 4; Dan. viii. 10.

² Ps. xvii. 10—12; Is. xix. 1; Dan. vii. 13.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.

⁴ Mt. xxv. 41 f.

such an extent as to consign to the material what in reality was only intended to be spiritual. «There were many reasons which tended to imbue the disciples with the idea that Jesus would, in a short time, descend from heaven, whither His resurrection had made it necessary to consign Him, and thus failing to distinguish His personal triumph from that which was its cause, they were led to connect the ordinary theme, adopted by all apocalyptic works, with the reproduction of His words in regard to future events. The very substance of these thoughts had to be necessarily altered, and molded in a corresponding form.»¹

c) THE CATHOLIC INTERPRETATION. All Catholic critics and conservative Protestants utterly reject the idea that Christ was deceived, and deny that the Apostles are guilty of any misunderstanding. This denial is based on the following reasons:

1. It is impossible that Jesus, the Messiah, the Founder of the Church and very God as He was, could have been deceived in such a matter, especially upon a point that was so vital and was connected with the very heart of His mission, as the nature of His kingdom and the time that it should be ushered in. That He could have been mistaken is out of the question; for as we have already shown (no. 379) He possessed a knowledge transcending all human science, even in regard to things that were scarcely of any importance.

2. In the Saviour's mind, before the Messianic kingdom should enter into its triumphant stage, a long preparation was necessary which would consist in the gradual diffusion of the Gospel throughout the world. This conviction cannot be reconciled with the idea that the end of the world was to take place at the end of a generation. «Remarkable, indeed, it is that the Saviour should emphasise the idea that the Christian life would grow slowly in the hearts of the faithful, that the Gospel-preaching would spread gradually in the world, like the grain of wheat which, after being put into the ground, takes root invisibly and grows silently. So, too, the mustard-seed becomes a large tree where the birds of the air gather together; and the lump of leaven transform the whole mass; and the field sown by the sower is at length covered with wheat, which, along with the tares, keeps growing until the harvest: thus the Church of the Gospel, or the Kingdom of God in its primal phase, was to grow slowly and gradually expand until its supreme completion should come². . . . The work of preaching the Gospel, moreover, according to Jesus' intention, was to be carried beyond the frontiers

¹ *A. Réville, Jésus de Nazareth II, 325.*

² Mk. iv. 26—29; iv. 1—20 = Mt. xiii = Lk. viii. 5—15; Mk. iv. 30—32 = Mt. xiii. 31—33 = Lk. xiii. 18, 19; Mt. xiii. 24—30; 47—50.

of Palestine; the Christian life communicated to the Gentiles, and the New Society extended throughout the whole world. . . . Similarly the various texts wherein Christ announces the repudiation of the Jewish people and the call of the Gentiles serve to confirm the Gospel testimony»¹.

3. There is no valid reason for the conclusion that the words of our Lord in connection with the end of the world and the last judgment limit the actual occurrence of these events to the time that the generation contemporary with them should endure. Far from announcing that the end of the world would follow close upon the destruction of the Holy City, He carefully distinguishes the two events and divides the one from the other by a long and indefinite period of time, as expressed in the words, *tempora nationum*, ἐθνῶν².

The language to His Apostles that neither man nor the angels in heaven, nay not even the Son of God Himself, knows when the end of time shall come, is clear and unmistakable³. He announces this fact to them here a few days before His Death; He repeats it after His Resurrection, and it is almost the last word that He utters before leaving this world to join His heavenly Father in heaven⁴. Nay more, Christ here in His speech insists on the uncertainty of the advent of the parousia, and because of this emphasizes the necessity of watching and being prepared. The Son of Man shall come, He says, when no one shall expect Him, even as the deluge came in the time of Noe when scarcely any one looked for such an event⁵. It is necessary to watch just as servants whose master has gone into a far country keep watch always for His return, not knowing when he shall come, whether at midnight, or at cock-crowing, or in the morning⁶; like the wise virgins who are always ready to receive the bridegroom⁷.

4. The assertion that the Apostles in any way modified the teaching of their Master is not only gratuitous, but is in opposition to the general historic tone of the Synoptics and to the tradition of the early ages. The whole eschatological discourse can, as a matter of fact, be reconstructed from the scattered sayings which tradition affords us, together with what we find in various parts of the Synoptics⁸. Besides, this idea is dealt with at length in our canonical Epistles⁹, many of which are of a date prior to our Gospels. It is

¹ *Lepin*, Christ and the Gospel 435, 436. Cf. nos. 410, 412, 414.

² Lk. xxi. 24. ³ Mt. xxiv. 36; Mk. xii. 32. ⁴ Acts i. 7.

⁵ Mt. xxiv. 37—39. ⁶ Mk. xiii. 33—36. ⁷ Mt. xiv. 1—13.

⁸ Mt. vii. 22, 23; x. 23; xiii. 30; xvi. 27; xix. 28; xxv. 31; xxvi. 64; Mk. xiv. 62; Lk. xiii. 23—27, 35; xvii. 23, 24; xviii. 8.

⁹ 1 Thess. iv. 14—16; v. 1, 2, 23; 2 Thess. ii. 1, 2; i. 6—10; 1 Cor. vi. 14; vii. 29, 31; xv. 51—53; 2 Cor. v. 1—8; Rom. xiii. 11, 12; Jac. v. 7—9; Phil. iv. 5; iii. 20, 21; Hebr. x. 25, 37; 1 Pet. iv. 7; 1 Tim. vi. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 18, 6—8; 2 Pet. iii. 4—12; 1 Jn. ii. 18.

very improbable that the Apostles could have been mistaken in regard to their Master's teaching, when it is remembered that this particular doctrine is insisted upon not only in one but in many passages of the Gospels¹.

391. d) OBJECTIONS. The difficulty found in the words «This generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled» (non praeteribit generatio haec . . .) has received several answers from Catholic scholars. According to the opinion of some, all the passages which bear upon the end of the world and the second coming, and even the prediction *non praeteribit generatio haec*, refer directly to the triumph which Christianity shall gain over the world after the destruction of Jerusalem. This explanation, however, appears rather forced.

According to others, the words do not apply directly to the prophecy of the end of the world, but rather to the destruction of Jerusalem which is taken as a figure of what shall occur at the end of the world. As a matter of fact, this passage should be interpreted in the light of another which is quite similar to it, and which refers without doubt to the demolition of the Holy City. After telling the Pharisees that the most terrible of punishments was to be their lot, our Lord adds these significant words: «Amen, I say to you, all these things shall come upon this generation.»² It is quite true that the end of the world is apparently to follow close upon the destruction of Jerusalem: *Statim post tribulationem dierum illorum* (Mt. xxiv. 29; Mk. xiii. 24). But it is most probable that «here as elsewhere, notably in the Sermon on the Mount, we are dealing with collected fragments of the Saviour's discourses rather than with a single, entire discourse, presenting really homogeneous character. Thus certain portions of this discourse as given in St. Matthew are related by St. Luke in connection with different circumstances³; others again, which St. Mark and St. Luke insert in this place, are placed elsewhere by the first Evangelist.»⁴ Possibly, the Evangelists have, without however doing violence to the thought of the Lord, failed to reproduce the correct transitions and to mark the right

¹ The St. Office has condemned the following proposition: XXXIII. Evidens est cuique qui praeconceptis non ducitur opinionibus, Iesum aut errorem de proximo messianico adventu fuisse professum aut maiorem partem ipsius doctrinae in Evangeliiis synopticis contentae authenticitate carere (3. and 4. of July, 1907). See also no. 98.

² Mt. xxiii. 33—36; Lk. xi. 51. Cf. *Plummer*, St. Luke 485; *Rose*, Évangile selon St. Marc 135; *Lepin*, Christ and the Gospel 445 ff.

³ Cf. Mt. xxiv. 23, 27, 28 and Mk. xiii. 21 with Lk. xvii. 23, 24, 27. Also Mt. xxiv. 17, 18, 37—41 and Mk. xiii. 15, 16 with Lk. xvii. 26—31, 35.

⁴ *Lepin* l. c. 447. Cf. Mk. xiii. 9, 11—13 and Lk. xxi. 12—17 with Mt. x. 17 to 22 and Lk. xii. 11, 12.

separations in the original discourse, and hence the diverse perspectives are so intimately associated, that it is quite difficult to determine with absolute certainty that which refers to the ruin of Jerusalem from that which bears upon the end of the world.

Finally, according to others still, this phrase has direct bearing upon the time of the end of all things; for it refers to the whole Jewish race and hence means that the Jews as a race shall exist even until the coming of Christ. This hypothesis finds confirmation in the wonderful endurance of the Jews as a nation. «There is not one surviving member», writes Bossuet, of the ancient Assyrians, not one of the ancient Greeks, nor one of the ancient Romans. All trace of them has been merged into other nations. After being the victims of all these peoples, the Jews still survive.»

There is *another objection*¹ taken from the words of our Lord to His Apostles to the effect that there were some in the multitude that He addressed that would not taste death until they saw the kingdom of God coming in power², or till they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom³, or simply, till they see the kingdom of God⁴.

Many explanations have been offered in regard to this passage. Those which fail to take into account the words «some of them» we will not consider here. They can be referred to the Resurrection, or to the day of Pentecost, or even to the diffusion of the Gospel. Two explanations that have been advanced deserve notice; for they appear to carry with them the highest probability. The words refer either to the Transfiguration, the narration of which event they almost immediately follow, or they refer to the destruction of Jerusalem. The fall of Old Covenant has left a clear field for the diffusion of the Gospel, and from this moment the new kingdom shall be founded upon its own power and in its own glory. We are sure that the words have no direct reference to the parousia; for our Lord had no intention to fix the time when this should take place, for we find Him later declaring that He knew neither the day nor the hour of its occurrence (no. 392). Besides, our text implies that some of those listening to Christ's words shall die after the coming of the kingdom, whilst we know from St. Paul, whose teaching came from our Saviour direct, that those who shall still be living at the time of the parousia shall not die⁵.

392. 4. The Uncertainty of the Day and the Hour of the Second Advent (Mt. xxiv. 36—xxv. 30; Mk. xiii. 32—37; Lk. xxi. 34—36; xvii. 26—35).

THE TEXT. «But of the day and the hour when the world shall be destroyed and when Christ shall come for the second time, no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son (Mark), but the Father alone knoweth. The Messias shall come at a time when no one shall expect Him, and He shall surprise mankind even as it was caught unawares at the time of the deluge. Then two shall be in the field, one shall be taken, the other left. Two women

¹ See also nos. 286, 458.

² Mk. viii. 39.

³ Mt. xvi. 28.

⁴ Lk. ix. 27.

⁵ 1 Thess. iv. 15.

shall be grinding at the mill (Fig. 70), one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. Watch ye therefore, and pray.»

INTERPRETATION. According to the teaching of Catholic theology¹, Jesus, as God, possessed an infinite knowledge. Considered in the light of the hypostatic union, He possessed in virtue of that union, from the first moment of His conception, a knowledge, supernatural and eminently transcending all others, which excluded all error and all possibility of error, although it was necessarily finite.

So far all agree. But they differ in explaining the words of our Lord which imply His ignorance as to the day and the hour of the



Fig. 70. Working on a hand-mill in Palestine. (Phot. Dr. Trenkler & Co., Leipsic.)

second advent. Quite a number hold that what our Lord intended to say was that, as far as His human nature was concerned, He knew the time, but that this knowledge did not come through the ordinary natural channels; for its possession demanded a special illumination from the Godhead.

According to others, it seems that «we can, without temerity, relying upon the word of our Saviour, think that He has withheld from Himself the human knowledge of the day and hour of the Judgment, at the same time when He has refused the revelation of it to His apostles. And, if that is not a want of respect, but only will propose here a conjecture, can we not say that, in this epoch

¹ *St. Thom.*, S. th. 3, q. 9—12.

of feverish exaltation where so many men passionately compute the date of the end of the world, Jesus, in order to heal, more surely, the impatient curiosity of His disciples, has resigned, for Himself, this science so much desired»?¹

According to the more common opinion, these words mean that the determination of the time at which the Messiah shall appear, belongs to God alone, and our Lord refused to divulge it². The Apostles are thus warned that all desires for enlightenment on this point shall remain unsatisfied, because it was neither necessary nor expedient that they should have this knowledge. And this is why on the day of the Ascension He said to them: «It is not for you to know the times or moments, which the Father hath put into His own power.»³ And this is what they themselves must have thought, since they were convinced, as St. John puts it, that the Master knew all things⁴, and He did not desire to keep them from the knowledge of those things that it was in His power to make known to them⁵.

According to this same principle, the words uttered at the Last Supper also find their explanation: «All things that I have heard of My Father, I have made known to you.»⁶

393. 5. The Universal and Final Judgment (Mt. xxv. 31—46).

When the Son of Man shall come in His majesty, surrounded by His angels, He shall sit both as judge and king upon a throne of glory. At a signal given to the angels, all nations shall be gathered before this supreme and universal judge. The good shall be separated from the wicked, even as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. The good shall be placed on His right, and the wicked on His left.

As a reward for their labours the just shall enter into possession of the kingdom for all eternity, to enjoy God's gift that was prepared for them from the beginning of the world and which at this moment shall have reached its definite phase in perfection and glory. The wicked shall be banished from the sight of God and deprived of His vision. This latter punishment is what is known in theological language as the *poena damni*. Moreover, they shall be condemned to everlasting fire — the *poena sensus* — which was prepared for the devil and his angels. As the reward of the just shall be eternal, so the punishment of the wicked shall endure for ever⁷.

¹ Lebreton, Les origines du dogme de la Trinité 223—234, 447—469.

² Jn. v. 19, 38; xii. 49, 50.

³ If the Lord says: *Non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta*, ostendit quod ipse sciat, sed non expediat nosse apostolis, he shows that He Himself knows it, but that it was not good for the Apostles, to know it: *Hieron.*, In Matt. XXIV, 36. Acts i. 7.

⁴ Jn. xxi. 17.

⁵ Jn. xv. 15; Mt. xx. 23.

⁶ Jn. xv. 15; xvi. 12.

⁷ No. 508

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394. In regard to the miracles of our Lord, see the works mentioned under no. 14. Besides see *Trench*, Notes on the Miracles; *Bulter*, Analogy; *Paley*, Evidence of Christianity; *Mozley*, Bampton Lectures; *J. S. Mill*, Three Essays on Religion; *Temple*, Bampton Lectures; *Westcott*, Introduction to the Study of the Gospels; The Gospel of the Resurrection; The Gospel of Life; *Bruce*, The Miraculous Element in the Gospels; *Lyttleton*, Hulsean Lectures; *Bernard*, art. Miracle, in HDB. III, 379.

In regard to the prophecies of our Lord, see *Edersheim*, Jesus the Messiah; *Stanton*, Jewish and Christian Messiah; *Davidson*, Doctrine of the Last Things; *Salmond*, Christian Doctrine of Immortality; *Russell*, The Parousia; *Stevens*, Theology of the N. T.; see also the various theologies of the N. T. by Beyschlag, Wendt and others, and the works mentioned under no. 434.

BOOK III.
THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

SECTION I.
THE PARABLES OF JESUS.

ART. I.
THE PARABLES IN GENERAL.

I. DEFINITION OF THE PARABLE ¹.

395. Originally the word *Παράβολή*, from *παρὰ βάλλειν*, «to cast before» «to compare», meant a reconciliation of ideas, a comparison, or a developed analogy. Constant usage of the term, however, has led to a modification of this first meaning. In the O. T. it corresponds to the Hebrew substantive *mashal*, מִשְׁלָּה, and has the meaning of enigma, epigram, proverb proper, poem, parable, or ironical verse². The word «parable» is found 48 times in the Synoptics, and, outside of the Epistle to the Hebrews, is found nowhere else in the N. T. Books³. Sometimes it has the meaning of a proverb⁴ or a figure, but as a rule, however, it designates a peculiar form of rhetoric, a definite sort of apologue. Understood in this latter sense, a parable is «*a symbolical expression of a religious truth clothed in narrative more or less fictitious, yet true to nature and the things of daily life from which its imagery is borrowed*».

As a form of language, the parable falls short of being quite incisive or altogether exact. Yet it is most striking, since it is the best calculated to stimulate the attention, to give a vivid statement of an idea, and to fix a thought permanently in the mind. No style of teaching was better fitted for the mind of the Oriental who was fond of clothing his ideas in figurative language⁵.

¹ See *Trench*, Notes on the Parables 7—14.

² *Brown*, *Driver* et *Briggs*, Hebrew and English lexicon of the O. T., Oxford 1906: מִשְׁלָּה. ³ Hebr. ix. 9; xi. 19.

⁴ Mt. xv. 15; Mk. iii. 23; vii. 17; Lk. iv. 23; vi. 39.

⁵ Sapiens in versutias parabolarum introibit, occulta proverbiorum exquiret et in absconditis parabolarum conversabitur: Eccli xxxix. 2, 3. Cf. 3 Kings iv, 32; 2 Par. ix. 1. Ut, quod per simplex praeceptum teneri ab auditoribus non potest, per similitudinem exemplaque teneatur; *Hieron.*, In Mt. xviii. 23: P. L. XXVI, 132.

The parable agrees with the *fable* in this that both are unreal in their make-up and both conduce to inculcate some moral instruction. Yet they differ in essential points. The parable always preserves the truth of nature, and never ascribes, as does the fable, actions, qualities or customs to creatures to which by nature they do not belong. Again, though simple, the parable rises higher than the fable. The former is essentially spiritual and therefore more noble, and, besides, «its object is to set forth a heavenly truth, whilst the fable «never lifts itself above the earth».

396. Nor is the parable an *allegory*. This latter is a form of speech that closely approaches the parable. Both, in their elements, are unreal. The parable is essentially a developed comparison; for just as in the fable the lesson¹ that is being taught flows from the story, though every element in it may not afford a religious application. On the other hand, the allegory is based upon a metaphor, and very often is but a series of metaphors; for it identifies the symbol and the thing signified, thus: I am the Good Shepherd, I am the door¹. Here, «figure and fact, or rather figure and interpretation, are not mixed, but are parallel, and move simultaneously».

From these various notions we conclude that in the Gospels we have what might be called parables pure and simple, and at the same time parables which betray some of the characteristics of the allegory. An instance of the former is the narrative of the Good Samaritan, whilst of the latter we have the story of the wicked husbandmen.

II. PARABLES FOUND OUTSIDE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

397. Here we shall not consider the literature of the Romans and the Greeks, but shall content ourselves with that of the Jews and that of early Christianity.

There are no indications to show that *the Apostles* made use of this form of teaching in their missionary work. Their motive in not adopting it may be ascribed to the fear that they were unable to speak in the language of their divine Master, or to respect for His method, not caring to teach thus under His name. As regards writers of the *O. T.* we scarcely find in their works what might be called a parable in the proper sense of the term. The story of the prophet Nathan to David, and that of the woman of Thecua, approach perhaps nearest to our understanding of the expression². The other narratives which have the characteristics of apologies are really not parables, but rather fables or enigmas whose object was to bring home certain truths, which if announced openly and directly would have been the sources of offence³.

None of the *apocryphal Gospels* contain parabolic teaching, although the rabbis of the 1. century expounded their doctrine under this form.

¹ Jn. x. 7 ff.

² 2 Kings xii. 1—4; xiv. 5 ff.; see also Is. v. 1—7; xxviii. 24—29; Ez. xvii. 3 to 21; xxiv. 3—5.

³ See Judith ix. 8—15; 3 Kings xx. 39; 4 Kings xiv. 9.

To Jesus belongs all the credit of bringing this method to its highest form of perfection, for He has left on it the imprint of «the image of the Son of God».

III. NUMBER AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE GOSPEL PARABLES.

398. Number. From the wording of Mk. iv. 2, 33, we know that our Lord spoke a great number of parables. Commentators are not in agreement as regards the exact number of those we possess. Some make the number 72, while others claim that it goes beyond 100. This difference in opinion results from the failure to agree upon what should be called a parable and what should be simply termed a comparison. There are about thirty developed parables contained in the Synoptic Gospels. There are none in the fourth, for here most of the teaching is given in the form of allegory.

Classification of the Parables. Commentators are divided on this point just as they are in regard to their number.

a) There are some who maintain that they should be grouped in three great classes, in accordance with the nature of the objects that suggested the ideas. Thus, twelve are taken from the institutions or customs of *social life*; eight are taken from the family and the customs of *domestic life*; and ten are taken from *agriculture*, from the *pastoral life*, or from the *life of the fisherman*.

b) Quite a number of critics classify the parables in accordance with the nature of the doctrine that they inculcate, namely into: *prophetical*, *moral*, and *mixed*, that is those which partake of both the prophetical and moral.

c) The majority of scholars consider the parables in relation to the kingdom of God and classify them accordingly. This is the division we adopt, and we shall reserve for another page the reasons for so doing. It will suffice to state here that it is not as artificial as the other classifications.

399. 1. *The Origin, Essence, and Action of the Kingdom of God:*

1. The Sower, Mt. xiii. 3^b—9, 18—23; Mk. iv. 3—9, 13—21; Lk. viii. 5—8, 11—15.
2. The Seed Growing Secretly, Mk. iv. 26—29.
3. The Tares, Mt. xiii. 24—30; 36—43.
4. The Mustard Seed, Mt. xiii. 31, 32; Mk. iv. 30—32.
5. The Leaven, Mt. xiii. 33.
6. The Hidden Treasure, Mt. xiii. 44.
7. The Pearl of Great Price, Mt. xiii. 45, 46.
8. The Draw-Net, Mt. xiii. 47—50.
9. The Two Sons, Mt. xxi. 28—32.
10. The Labourers in the Vineyard, Mt. xx. 1—16.
11. The Wicked Husbandmen, Mt. xxi. 33—46; Mk. xii. 1—12; Lk. xx. 9—19.
12. The Wedding Garment, Mt. xxii. 1—14.
13. The Great Supper, Lk. xiv. 15—24.

2. *The Members of the Kingdom, and their Duties:*

1. The Barren Fig-tree, Lk. xiii. 6—9.
2. The Pharisee and the Publican, Lk. xviii. 9—14.
3. The Rich Fool, Lk. xvii. 16—21.
4. The Ten Virgins, Mt. xxv. 1—13.
5. The Five Talents, Mt. xxv. 14—30.
6. The Ten Pounds, Lk. xix. 12—27.
7. The Good Samaritan, Lk. x. 30—37.
8. The Unjust Steward, Lk. xvi. 1—9.
9. The Rich Man and Lazarus, Lk. xvi. 19—31.
10. The Unmerciful Servant, Mt. xviii. 21—35.
11. The Unprofitable Servants, Lk. xii. 35—48.
12. The Unjust Judge, Lk. xviii. 2—8.
13. The Friend at Midnight, Lk. xi. 1—8.
14. The Two Debtors, Lk. vii. 40—48.

3. *The Head of the Kingdom, and His Relation to the Members:*

1. The Lost Sheep, Lk. xv. 3—7; Mt. xviii. 12—14.
2. The Lost Coin, Lk. xv. 8—10.
3. The Prodigal Son, Lk. xv. 11—32.

IV. THE PRINCIPAL QUALITIES OF THE GOSPEL PARABLES.

400. All critics of all schools agree that the parables possess, in an eminent degree, the most admirable of qualities. They are:

1. *Interesting*, because they are full of life and charm, well-calculated to arouse the curiosity of the mind, and, by their very nature, tend to produce a vivid impression and fix themselves in the memory.

2. *Simple*, as they are appropriate, lacking in complicated and superfluous detail, generally capable of being reduced to the compass of one striking and predominant idea.

3. *Noble and dignified* throughout, endowed with a certain propriety and preeminence, despite the common character of the objects which form their basis, and always predominated with the desire to confer good, to instruct and to edify.

4. *Of a depth and fruitfulness that can scarcely be measured*, both from a moral point of view, since from them can be deduced applications without number, as also from a theological and prophetic point of view.

Next to the example of our Saviour and the mysteries that are embodied in His life, there is nothing that contributes more to spreading His maxims and propagating His ideas than the parables. This is why we find them depicted in all their imagery on the walls of the catacombs as well as upon the windows of stately cathedrals. They are adapted to all classes and all ages. For the young they are full of charm, and their character makes them the light of old age. And — which is most remarkable — they possess both in St. Matthew and St. Luke almost the same identical features, all of

which proves that they did not receive their perfect form from the Evangelists that recorded them, but from one endowed with all the wisdom of Solomon, who spoke them out of the fulness of His heart. And this is why they have been called the brightest gem in the diadem of our Lord.

V. DIFFICULTIES OF THE PARABLES.

401. 1. When we said above that the parables of the Saviour were simple, we meant that they were spoken in a familiar and easy style, with no complicated and confusing features of expression. Yet we did not intend to deny that for many they possess what might be called **a hidden meaning**, which it is given to few souls to understand in all its richness and beauty. This applies in a particular manner to the parables which bear upon the origin, the progress and the consummation of the kingdom of God; for they are, as it were, prophetical parables. These were by far more difficult to understand for the Jews than they are for us, because we can look back upon certain events and see how far they have been fulfilled.

2. A great number of Christ's **hearers**, *οἱ ἑξῆς*¹, did not give ear to His words, or only for a moment or as they passed by the place He was speaking. Not being able to follow what He taught they of course were never initiated into the soundness of His teaching, nor did they comprehend His language, and naturally they could not be expected to give any reflection to what had been said. Again there were others who did listen intently, but their purpose was not to be instructed but rather to find fault with what the Master taught. They looked upon Him as an impostor, and they were ever seeking to find flaws in His doctrine, for nearly all were filled with the current and false ideas regarding the Messias, the kingdom of God, and the destiny of Israel. How could they then grasp the meaning of those parables which foretold the call that had been sent to the Gentile nations, and of those which told of the reprobation of the Jews, as did the parables of the wicked husbandmen, the barren fig-tree and others of like nature? All this was foreign to their beliefs, and their preconceived ideas would naturally revolt at any such understanding.

VI. WHY DID JESUS SPEAK IN PARABLES?

402. 1. Since the parables were not understood by the Jews and *very often not even by the Apostles*, it would seem that this form of teaching was not the best that Christ could adopt for the evangelical truths. Yet Christ had very good reasons for not publicly

¹ Mk. iv. 11.

and openly teaching what formed the object of the greater part of His doctrine¹.

It was the same *reason of prudence* that made Him forbid His disciples to make known that He was the Son of God. He did not wish to provoke the hatred of His enemies, nor did He wish to give them an opportunity of accusing Him before the civil magistrates, or taking violent measures against His person. At the very time that Jesus began to teach in parables, the opposition of the Pharisees against Him had already manifested itself². And in face of this antagonism, He had recourse to a method of teaching, which was clear for those who made an effort to understand, and yet very obscure for those who were hostile to Him, in such wise that several interpretations could be assigned to what He taught. The Pharisees could not hold Him responsible for a doctrine which they themselves could not clearly grasp and which at best had but their own personal interpretation.

Moreover, *justice* demanded this form of teaching. God always takes away His benefits from those who make no use of them; *qui habet dabitur ei . . . ; qui non habet et quod habet auferetur ab eo*³. The testimony of the Forerunner, the miracles and the preaching of Jesus had made impression on the obstinate multitude, and only embittered the chiefs of the people. Neither of them were worthy to receive the truth in all its clearness. For the disciples all the parables had one great purpose, namely to make them realize the supernatural truths by natural comparisons. If they did not always understand them, our Lord took pains to clarify whatever was obscure. Besides many of the parables are clear, though there are some which possess a certain degree of obscurity. The most difficult to understand are those which embody the rejection of the Jewish people.

VII. AUTHENTICITY OF THE GOSPEL PARABLES.

403. A. Errors. The *substantial* authenticity is not called into question at all, if we take the term «substance» as referring to the greater part of the parabolic teaching. A few critics (Jülicher, Loisy), however, maintain that some of the elements of the parables and even some entire parables⁴, cannot be attributed to Jesus, because «they are interpolated into the first written redaction of the Gospels

¹ See Mt. xxi. 31—46; Mk. xii. 1—12; Lk. xx. 9—19, etc. ² No. 210.

³ Mt. xiii. 12. This explanation given by our Lord as a reason for His teaching in parables, appears to be in contradiction to the parable of the sower where our Lord says that His word was destined to produce fruit. Yet it is possible that this explanation is not in its proper place in the Gospel, and that it was not given the same day as the parable of the sower.

⁴ As that of the wicked husbandmen.

in which there is no trace of allegory». «Christian tradition and the Evangelists interpreted the parables when they repeated them and transcribed them»¹. In favour of this position they allege three principal reasons:

1. By their very nature, *the parables are «developed comparisons»*, apologues with a moral signification the import of which does not go beyond the apparent meaning. This is why «all that is allegorical, in the discourses attributed to Jesus by the Synoptic tradition, really emanates from that tradition and should be regarded as a sort of explanation superadded to the authentic teaching of the Saviour»².

2. According to the Evangelists, *the parables were enigmas* which the Apostles could not understand, and the meaning of which they always asked of Jesus³. Jesus spoke only to enlighten His hearers, and hence these parables must have been easily understood. Hence «the theory of the Evangelists has no historical basis, and the text of Mark, upon which the two others depend, does not represent a personal declaration of Jesus.» It merely represents the thought of early tradition which sought to explain the rejection of the Jews⁴.

3. When two Evangelists reproduce the same parable, their *exposition* not only does not take in the same range, but it *diverges in some particulars*, as in the case of the parable of the invitations which were refused (Luke) and that of the nuptials of the son of the king (Matthew). All this is but proof that these accounts are due to the gradual accretions which had their basis in tradition. Moreover, «the incidental character of the allegory produces a certain incoherence in the narrative, and the control which we possess in regard to the first Evangelist who makes use of allegory in one sense, enables us to exercise the same control in regard to the third»⁵.

404. B. Refutation⁶. The remarks that we have already made in regard to the historical value of the Synoptic Gospels⁷, apply to the genuineness of the parables. It suffices, here, to reply to the special objections brought against these.

FIRST DIFFICULTY. a) The definition of the parable in which every tinge of the allegory has been excluded, is an *a priori* definition and does not square with facts. As a matter of fact, we know that Jesus gave an allegorical interpretation of the parables of the sower⁸ and the tares⁹. Advanced critics make this allegorical interpretation

¹ Loisy, *Études évangéliques* 6, 11, 20, 27—31, 38.

² *Ib.* 71, 38, 39, 57.

³ Mk. iv. 10, 13.

⁴ Loisy l. c. 93.

⁵ *Ib.* 20—26.

⁶ The following proposition was condemned by the Holy Office in its session of July 3. and 4., 1907: XIII. Parabolas evangelicas ipsimet et Evangelistae ac Christiani secundae et tertiae generationis artificiose digesserunt, atque ita rationem dederunt exigui fructus praedicationis Christi apud iudaeos.

⁷ Nos. 82 f.

⁸ Mt. xiii. 18—23; Mk. iv. 14—20; Lk. viii. 11—15.

⁹ Mt. xiii. 36—43.

an invention of the Synoptics, and in order to justify their position they appeal to «the clumsiness of expression, and the total lack of skill and naturalness in the parabolic explanation». But, aside from the fact that these allegations are false, as we shall show when we give the exegesis of the parables¹, a few expressions more or less nonliterary would not and could not endanger the authentic character of the substance; for Jesus did not intend to put forth something which from a literary point of view would be perfect in all details.

b) Besides, the tradition which ascribes the allegorical interpretation of the parable of the sower to our Lord gains a greater degree of certainty in this that it is the interpretation reproduced by all three of the Synoptics. Again, traces of allegory are by no means lacking in the Synoptics, and no one dreams of making them all the later work of tradition. Examples of this are: «You are the light of the world», «you are the salt of the earth», «I will make you fishers of men», etc.²

c) Lastly, «if the parable, such as Jesus employed in addressing the people, is essentially a comparison, and if we have not the right to seek an allegorical teaching in that which is only a comparison, there is then no reason to deny the right of Jesus to employ the allegorical method sometimes, since, after all, the difference between the parable and the allegory is so little as to be in most cases a difference of words merely.»³

SECOND DIFFICULTY. We have already explained why our Lord spoke in parables and why their meaning was not always grasped⁴.

THIRD DIFFICULTY. To the third objection, we reply that the differences found in the exposition of parables which are common to several of the Gospel accounts, do not prove that the more developed account is an invention of the Evangelist, but that they were gleaned from sources either oral or written which contained the teaching of Jesus in a wider scope. Thus the parable of the invitations which were refused and that of the wedding-feast of the son of the king are not a proof of gradual allegorical additions; for according to quite a number of critics these two accounts cannot be identified⁵.

VIII. PRINCIPAL RULES FOR THE EXEGESIS OF THE PARABLES.

405. Jesus Himself having interpreted two of the parables, that of the sower and that of the tares⁶, has thereby indicated the chief rules that should be followed in the interpretation of the other parables.

¹ No. 406. ² Mt. v. 13, 14; Mt. iv. 19 = Mk i. 17 = Lk. v. 10.

³ *Batiffol*, L'enseignement de Jésus 28.

⁴ Nos. 401 and 402. *Batiffol* l. c. 27.

⁵ No. 414.

⁶ Mt. xiii. 18—23; Mk. iv. 14—20; Lk. viii. 11—15; Mt. xiii. 36—43.

1. Before attempting to find an explanation of the details, the first thing to be done is *to discover the dominant truth* of the parable. Very often it is indicated by the context, by which we mean the preliminary details and the epilogue. The main idea having been found once, all the accessory and secondary ideas should be studied in its light¹.

2. *All forced analogies, which at best are merely imaginary, and all subtle comparisons, more ingenious than solid*, must be avoided. Yet it is difficult to determine how far we may extend a symbolical meaning to the details. In the example which our Lord affords us, we are warned to avoid two extremes which are directly opposed one to the other. At one time we are told to seek only the dominant idea, and leave aside all the details the value of which is merely ornamental, since they merely give life, colour and the appearance of truth to the story. Then again we are told, or at least we infer it, that all the details have some meaning. In His interpretation of the parables of the sower and the tares, our Lord passes over certain details and yet gives meaning to others, as the birds, the thorns, and the burning heat².

ART. II.

THE EXEGESIS OF THE PRINCIPAL PARABLES OF THE GOSPEL.

I. THE ORIGIN, ESSENCE, AND ACTION OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

I. THE PARABLE OF THE SOWER.

(Mt. xiii. 3^b—9, 18—23; Mk. iv. 3—9, 13—21; Lk. viii. 5—8, 11—15.)

406. In this parable which Jesus Himself has interpreted for us, we see how far the success and failure that shall attend the preaching of the Gospel in the world is dependent upon the disposition of the hearers.

1. **The Wayside refers to the Souls Insensible to the Word of God.** The sower (Jesus Christ and the Christian preachers) went forth to sow his seed (the word of God) in the hearts of men. As the sower cast his seed, some fell by the wayside, that is between the road and the field, where it was either trodden under the feet of the passers-by or was eaten by the birds of the air; for the spade and the plow had not reached this ground nor prepared it for the reception of the seed. The wayside represents the man who is

¹ Cf. nos. 416, 417.

² Cf. *Trench*, Notes on the Parables 30—43; *Stevens*, Theology of the N. T. 9 to 11; *Stevens*, The Teaching of Jesus 43—46.

insensible to all things religious. He hears the word of God, but yet he fails to understand it, because it cannot sink into his soul, from his indifference or hardness of heart. Hence, scarcely does he hear it, when the devil comes along and takes it out of his heart, and causes it to be lost in the rush of other thoughts.

407. 2. The Rocky Ground refers to the Inconstant Souls.

Another part of the seed falls upon rocky ground, that is, according to the context, ground where rocks and stones are covered with a thin layer of earth. This represents the man who hears the word of God and at first receives it with joy. Such men are easily stirred and easily excited. But the word of God does not take root in their souls, for they believe and remain faithful only for a time¹. They possess a good will, but they lack the constancy to make this effective. When temptation or even persecution because of the word of God comes, they immediately are scandalized and cast aside the Christian teaching. Trial is the touchstone of virtue. It fortifies the true Christian, but soon disheartens the weak disciple.

3. The Thorny Ground refers to the Divided Souls.

Some of the seed fell among thorns, that is upon good ground filled with weeds. This represents the soul which hears the word of God although it is filled with worldly pre-occupations. The cares of the world, the deceitful allurements of riches, the pleasures of life and sinful desires crowd the soul to such an extent that pure thoughts and holy desires have no chance to make themselves felt or to produce fruit.

4. The Good Ground refers to the Well-prepared Souls.

Some other seed falls upon good ground, ground that is rich, fertile, and well-prepared, and as a consequence is productive of a big harvest (thirty-, sixty-, a hundred-fold)². This ground represents those who having heard the word of God in a good and perfect heart, keep it and bring forth fruit in patience, and yield fruit «the one thirty, another sixty, and another a hundred». These three sets of fruit represent three different kinds of good ground, and this latter the Fathers of the Church have understood as representing three classes of just souls: those beginning the life of perfection, those who have progressed somewhat in it, and those who are approaching the end of it here upon earth³. Perhaps, too, our Lord wished to have it known that the word of God does not produce the same fruits in all souls, and that merits are unequal in the Church.

¹ Mk. iv. 17: *temporales sunt*.

² Gen. xxvi. 12.

³ *Hier.*, Comm. in Mt. xiii. 3^b—9: P. L. XXVI, 88; *S. Thom.*, S. th. I, 2, q. 70, a. 3 ad 2.

II. THE PARABLE OF THE TARES.

(Mt. xiii. 24—30, 36—43.)

408. Like the preceding, this parable is explained by Jesus. It clearly shows us that the powers of evil make determined efforts to undo the work of the sower, that the good and the bad shall exist side by side in the kingdom of God, even until the end of the world, and consequently, that the Church is not composed of the predestined only.

1. **The Parable** (Mt. xiii. 24—30). The kingdom of God is likened to a man who sowed good seed in his field. But while his servants slept (hence during the night), his enemy came and sowed tares in the midst of the wheat¹. But when the blade was sprung up, and had brought forth fruit (et fructum fecisset), there also appeared the cockle. Now it is extremely difficult to distinguish the blade of wheat from that of the cockle, although their fruit is not at all similar². The servants astonished to find that cockle had appeared with the good grain, made known their discovery to their master and asked him if they should weed it out. «No, lest perhaps gathering up the cockle, you root up also the wheat together with it», was the reply that he gave them. It happens quite often that the roots of these two grains are so intimately connected, that it is impossible to root up the cockle without injuring the wheat. «Suffer both to grow», continued the master, «until the harvest, and in the time of the harvest I will say to the reapers: Gather up first the cockle, and bind it into bundles to burn, but the wheat gather ye into my barns.»

2. **Interpretation of the Parable** (Mt. xiii. 36—43). The sower of the good seed is the Son of Man, the Messiah³, who gives to mankind His divine teaching. The field represents the entire world. The good grain are the good children, the true members of the Messianic kingdom, that is, the just, whilst the cockle represents the children of the evil spirit and of the devil (τοῦ πονηροῦ, *filii nequam*), the sinners who imitate the conduct of Satan. The enemy who sows the cockle, is the devil who fills the souls of men with perverse thoughts. As regards the time of the harvest, it shall come at the end of the world. The angels will play the part of the reapers; for the Son of Man will commission them⁴ to take from the kingdom all sinners and all scandals. These they shall cast into the furnace of fire⁵ where there shall be weeping (excruciating

¹ The *lolium temulentum* which abounds in Palestine.

² Hier., Comm. in Mt. xiii. 37: P. L. XXVI, 94.

³ Mt. xi. 19.

⁴ Mt. xvi. 27; xxiv. 31; 2 Thess. i. 7.

⁵ On the reality of the fire of hell see no. 508.

torment) and gnashing of teeth (for fury and despair). The just, on the contrary, shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father¹.

THE PARABLE OF THE NET is in close order to this, and a complement to it (Mt. xiii. 47—50).

III. THE PARABLE OF THE LABOURERS IN THE VINEYARD.

(Mt. xx. 1—16.)

409. No one should despair of entering the kingdom of God, for the Lord is continually calling men to membership at all hours. The recompense for the work accomplished there is proportioned to merit, and this depends not on the duration and the difficulty in accomplishing the appointed work, but on the gratuitous gifts of God.

1. Literal Meaning of the Parable. On one of His journeys to Jerusalem, Jesus declares that complete renunciation for His sake will merit a reward a hundred-fold here below and in heaven will win life eternal. After this declaration He adds: «Many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first» (Multi erunt primi novissimi, et novissimi primi)². The parable of the labourers in the vineyard is an explanation of this enigmatical expression. As a matter of fact, the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a householder who went out early in the morning to the public places in order to hire labourers for his vineyard, and hiring them sent them into his vineyard agreeing to pay them a denarius a day.

At the third, the sixth, the ninth and the eleventh hour he went out and hired more labourers and sent them also into his vineyard³. At the end of the day all the workmen, irrespective of the time they entered, received a penny. This aroused the feelings of those who had worked from the early part of the day. The master of the household replied to their murmurings, by addressing one of their number in these words: «Friend (ἑταῖρε), I do thee no wrong, since you have received your penny.» He then affirms his right to dispose freely of his goods (οὐκ ἔξοστίν μοι ὁ θέλω ποιῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς)⁴, adding that they should not be envious because he has been generous. (Is thy eye evil because I am good?)⁵.

2. General Meaning of the Parable. The father of the household is God Himself who invites all men to work in His vine-

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 24. In the Bible *light* is the symbol of happiness, as *darkness* is the figure of unhappiness: Dan. xii. 3; Jac. i. 17; 1 Jn. i. 5.

² Mt. xx. 16. Cf. Mt. xix. 29, 30; Mk. x. 29, 30.

³ The Jews counted the hours of their day not from the midnight, but by the time from the rising to the setting of the sun. Their day was divided into two parts of twelve hours each. The third hour corresponds to our nine o'clock in the morning, the sixth to midday, the ninth to 3 P. M., and the eleventh to five o'clock in the evening.

⁴ See Mt. xx. 15.

⁵ Deut. xv. 9; Prov. xxii. 9; Mk. vii. 22.

yard which is His Messianic kingdom. The public place represents the world, the workers are a figure of all humanity, the penny symbolizes eternal life, the different hours of the day at which the labourers are hired are either the principal epochs of the world or better the different stages of human life. The last workers, as far as the pay is concerned, are equal to the first, and hence it is that the merits of man depend above all upon the grace of God, entirely gratuitous; for every man received a penny. Although the recompense be the same, this does not mean that there will not be a difference of degree in the reward that God shall bestow. There are other discourses which show that the recompense shall be proportioned to the sacrifices made and that in heaven all places shall not be equal¹. The idea that our Lord wants to bring home here is the gratuity of salvation and the mercy of God².

IV. THE PARABLE OF THE WICKED HUSBANDMEN.

(Mt. xxi. 36—46; Mk. xii. 1—12; Lk. xx. 9—19.)

410. This parable contains a prophecy of the abolition of the Sanhedrin and the Jewish priesthood, and the conversion of the Gentiles who shall take the place of the descendants of Abraham in the Messianic kingdom. Its interpretation has been given by Jesus Himself³.

1. The Planting and the Place of the Vineyard. A householder (God) planted a vineyard. In order to protect it he surrounded it with a hedge and built a tower for its protection. And he dug there a press also. Then he rented it out to husbandmen, who, according to the drift of the parable⁴, were small farmers and had heretofore to give the master a portion of the fruit. After this the owner departed for a long time into a far off country. The vineyard⁵ is representative of the Jewish people whom God had made His people in a privileged sense, and whom He had in the course of ages surrounded with His care, and had separated from other nations both from a physical and a moral point of view. As regards the former He had given them a land which was bounded by the Mediterranean Sea, the Dead Sea, the Desert of Arabia, and the

¹ Lk. xiv. 17—27.

² According to the Vulgate and a few other ancient versions, Jesus, in order to explain His thought, adds: «for many are called, but few are chosen»: *Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi*. Many critics, and there are Catholics among their number, deny the authenticity of these words. The phrase is wanting in α BLZ 36 and the Sahidic, Coptic, and Ethiopic Versions, and does not fit in with the context. See Tischendorf, Westcott, Nestle, Schanz, Fock, h. l. For the whole question, here, see *Trench*, Notes on the Parables 134—151.

³ Mt. xxi. 42—44; Mk. xii. 9—11; Lk. xx. 17, 18.

⁴ Mt. xxi. 34.

⁵ Is. v.

Lebanon Mountains. As regards the latter He gave them the Mosaic prescriptions¹. The husbandmen designate the civil and religious rulers of the nation.

2. **The Husbandmen and the Servants.** When the time of vintage came, the master sent one of his servants to receive the portion of the fruit that was due him. But the husbandmen laid violent hands upon this messenger, beat him and sent him away empty-handed. The master sent other servants to them one after the other, some of whom they beat and others they killed. These servants represent the prophets and other messengers whom God, in the course of ages, sent to the Jews, especially to their leaders, in order to call them all to a sense of their duties. Instead of hearkening unto them, the Jews persecuted them and even put several of them to death².

411. 3. **The Husbandmen and the Only Son.** With a patience truly admirable and a loving generosity the master finally sent his only son who was especially dear to him. In the hope of possessing themselves the vineyard, the husbandmen seized him, cast him out of the vineyard and killed him. The religious leaders of the Jews caused the arrest of Jesus, the only Son of God, led Him outside the city of Jerusalem (*extra portam passus est*) and put him to death³.

4. **The Punishment of the Husbandmen.** The master of the vineyard (God the Father) angered at these various crimes, will come to destroy these husbandmen, the rulers of the Jewish people, and will give the vineyard to other husbandmen, to the Apostles and their successors. Because (*ideo*) they have rejected the Messiah⁴, the Jews shall cease to be a theocratic nation; for the kingdom of God shall be taken away from them and shall be given to the Gentiles who shall be converted, and they shall have a part in the kingdom of God and shall produce fruit; for they shall profit by the graces they have received. The stone (the Messiah) which was rejected by the builders, i. e. the Jewish authorities, has been made by God the head of the corner. It has become the cornerstone⁵ which holds together and supports the two great walls at their base. Whoever shall fall upon that stone, that is, whoever shall offend Christ and especially whoever shall disown Him, shall be bruised, «and upon whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder». These latter

¹ Eph. ii. 14.

² Jer. xxxvii; xxxviii; xxv. 3, 4; Hebr. xi. 36—38; Acts vii. 52; 1 Thess. ii. 15.

³ Hebr. xiii. 12, 13; Jn. xix. 20. According to Mk. xii. 8, the husbandmen first killed the son and then cast him out of the vineyard.

⁴ Mt. xxi. 43.

⁵ Eph. ii. 19—22; Ps. cxvii. 22 f.; Is. xxviii. 16; Acts iv. 11; 1 Pet. ii. 4 f.

phrases mean that the Son, despite His death, shall be the heir of the vineyard and shall avenge Himself upon His enemies.

5. **Realization of the Prophecy.** Every one knows how terribly and how swiftly all this was accomplished. A few years after the death of Jesus, the Temple was destroyed, the people dispersed, and the ancient priesthood was abolished or rather replaced by another. Upon the ruins of the synagogue a new society was founded. The Christian Church in its pale reunited the Gentile converts with the faithful Israelites, and after having supplanted Judaism, by its solidity broke the powers that dared to enter into opposition to it¹.

V. THE PARABLE OF THE GREAT SUPPER.

(Lk. xiv. 15—24.)

412. 1. Occasion and Object of the Parable, 15. Jesus being invited to a banquet given by one of the Pharisees, came and gave the guests a lesson in humility, and the host a lesson in charity. One of those seated at the table hearing His words, cried out: «Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.» Jesus took advantage of this occasion thus offered to Him and expounded the parable of the Great Supper. He tells them that the Jews shall be first invited, but that they shall refuse the invitation, and the Gentiles shall be taken in their stead. The parable then is a sort of prophecy just like some of those that we have already treated and those that are to follow.

2. **The First Group Invited, 16—20.** A certain man (God) prepared a great supper (*δεῖπνον*, evening repast). This is representative of the happiness of the Messianic kingdom. The first to be invited were, according to the context, the rulers of the Jewish theocracy. At the hour of supper, this man sent his servants to tell those that were invited to come; for everything was now prepared. But every one of these invited guests made excuses on one pretext or another, some being prevented by worldly interests, and others by sensual enjoyment.

3. **The Second Group Invited, 21.** Angered by these excuses the master of the house told his servant to go out quickly into the streets and the lanes of the city (*εἰς πλατείας καὶ ῥύμας*), and to bring to his house the poor and the feeble and the blind and the lame, namely the whole Jewish people, the poor, the publicans, and the sinners.

413. 4. The Third Group Invited, 22, 23. The servant obeyed his master and did as he was told. Still, after this had been done

¹ The authenticity of this parable is denied by *Loisy*, *Études évangéliques* 57, by *Fülicher* and *Schmidt*, in *Encycl. Biblica*, IV, col. 4699, because it is an allegory. Cf. nos. 403 and 404, and also *Lépin*, *Christ and the Gospel* 348—355.

there still remained room at the table. The master in his unlimited generosity then told his servant: «Go out into the highways and hedges, and those whom you find, compel them to come in that my house may be filled.» There is no question of violence here, but rather entreaty and sollicitation, even as a zealous pastor would employ or a saintly missionary, to bring a soul back to God. Besides, one servant alone could hardly make use of force against a whole nation.

5. **Conclusion.** Jesus concludes this parable by addressing the assembled guests in these words: «But I say unto you that none of those men that were invited at first shall taste of My supper». The rulers of the Jewish theocracy shall be excluded from the Messianic kingdom, and the pagans shall come and take their places. The allegorical elements which are found in this parable cannot form an argument against its authenticity¹.

VI. THE PARABLE OF THE WEDDING GARMENT.

(Mt. xxii. 1—14.)

414. This parable bears many traces of similarity to the preceding. The object of both, namely the rejection of the Jews, and the call of the Gentiles is the same. Yet on the other hand, the circumstances of time and place are different. The former was spoken in the house of a certain Pharisee in Galilee, during the course of Christ's public ministry, whilst the latter was addressed to the Scribes, to the chief priests and the Pharisees, in the Temple during Holy Week².

Several critics have sought to identify the two parables, and claim that the circumstance of time should form no objection to this, since the Synoptics paid very little attention to chronology. Yet it is likewise probable that the Lord expounded the same idea on two different occasions although in a slightly dissimilar form.

The parable itself may be divided into two parts, namely: the destruction of the Jewish theocracy, and the call of the Gentiles and the punishment of wicked Christians.

1. **The Destruction of the Jewish Theocracy, 1—7.** Christ likens the kingdom of heaven to a king who made a marriage for his son. This king is none other than God the Father, and the wedding designates the mystical union of the Son of God with His Church³. The king sent out his servants to call those that had been invited. In the course of the Jewish national history, God had addressed the Jews through His prophets and thus had given them a first invitation to enter the folds of His Church. This invitation He repeated through John the Baptist, and through the Apostles and the

¹ See nos. 403 and 404.

² Mt. xxi. 45, 46; xxii. 1; Lk. xiv. 1—16.

³ Eph. v. 25—27, 32; Ap. xix. 7.

disciples¹. The invited guests refused to come to the feast; and we know that the greater portion of the Jewish nation refused to believe in the divine mission of Jesus.

Then the king sent out other servants, namely: the Apostles and their disciples, who after the Resurrection preached the Gospel at Jerusalem and throughout all Palestine. A number of the invited guests remained indifferent to the invitation, whilst others seized the messengers and having treated them contumeliously, put them to death. We know how the Jews seized both the Apostles and the disciples and put several of them to death².

Upon hearing the news of these outrages, the king became filled with indignation; for the injury done to his servants reflected upon him. In his anger he sent his army against them — the Roman legions charged with the execution of his orders —, destroyed the murderers and burnt their city. In the year 70 A. D., many Jews were put to death in Jerusalem and in Palestine by the Roman soldiers, and their capital was burnt to the ground³.

415. 2. The Call of the Gentiles and the Punishment of wicked Christians, 8—14. As the Jews turned a deaf ear to all the calls of grace accorded them, God sent out a call to the Gentiles. The king, after he had avenged himself, said to his servants: «The marriage is indeed ready, but they that were invited were not worthy. Go ye, therefore, into the highways and as many as ye shall find call to the marriage.» The invitation is general and is not hedged in by any restrictions⁴. The servants went forth as they were told, and they gathered together all that they found, both bad and good, and marriage hall was filled with guests. The Apostles and their disciples preached everywhere and to all, and the Gentiles became converted to their doctrines in large numbers⁵.

The king going into the hall to see the guests that had come, saw a man seated at the table who had not on a wedding garment, that is to say, the dress which was ordinarily worn at such festivities. This garment is a figure of sanctifying grace without which it is impossible to get into heaven. In order to obtain eternal life it is not enough to receive the call to the kingdom of God, we must also put on Jesus Christ, as St. Paul puts it⁶. By failing to appear in the conventional dress the guest offered open insult to the master of the house⁷. This is why the king had him bound hand and foot

¹ As the Acts of the Apostles evidence.

² Acts iv. 3; v. 18; viii. 3; v. 40; xiv. 5—19; vii. 58; xii. 3.

³ Nos. 384 ff.

⁴ Mt. xxviii. 19, 20.

⁵ Acts viii. 5; xvii. 30; Rom. xi. 11, 12.

⁶ Rom. xiii. 14; Col. iii. 10; Gal. iii. 27.

⁷ Trench and other authors think that it was formerly the custom in the East for the one who invited the guests to a feast to supply them with festal dress. In

and ordered him to be cast into exterior darkness (hell) «outside of the house of God, where all light dwells, where all truth is manifested, where Jesus Christ shines for all eternity, where the saints are as the stars.» There, there shall be weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.

In this parable many are called to the feast, both Jew and Gentile. But few are chosen as guests. The great majority of the Jews shall remain incredulous, and many of the Gentiles shall fail to persevere. This text really affords no indication whether the number of the elect shall be greater or less than that of the damned. Very often in Scripture the word «many» really means «all»¹.

II. THE MEMBERS OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND THEIR DUTIES.

I. THE PARABLE OF THE PHARISEE AND THE PUBLICAN.

(Lk. xviii. 9—14.)

416. Prayer addressed to God in a persevering spirit is always heard, as is evidenced by the parable of the Friend at Midnight². But over and above this it should be addressed in humility, and this is the lesson which the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican was intended to drive home.

1. **The Prayer of the Pharisee**, 10—12. Two men went up into the Temple to pray, following the custom of the Jews who were wont at the hour of sacrifice to enter the Temple and offer their prayers to God³. One of these men belonged to the sect known as the Pharisees, many of whom were nothing but the most arrant hypocrites (no. 134), whilst the other held a position that was universally despised⁴ at this time, for he was a Roman tax-gatherer. According to the custom of the Jews⁵ the Pharisee prayed whilst standing upright, but yet he stood in a cold and affected attitude. His arrogance appeared in his self-complacence and the contempt he exhibited for his brethren. He was convinced that there was nothing lacking in his own perfection, foolishly believing that the absence of outward faults and the practice of certain austerities that were hardly painful to the natural man made him thus⁶. «He was like a sufferer on the table of a surgeon», says St. Augustine, «who would show his sound limbs and cover his hurts.» There is nothing more pointed than this little scene in which the arrogant Pharisee reveals his vanity and silliness in the presence of God.

refusing to put this on the guest grossly insulted the king. See *Trench*, Notes on the Parables 188. But there are others who deny that such a custom existed. See *Knabenbauer*, In Matthaeum h. l.

¹ Rom. v. 12, 15, 18.

² Lk. xi. 1—8.

³ Lk. i. 21, 22; Acts iii. 1.

⁴ Mt. xviii. 17.

⁵ 3 Kings viii. 22; 2 Par. vi. 12; Mk. xi. 25.

⁶ Mt. vi. 3—7.

It is true that he gives thanks to heaven for the virtues that he possesses, but it comes rather from the lips than from the heart. At the bottom of his heart he believes that God must be pleased with him. Had he been penetrated with the idea that all his merits were due to the grace of God, he would not, as he did, have had contempt for the rest of men (*ceteros hominum*), and in particular for the poor publican (*hunc publicanum*) who had gone into the Temple with him¹.

2. **The Prayer of the Publican**, 13. In striking contrast to this was the prayer of the publican. He stood at a distance from the sanctuary not daring even to lift up his eyes. Yet striking his breast, he acknowledged that he was a sinner and asked God to have mercy upon him. All these details show with what humility he offered up his prayer to God.

3. **Meaning of the Parable; Results of the Prayer of the Pharisee and the Publican**, 9, 14. Jesus concludes this parable and gives its meaning in a few short words. «This man (the publican) went down to his house justified rather than the other.» The publican was justified because of his humility, whilst the other was condemned because he lacked it². «Every one», continued our Lord, «that exalteth himself (as the Pharisee who was condemned), shall be humbled, and he that humbleth himself (as did the justified publican), shall be exalted.» St. Luke also gives us the object of the parable, because he tells us that it was addressed to certain persons (probably Pharisees) who trusted «in themselves as just and despised others».

II. THE PARABLE OF THE TEN VIRGINS.

(Mt. xxv. 1—13.)

417. 1. **The Parable**, 1. Then (when Christ shall come to judge the living and the dead³), the kingdom of heaven shall be likened to ten virgins, who, taking their lamps, left their houses, in order to join the bride and go to meet her affianced husband⁴. This parable makes allusion to the ceremonies of a marriage among the Jews⁵. The most solemn moment of the ceremony was when the bride elect was led into the house of the prospective husband where from henceforth she was to dwell. As a rule this took place in the early hours of the night. The bridegroom accom-

¹ A prayer very much like that of the Pharisee of the Gospel is found in the *Talmud of Jerusalem*, Berachoth, fol. 282. Cf. *Knabenbauer* and *Lightfoot* h. l.

² *Tertull.*, *Contra Marc.* IV, xxxvi: P. G. II, 449.

³ Mt. xxiv.

⁴ The Vulgate adds the words *et sponsae*, but they are not authentic.

⁵ See *Edersheim*, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life* 196.

panied by a crowd of young men, «the children of the bride-chamber», «the friends of the bridegroom», sought his future wife in her own home. She in turn was accompanied by her youthful friends, the virgins of the parable. The small procession then marches on its way, accompanied by musical instruments, and having its way lit up by torches and lamps (Fig. 71). These lamps consisted of a bowl intended for the reception of the oil, which was made of earth or metal, together with several wicks. The whole ceremony ended in a great feast.

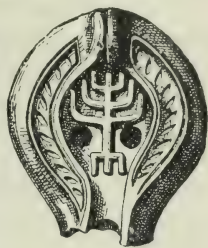


Fig. 71.

Jewish Lamp of clay
with the Sevenhandled
Candlestick.

2—5. Five of these virgins that went forth were foolish (giddy) and lacking in foresight, and the other five were wise (prudent). The foolish took no more oil than what was in their lamps, but the wise ones filled their vessels with oil; for the capacity of the lamps was rather small, and then the bridegroom might tarry in coming. And this is just what he did in this instance. While waiting for him all the virgins «slumbered and slept».

6—9. In the middle of the night, those that were watching, cried out, upon seeing the wedding cortege some distance off: «Behold the bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet him». Then all the virgins arose and trimmed their lamps. The foolish noticing their lack of foresight and that their lamps gave no light, begged for oil from their companions. «No», they replied, «lest perhaps there be not enough for us and for you. Go rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves.»

10—13. The foolish virgins went to buy oil, hoping to get back in time to accompany the bridal procession. But during their absence the bridegroom arrived, and those that were ready entered with him into the marriage hall, and the doors were shut so that nothing could interfere with the joy of the guests. Somewhat later the other virgins arrived. But despite their protestations the bridegroom refused to let them in.

418. 2. General Meaning of this Parable. The general meaning of this parable of the ten virgins is easily perceived. It is brought out in the final injunction of our Lord: «Watch ye, therefore; for ye know not the day nor the hour» of the second coming of Jesus. As regards the details, it would be wrong to twist them in such a way as to draw from them a spiritual meaning and to make them fit into the plan. The bridegroom is Jesus Christ. Heaven is the hall where the wedding is to be celebrated. The ten virgins are those that are guests at this feast. The wise are those souls who keep in the grace of God, whilst the foolish are those who live in culpable

indifference which bars them from heaven. The want of oil at the coming of the bridegroom is meant to teach us that, if we be deprived of grace at the moment of death, neither the prayers of the Church nor the merits of the saints can help us much.

In the opinion of one Rationalistic critic, this parable is a masterpiece of simplicity of art, of genius and of finesse. The necessity of living in the state of grace and the danger to which we expose ourselves by wasting opportunities in negligence and for want of reflection, could hardly be brought home with greater force.

III. THE PARABLE OF THE FIVE TALENTS.

(Mt. xxv. 14—30.)

419. The parable of the talents is an exhortation addressed to all of us to put to their best use all the gifts, both natural and supernatural, that God has given us, because He shall demand an account from us and shall reward every man according to his work.

1. The Division of the Talents, 14, 15. It shall be (in the kingdom of heaven) as a man, who, going into a far country, called his servants and delivered to them his goods. To one he gave five talents¹, to another two, and to another one, each one according to his business capacity (*secundum propriam virtutem*), and he set out on his journey immediately².

Jesus, the master of men under many titles, confided to them, before He left this earth, gifts both natural and supernatural³ and charged them to make good use of them until the time of His second coming or rather until their death. These gifts He apportions — and with them the responsibility — in accordance with the moral force of each individual. He does not impose a burden beyond the strength of any one. The natural gifts are, as it were, a vessel into which the supernatural gifts flow, although grace possesses the power to increase the receptive capacity.

2. The Use that the Servants made of the Talents, 16—18. The servant who had received five talents, invested his money in business or in agriculture and after a long time gained five other talents, that is made dollar for dollar. He who had received two talents also doubled the amount that had been given him. The third, however, dug a hole in the earth and there hid his talent. He did not waste the gifts of his master, but he left them idle and unproductive. All this is a figure of the Christians who use the gifts of God in various manners.

¹ The Attic talent was worth in the 1. century about 1112 dollars.

² Several critics report this adverb in the beginning of v. 16; in this hypothesis it would indicate the haste of the first servant, in order to fructify the talents received.

³ Jn. xvi. 7; Eph. iv. 8—12; 1 Cor. vii. 4—11.

3. **The Account of the First Two Servants, 19—23.** A long time after this, the master came and entered a statement of their affairs from his servants. The one who had received five talents gave back ten. The master complimented him and as a reward promised to make him master over many things, and bade him enter into the joy of his lord, giving him a share in the happiness which he himself enjoyed. At the end of the world the Lord Jesus shall come to demand an account from every man of his conduct. To the servants who have been faithful He shall give His heavenly goods which are infinitely superior to mere worldly goods, and He shall make them sharers in eternal bliss in company with all the elect. The second servant obtained the same reward as the first. He had as much merit since he doubled that which he had received.

420. 4. **The Account of the Third Servant, 24—30.** The slothful servant attempted to excuse himself, but insolently and in a manner that showed that he unjustly accused his master. «I knew that thou art a hard man, thou reapest where thou hast not sown, gatherest where thou hast not strewed», which in other words means: «thou enrichest thyself wrongfully at the expense of others». «For these reasons, I was afraid (of losing the talent and being punished) and I went and hid thy talent in the earth. Behold here thou hast that which is thine, and thou hast not the right to demand more.»

The master severely condemns the wicked and slothful servant. Turning his own words against him, he replies to the servant: «You knew that I reaped where I did not sow? Why did you not commit my money to the bankers? Then at my coming I should have received my own with usury (interest).» Then, addressing his servants, he added: «In punishment for his neglect (itaque), take the talent away from him and give it to him that hath ten talents. For to every one that hath shall be given and he shall abound¹; but from him that hath not (many things) shall be taken away that which he hath (Vulg.: quod videtur habere).» God withdraws His graces from those who do not profit by them, and He increases those who have made them bear fruit. Still another punishment is inflicted upon the unprofitable servant. «Cast ye him out into exterior darkness (hell) where there shall be weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.»

IV. THE PARABLE OF THE POUNDS.

(Lk. xix. 12—26.)

421. In a certain sense this parable has the same object as the preceding, so much so that a number of critics have sought to identify both of them. Yet between the two there are notable differences as regards

¹ Mt. xiii. 12.

the time they were delivered, as regards the audience, as regards the developments, and even as regards the object. This is reason why we, together with the majority of Catholic scholars, maintain that our Lord delivered almost the same lesson on two distinct occasions¹.

V. THE PARABLE OF THE GOOD SAMARITAN.

(Lk. x. 30—37.)

422. I. The Traveller and the Robbers, 29, 30. To the question of a certain scribe «Who is my neighbour?» our Lord replied: «A certain man (probably a Jew) went down from Jerusalem



Fig. 72. Road from Jerusalem to Jericho. (Phot. P. Dunkel.)

to Jericho (Fig. 72)². He fell among robbers (*λῆσταῖς*) who robbed him of all he had, covered him with wounds and left him lying half

¹ There are some critics who are of the opinion that everything in this parable is not imaginary. They think that the austere man refers to Archelaus (Lk. xix. 21), the son of Herod the Great. In going to Rome, whence all kings received their power (*accipere sibi regnum*), to be invested, he entrusted his goods and his treasures to his servants' keeping. A deputation of Jews followed him into Italy, in order to plead with Cæsar not to permit him to be the ruler of their nation; but their pleadings were unsuccessful. When Archelaus returned he revenged himself upon those who had opposed him. Cf. *Jos.*, J. A. XVII, ix, 7; xi, 1, 4; xiii. 1, 2; J. W. II, ii—vii.

² On the one hand, the mean altitude of Jerusalem is from 2297 to 2362 feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea, whilst Jericho is 821 feet below the level of the same sea; on the other hand, Jericho is not more than 6 or 7 hours' march from Jerusalem.

dead.» The road from Jerusalem to Jericho takes in both a desert and mountainous country, which to-day as formerly is infested with robbers and unsafe to traverse without escort. According to St. Jerome a certain section of this very road was in his day called *locus sanguinum*, *quia multus in eo sanguis crebris latronum fundebatur incurisibus.*¹

2. **The Priest and the Levite**, 31, 32. A priest, who perhaps was returning to his home after having exercised the duties of his office at Jerusalem, happened to be going (*κατὰ συγχυρίαν*, accidit) that way. He saw the unfortunate traveler and passed on. A Levite did the very same thing.

3. **The Samaritan**, 33—35. But a Samaritan passed also by that way, and seeing the wounded man was filled with pity at his plight. He went to him, bound up his wounds in order to prevent the further loss of blood, and poured oil and wine into them². Then he placed him upon his own mount, led him to an inn «and took care of him». The next day he gave the innkeeper two pence — two days' board³ — and said to him: «Take care of the wounded man, and whatsoever thou shalt spend over and above, I at my return will repay thee.» This kindness gains in magnanimity when it is remembered that between the Jews and the Samaritans the greatest animosity existed (no. 131).

4. **The Object and Purpose of the Parable**, 36, 37. The details which precede and those which succeed the parable point to its object. Even our enemies come under the head of neighbour, and we must exercise towards them a practical charity, should occasion demand it.

423. Mystical Interpretation of this Parable. The Holy Fathers of the Church have considered the wounded man as a type of fallen men⁴. The first man, like the man in the parable, came down from the holy city, heaven. Because of sin he was banished from the company of the children of God, and the devil in robbing him of grace, wounded him in the highest prerogatives of his nature⁵. The priests and the levites of the tribe of Aaron, the Law and the Prophets passed by, and yet could not remedy his condition. But He whom man called a Samaritan, and whom the Law looked upon as an enemy, came, He saw the wounded one, came near unto him, bound up his hurts, and for them gave him the oil and

¹ In Jer. iii. 2; Epist. 108, 12: P. L. XXIV, 690; XXII, 887.

² These remedies were employed by the ancients, especially by the Orientals: *Plin.*, Hist. nat. XXIX, 2, 9.

³ Mt. xx. 2; no. 409.

⁴ *Orig.*, Hom. XXXIV in Lucam: P. G. XIII, 1886; St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine.

⁵ *Ven. Beda*, In Lucam lib. III, cap. 10. Plagae peccata sunt, quibus naturae humanae integritatem violando, seminarium quoddam (ut ita dicam) augendae mortis, fessis indidere visceribus.

wine of His Sacraments¹. Then He left him in the care of His Church, and commanded His ministers to care for him and apportioned to them pay for their labours. This is the example all Christians should follow, for they should see in every man their neighbour and their friend.

All this, however, is a pious accommodation of the text or a mystic interpretation, rather than a literal exegesis.

VI. THE UNJUST STEWARD.

(Lk. xvi. 1—13.)

424. 1. The Extravagance of the Unjust Steward, 1, 2. There was a certain rich man who had a steward (*οἰκονομος*, not *villicus*) who was accused (*diffamatus est*) of wasting his master's goods. Acting upon this information, his master called him, demanded an account of his stewardship and deprived him of his office. The rich man is a figure of the Master of the world, God Himself, of whom Jesus Christ is the representative. The steward is a symbol of all men who are stewards in God's service inasmuch as they are administrators of His goods and are obliged to render an account on the day of their death.

2. The Strategy of the Steward, 3—7. The steward who had no desire either to dig or beg, resolved to have recourse to an expedient which would make him some friends and insure him bread and board, at least for a time, when he should have left the employment of his master. Accordingly he called to him all his lord's debtors, who were either merchants who had bought their goods on credit, or farmers who gave the proprietor a part of their crops as payment of rent. The steward told him who owed a hundred barrels of oil to take his bill and write fifty².

Another merchant who owed a hundred quarters of wheat, the steward told to change the bill to eighty³.

425. 3. The Master's Praise of His Servant's Conduct, 8, 9. The master praised the steward not for what he had done in itself, for at bottom it was cheating and a grave injustice, but «inasmuch as he has acted prudently», inasmuch as he had obviated all difficulty by his strategy and at the same time made for himself friends of his debtors and of his master's money⁴. «For», adds

¹ Quia lex per Moysen data est; gratia et veritas per Iesum Christum facta est: Jn. i. 17.

² The word which the Vulgate translates as *barrel* is really *bath*, which was the largest measure for the liquids among the Jews and in our measure was approximately 9 gallons.

³ The Vulgate renders *cor* by quarter. A *cor* was equal to 11 bushels.

⁴ Thus the error in Renan's assertion is readily seen. «In the new kingdom», he says, «it will be better to make friends among the poor, even by injustice, rather than to be an accurate steward» (The Gospels 264). Jesus expressly refers to the

Jesus, «the children of this world are, in the affairs that are worldly (in *generatione sua*), wiser than the children of light», wiser than the disciples of Jesus, the God of truth and light. They are better capable of securing worldly goods than the disciples of the kingdom are in acquiring the goods of heaven.

«And I say to you: Make for yourselves friends with riches (which are the cause, the occasion, and the instrument) of iniquity incalculable (*mammona iniquitatis*), so that the poor may receive you into everlasting dwellings, when they shall fail, that is at your death.» The poor, in praying for their benefactors, in some way help to open the gates of heaven for them. This parable is then intended to recommend a generous spirit towards the poor, and to make us understand that we must put our temporal goods to such use as will help us in our eternal interests. That which is an injustice in the conduct of the steward, will be a virtue for us, if we behave towards the poor as he treated the creditors of his master; for God confides His goods to us and permits us to employ them as we will¹.

VII. THE PARABLE OF THE RICH MAN AND LAZARUS.

(Lk. xvi. 19—31.)

426. The parable of the Unjust Steward and that of the Rich Man and Lazarus have the same object, namely the relation that exists between a man's use of his goods and his future state. The former tells us that our future state is assured by a wise and prudent employment of the goods that have been entrusted to us. The latter teaches us not to compromise our future by neglecting to make wise use of our gifts, in a special sense not to neglect almsgiving. Besides, it affords another lesson, namely, that the most striking miracles will not convert those upon whom the word of God has made no impression.

Two different setting are presented to us, one upon this earth and the other in Sheol.

1. The Earthly Setting, 19—21. There was a certain rich man, a Jew, who, like the kings and the earth's dignitaries, was clothed in purple and fine linen, and who, each day, led a joyous and sumptuous life, *εὐφραίνόμενος λαμπρῶς*. And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus (לֵזָרָא, לֵזָרָא, God helps) whose condition was just the opposite. He lay before the gate of the rich man, covered all over with sores and desired to be satisfied with the crumbs that

steward as *unjust* (*A. Réville*, *Jésus de Nazareth* II, 248, 249, falls into the same error). Our Lord wanted to render to each man what was his due, to Cæsar that which was Cæsar's and to God that which was God's (*Mt. xxii. 21*). He could not then have praised the steward for his unjust actions.

¹ *S. Thom.*, *S. th.* 2, 2, q. 32, a. 7 ad 1; q. 47, a. 13 ad 1.

fell from the rich man's table¹. But instead of (*ἀλλὰ καί*) having his desires satisfied, the dogs came and licked his wounds; for the beggar had not the strength to drive them away. It is most likely that our Lord did not wish to say that the dogs showed themselves more compassionate than the rich man, in trying to lessen the sufferings of the beggar, for we do not find a parallel in Scripture of animals alleviating the pains of any one.

427. 2. The Scene in Sheol, 22—31. — a) THE LOT OF LAZARUS AND THE RICH MAN, 22—26. The beggar died and was carried by angels into the bosom of Abraham. In order to understand this passage perfectly, it is necessary to have a clear idea of several Jewish beliefs. According to them every one that died descended into Sheol, but the good were separated from the wicked. The «bosom of Abraham» is an expression that denoted the place of repose for the true children of Abraham, whence they were carried by angels when they left this world, and where they waited for the Messias to open for them the gates of heaven². Since the time of the Ascension, this term really refers to heaven as we understand it³. Here and elsewhere, our Lord made use of these conceptions in order to inculcate a moral lesson, but not to give an absolute value to all the details.

The rich man also died, and he too was buried, and the tomb put an end to all his prosperity. In the abode of the dead did he lie, and whilst in torments he raised his eyes and saw Abraham afar off and Lazarus reposing in his bosom (literally 'bosoms', *ἐν κόλποις*, the plural of majesty or intensity). In the excess of his suffering the rich man cried out: «Father Abraham, have mercy upon me, and send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, to cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame.»⁴ What a strange contrast was this to his former luxury! He was punished, not for being rich, but for not having assisted Lazarus, and this beggar was saved because he had borne his misery without complaint and in submission to the will of God.

Abraham replied: «My son, remember that thou didst receive good things in thy lifetime (things which thou didst use exclusively for thyself), and Lazarus received evil things. But now he is consoled, and thou art tormented (the tables are turned). Besides; between you (the reprobate) and us (the elect) there is fixed a great chasm (Vulg. chaos) so that we cannot pass to you, nor you to us (the punishment of hell is eternal without any possible alleviation; once pronounced the sentence is irrevocable).»

¹ The Vulgate adds «and no one did give unto him». The servants were as inhuman as their master.

² Hebr. xi. 39, 40.

³ Mt. viii. 11.

⁴ Mk. ix. 43—49.

428. b) THE BROTHERS OF THE RICH MAN, 27—31. At home in his father's house, the rich man had brothers who lived as sumptuously as he had, and had no fear of God nor regard for the poor. He pleaded with Abraham, therefore, to send Lazarus to them, that he might testify to them the reality of the torments which were reserved for them; for the testimony of a man risen from the dead would be accepted as conclusive. Abraham replied that such an errand would be useless. «They have Moses and the prophets (the Bible) who will tell them all about the punishment in store for sinners and the necessity for doing penance. Let them listen to these.» And despite the importunities of the rich man, he refused to send Lazarus. «If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe if one rise again from the dead.» After the first shock, they will persuade themselves that they were deceived by their senses. We know that the Pharisees did not believe in the mission of Jesus, neither after the resurrection of Lazarus, nor after His own, although the guards whom they themselves had placed at the tomb informed them of what had occurred¹.

VIII. THE PARABLE OF THE UNMERCIFUL SERVANT².

(Mt. xviii. 21—35.)

429. 1. Occasion of the Parable, 21, 22. This parable was occasioned by a question that Peter put to Jesus: «How often shall my brother offend against me, and I forgive him?» To this came the reply that he must be pardoned without measure, indefinitely, as often as he offends (*usque septuagies septies*), and He explained His meaning by the following parable, the object of which was to show the spirit of forgiveness that must actuate the true Christian.

2. The Mercy of the Master, 23—27. The kingdom of heaven is like unto a king who would take an account of his servants who, according to the context, were ministers and officers especially charged with the administration of the royal finances. And when he began to take account, one was brought before him who was his debtor to the enormous amount of 10 000 talents³. It is probable that the king had either lent or entrusted this amount to him, and he had squandered it away. This immense debt makes us realize how great our misery is in the eyes of God; for it far exceeds all that man can gain by his labours and save by economy.

¹ A number of commentators think that the substance of this parable had a foundation in fact. They even point out a certain house in Jerusalem which was the home of this Lazarus, and in the Middle Ages a great number of monasteries and even a military order were placed under his patronage. But there is nothing to prove all this. ² *Chrys.*, Hom. LXI in Matth.: P. G. LVIII, 387 ff.

³ The Attic talent was worth half as much as the Hebrew. Thus the debt of the servant amounted to something like \$ 11 000 000 or \$ 22 000 000.

As the servant had nothing with which to settle this debt, his master ordered that he, together with his wife and children and all his goods, should be sold, so that payment might be made. In order to understand this we must bear in mind the rigour of the laws that were enacted against debtors. At Rome, according to the law of the twelve tables, the creditor had the right to have the debtor imprisoned, to mutilate him, and to sell him as a slave¹. Like prescriptions existed among the people of God², although they were somewhat softened by the regulations that governed the Sabbatical years; for every seventh year «he to whom any thing is owing from his friend or neighbour or brother, cannot demand it again, because it is the year of the remission of the Lord.»³

But the servant besought his master to have patience and assured him that he would pay him all. Being moved with pity the master let him go, and granted him more than he asked; for he canceled the whole debt.

430. 3. The Hardheartedness of the Servant, 28—30.

After the servant had gone from the presence of his master, he met a fellow-servant who owed him a hundred pence, quite a moderate sum, in comparison to the 10000 talents; for a penny was worth about 19 cents. Forgetting the mercy that had been shown him, this wicked servant seized his fellow by the throat, saying: «Pay me what thou owest» (literally: redde mihi si quid debes; redde quum debeas, verse 28, 29). His fellow servant asked for a delay, assuring him that if given time he would pay him all. But the other would not listen to his pleadings, and had him cast into prison, until he should pay the debt.

4. The Punishment of the Wicked Servant, 31—34. Other servants witnessing this cruel treatment, went and told the king all that occurred. The king accordingly called the wicked servant into his presence, reproached his cruelty, and delivered him over to the torturers until he paid all the debt. In fact the debt was never paid, because it was too great.

5. Application of the Parable, 35. «So also shall My heavenly Father», added Jesus, «do to you, if you forgive not every one his brother from your hearts (in all sincerity).» This parable is then a sort of dramatization of the fifth beatitude: «Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy» (Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur), and of the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer: «Forgive us our tresspasses, as we forgive those who tresspass against us» (dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris)⁴.

¹ *Tit. Liv.* II, 2, 23; *Tac.*, Ann. III, 60.

² Ex. xxii. 3; Lev. xxv. 39—41; 4 Kings iv. 1.

³ Deut. xv. 1, 2.

⁴ Lk. viii. 5, 11; Mt. v. 7; vii. 12.

III. THE HEAD OF THE KINGDOM, AND HIS RELATION TO THE MEMBERS.

I. THE PARABLES OF THE LOST SHEEP AND THE LOST COIN.

431. 1. The Parable of the Lost Sheep (Lk. xv. 1—7; Mt. xviii. 12—14). — a) **THE PARABLE.** The Pharisees and the Scribes murmured against Jesus because He associated with sinners and publicans and even ate with them. Jesus replied to all their complaints by telling them the parable of the sheep that was lost, and made it clear to them that God exercises great mercy to all sinners, and that no one can be barred from the kingdom of heaven. In order to bring this home clearer and in order to appeal to their conscience He asks which among them having a hundred sheep and losing one, will not leave the ninety-nine in the desert and go after the one that is lost until he find it? It does seem astonishing that the shepherd should leave his flock, but then there is nothing here to tell us that the ninety-nine were in any serious danger while their master was away. Besides, it can be easily supposed that the search did not last more than a few hours. Finally, the word *desert* מִדְבָּר, in Scripture often denotes pasture lands which are bare of dwelling places¹.

When the shepherd finds the sheep that was lost, instead of abusing it, as a hireling would do, he places it with joy upon his shoulders, because it is worn out with its wanderings. The joy of the shepherd is unbounded, and he wants others to share in it. Hence when he arrives at his house, he calls his friends and his neighbours, and asks them to rejoice with him because the sheep that was lost has been found.

432. b) GENERAL MEANING OF THE PARABLE. The Good Pastor is Jesus Himself, the representative of God on earth. The strayed sheep is fallen humanity which He has come to save, to put on the right way, and to lead into heaven. In a special sense it is the sinner, the unfaithful soul, which belongs to God and to His Church, which He pursues by His grace, which He calls by His word, which He presses to His bosom when it does heed His voice, and which He brings back to the sheepfold, to the company of the believers and the just. There is no truer nor more touching image of the generous charity and untiring zeal that God manifests toward us, than this picture, of the Master seeking His lost sheep².

¹ Cf. *Gesenius*, Thesaurus: מִדְבָּר, p. 318.

² There was nothing that appealed more to the hearts of the early Christians, especially those who had been snatched from the darkness of paganism, than this parable, and this is why it is found so often depicted on the walls of the catacombs, sacred vessels and various objects consecrated to the divine worship.

The Good Pastor rejoices when He finds His sheep. There shall be, Jesus tells us, more joy in heaven over one sinner doing penance than over ninety-nine just souls who need no penance. A new and unexpected joy is as great as it is sweet. Even so does a mother receive more consolation from the cure of one of her sons, than she does from the health of the rest of the family, because the latter has caused her no uneasiness.

2. **The Parable of the Lost Coin** (Lk. xv. 8—10). The parable of the drachma that was lost, and for which a certain woman sought for diligently, has the same object and expresses the same thought as the preceding parable, with a few minor variations, however.

II. THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON.

(Lk. xv. 11—32.)

433. The Departure of the Prodigal, 11—13. This parable tells us of a man that had two sons. The younger of these taken with the desire to enjoy himself, to live at his own will, and to satisfy all his inclinations, demanded his portion of his inheritance from his father. In justice and right he should not have received it until the death of his father. But the father consented to his request and divided his substance between his two sons. In conformity with the Law the younger should receive but a half of what the elder son received¹. Not long after the younger son gathered together all his goods which apparently consisted of valuable objects and money, and went off into a far country, in order to pass as far as he possibly could from the watchful care of his father.

The Life in the Foreign Land, 14—16. There the prodigal squandered his goods, living in extravagance (*ἀσώτως*) and riotously. All his substance was swallowed up in the whirlpool of illicit pleasure; for once the passions are unchained they are never satisfied. When everything was gone, a famine came in that land which reduced the unfortunate boy to the condition of beggary. With his money went his friends, and, in his extremity, he was only too glad to enter the service of one of the citizens of that country who sent him to his farm to tend swine. This work was low in itself, but it was the last degree of humiliation for a Jew to be in the employ of a Gentile and to be forced to tend to animals that he looked upon as impure. Yet despite all this the poor prodigal did not escape the effects of the famine. He was poorly fed and his pay was not sufficient to satisfy his cravings. In the depths of his misery he would have gladly tasted the husks of the carob-tree with which they fed the swine, but there was no man who gave them to him. The parable

¹ Deut. xxi. 17.

supposes that the prodigal had nothing to do with the feeding of the swine, and hence that he could in no way lay his hands upon the husks¹.

Repentance, 17—19. In his sorrow of heart at his great misery the prodigal began to think within himself, and this thought was the beginning of his conversion. In comparing his condition with that of the servants in his father's house, he decided to acknowledge the wrong he had done, to return to his home, and ask his father to treat him as one of his hirelings.

The Father's Reception, 20—24. The description of the welcome that the father accorded his wayward son is truly touching. He recognized him from afar as his son, despite his emaciated appearance and his rags, ran out to meet him, and, giving him no time to avow his shortcomings, he fell upon his neck and kissed him. Then the son confessed all, although he did not add: «Make me one of thy hired servants», because the reception that his father gave him promised him better things, or because he had not the courage to make this request, or because the father did not give him time to say more than he did say.

The father seeing his son in rags ordered the first robe (a festive habit) to be brought and put on him, also that a ring be put on his finger, and shoes on his feet, as became the son of noble-man; for all slaves went bare-footed.

This was not all he did. The father made ready a great feast in order to fittingly celebrate the return of his son, whom he had looked upon as dead, to life. It is hardly probable that the father gave only a moral meaning to the words «dead» and «lost» in the presence of his servants, his intention being rather to show that, because of his departure from the paternal roof, his son was dead as far as his mortal life was concerned.

The Elder Son, 25—32. While all this was going on, the elder son was out in the field. As he approached the house, the sounds of music and merrymaking reached his ears as the first intimation he had that a feast was going on. Before entering, he called a slave and asked him what was the reason for all the rejoicing. If it was a reception tendered to a noted person, he could not appear in his presence in his ordinary working-clothes. The slave replied that the cause of all this festivity was of his brother's home-coming.

Angered that a feast should be given to a miserable wretch who had left his home and squandered all his goods, he refused to go in. His father hearing of his intention, came out to him and besought

¹ The fruit of the carob-tree, called also St. John's Bread, was much used in the Orient for feeding cattle.

him to come in and take part in the festivities. But the elder son complained bitterly that he had killed the fatted calf for a libertine whose debaucheries he knew by report and from the inhabitants of the country, and never had the least gift been given to him who had always remained faithful. He would have made the same complaints about the ring and the robe, if he had known these details. It is noticeable here that the word *brother* is not used, but *the other son*. Then the father tells him the true condition of affairs. The elder son had no cause for complaint; for he was the heir of all his father possessed, and hence there was no need for him to give him presents; but this poor vagabond, *thy brother*, having returned, it was only a father's duty to do what he had done. The parable does not tell us that the elder son entered the hall, nor that the prodigal remained with his father. But these details were not necessary for the lesson that our Lord wished to inculcate.

General Meaning of the Parable. This parable affords us the most touching picture of the mercy of God towards men that there is. The prodigal represents the sinner in general, and the elder son the just souls who have not broken away from God. It would have been impossible to give a better and a truer picture of the weakness of human nature, and the extent of the divine mercy. There is not another passage of Holy Scripture where the heart of our Saviour is more fully revealed in all its tenderness and whose mere reading is better calculated to move and to convert than this.

The parable also makes us see that those who have never fallen are wrong in reproaching God for having welcomed a sinner back to the fold. His mercy does no injury to the just. It is probable that this second lesson was meant for the Pharisees and the Scribes who murmured that Jesus associated with sinners and ate with them.

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434. Besides the works given in nos. 22, 26, 42, 55, 81, see *Trench*, Notes on the Parables; *Lisco*, The Parables of Jesus (transl.); *Arnot*, The Parables of our Lord; *Bruce*, The Parabolic Teaching of Christ; *Fonck*, Die Parabeln des Herrn; *Schäfer*, Die Parabeln des Herrn in Homilien erklärt; *D. Buzy*, Introduction aux paraboles évangéliques, 1912.

SECTION II.
THE DISCOURSES OF JESUS.

**PRELIMINARY REMARKS: THE DISCOURSES OF JESUS
IN GENERAL.**

I. THE NUMBER OF THE DISCOURSES OF JESUS.

435. We possess a large number of the Saviour's discourses, although most of them are little developed. The principal ones can be arranged in two distinct classes.

The Discourses of Jesus in the Synoptics:

1. The Discourse in the Synagogue of Nazareth (Lk. iv. 16—32).
2. The Sermon on the Mount (Mt. v—vii; Lk. vi. 17—49).
3. The Discourse to the Apostles regarding their Mission in Galilee (Mt. x).
4. The Discourse in regard to Celibacy, to Marriage, and the Better Way of attaining heaven (Mt. xix. 3—28).
5. The Discourse on the Sin against the Holy Ghost (Mt. xii. 22—37; Mk. iii. 22—29; Lk. xi. 15—23).
6. The Discourse on the Corn plucked on the Sabbath Day (Mt. xii. 1—8; Mk. ii. 23—28; Lk. vi. 1—5).
7. The Discourse on Children, Scandal, Injuries, and the Pardon of Offences (Mt. xviii. 2—22; Mk. ix. 33—49; Lk. ix. 46—50).
8. The Discourse of Purity of Heart (Mt. xv. 1—20; Mk. vii. 1—23).
9. The Discourse of Fasting (Mt. ix. 14—17; Mk. ii. 18—22; Lk. v. 33—39).
10. The Discourse on the Faults of the Scribes and Pharisees (Mt. xxiii).
11. The Discourse on the Ruin of Jerusalem and the End of the World (Mt. xxiv. xxv; Mk. xiii; Lk. xix. 41—44; xxi).

The Discourses in the Gospel of St. John:

1. The Discourse after the Miracle at the Probatica Pool (v. 17—42).
2. The Discourse on the Bread of Life (vi. 25—72).
3. The Discourse at the Feast of Tabernacles (vii—x. 21).
4. The Discourse at the Feast of Dedication (x. 22—42).
5. The Discourse after the Last Supper (xiii. 21—xvii).

II. THE BEAUTY OF THE DISCOURSES OF JESUS.

436. a) Taking the **teaching**¹ in itself, it embodies the highest, the most just and the most practical thoughts on both dogma and morality. The maxims enunciated contain nothing of the vague,

¹ See in nos. 117—120 the general character of the discourses of St. John.

nothing trifling, nothing common. They bear such a character of truth that it is impossible to gainsay any of them. So new are they that, hearing them for the first time, they fill the hearers with astonishment, while their beauty is so striking that once heard they are never forgotten.

437. b) Their literary **form** as contained in the Synoptics shows a language of an incomparable beauty:

FIRST, IT IS NATURAL AND INIMITABLY SIMPLE. «There is no science in it, no art, no pomp of demonstration, no carefulness of toil, no trick of rhetoricians, no wisdom of the schools.» The Saviour's Lips speak of the abundance of His Heart. The more the objects are sublime, the more the language is calm and the expression is easy to be understood; but never is it vulgar and trivial. Never does our Saviour make effort; never does He exhaust Himself¹. Christ knew the needs of His hearers, and accordingly made His teaching fit with these needs. He sought not to win the admiration of men, but to tell them of the things above and to furnish them with what was necessary for eternal life. He adapted Himself to all walks of life, and all, the wise and the uneducated, and even children, could understand what He spoke.

SECONDLY, IT IS FILLED WITH A HEAVENLY UNCTION. All His discourses flow from the abundance of His heart, and hence they are full of exquisite charm. Again and again He tells us that God loves us, that He is our Father, that He gives His benefits to all; His hearers knew full well that He Himself was overflowing in charity, His only object being to render us good and make us blessed. He is careful to present the Law, His Law, under the most favourable aspect. He preaches it as the «good tidings», the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom of Heaven, the salvation of mankind. It is the means which heaven itself offers us, to elevate us, to make us perfect². Never does He descend to harsh or imperious language, except in reference to the devil and his agents. He draws all souls to Himself by exhortation, by counsel, and by loving insinuations. «Come to Me, all ye who need help and consolation», is the dominant note of all His utterances³.

438. THIRDLY, IT IS GIVEN IN A POPULAR FORM WITHOUT TRIVIALNESS, AND WELL-ADAPTED TO HIS HEARERS. Desirous that His words be beneficial to us, He fills them with the common images of daily life, so that *all* may drink in their truth. A right heart is all that is necessary to understand them and relish them.

¹ *Farrar*, *Life of Christ* 209.

² Cf. Mt. v. 44, 45, 48; vi. 4; ix. 12, 13; Lk. xv. 4, 5; Jn. x. 11—28.

³ Mt. xi. 29.

He does not proceed by deductions, but by statements and by parables. All abstract considerations, all definitions, and all discussions He carefully avoids. Instead of arguing, He attests, He exposes, He reveals, as His frequent use of «Amen I say to you» (Amen dico vobis) clearly shows. It is in this especially that His method differs from that employed by the orators and philosophers.

He is fond of teaching by example, rather than by word, and He makes His conduct harmonize with His preaching¹. Not content with practising the maxims which He taught, in the presence of His disciples, He never failed to admire and draw attention to the traits of perfection which He saw manifested in others. Hence it is, that He holds before their gaze the faith of the centurion², the humility of the Chanaanite woman³, the penitence of the sinner woman⁴, the generosity of the poor widow⁵, the pious anointing of Magdalen⁶, etc.

His preaching was more like a direct conversation than a sermon. He sought no title, no honours, nor did He assume the role of a doctor. Whilst the Pharisees sat in the chair of Moses, Christ gave His lessons in the public places, while walking through the fields, or on the shores of the sea, or under the porch of Solomon. This circumstance accounts for their charm and their variety⁷. He was always careful to seize upon a scene or familiar object, to drive home His teaching, always accommodating Himself to the medium in which He was, and the dispositions of His hearers.

The discourses which He gave at the feast of the Pasch, at the feast of the Tabernacles, and at the feast of the Dedication, reflect the ceremonies, the preoccupations and the magnificence of these solemnities. Viewing the flowers of the field, He expresses His admiration for the divine Providence which protects the lowly plants, and which feeds the smallest birds⁸. The fields that were whitening in ripeness gave rise to the thought of the harvest of souls⁹.

III. THE SOURCES OF THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS.

439. 1. Holy Scripture. The Sacred Books are one of the principal sources of the teaching of Jesus. He knew them thoroughly. They were the ordinary theme of His meditation, His moral home, and the food of His soul. Frequently He makes open quotations from them, and very often He alludes to them¹⁰. He had full understanding of them Himself, and He opened the understanding of His disciples that they might understand them¹¹. Thus many points of His doctrine are taken from the O. T.¹²

¹ Jn. xiii. 15; Phil. ii. 5—11.

² Mt. viii. 10.

³ Mt. xv. 28.

⁴ Lk. vii. 44.

⁵ Lk. xxi. 3.

⁶ Mt. xxvi. 10.

⁷ Mt. xiii. 1.

⁸ Mt. vi. 26—31; x. 29—31.

⁹ Jn. iv. 35.

¹⁰ Mt. iv. 4, 6, 7, 10; v. 31, 33, 34, 38, 43; ix. 13; x. 15, 35.

¹¹ Lk. xxiv. 45.

¹² See nos. 496 f.

440. 2. God. The principal source of the teaching of Jesus was «the revelation made directly to Him by His Father, and consequently the illumination of His holy soul by the divinity to which He was united». He asserted, and repeated His assertion again and again, especially in the fourth Gospel: «My doctrine is not from Me, but from Him who sent Me; I speak according to that which the Father has taught Me; the Father who has sent Me, has Himself prescribed that which I must say and teach.»¹

441. 3. Mankind and Nature. It is very doubtful whether Jesus frequented the public elementary schools, because they were not established in all the cities of Palestine until the year 64 of our era². It is certain that He had no scribe for His master. «How doth this man know letters», the people asked, «having never learned?»³ He was not a pupil in the schools of the Pharisees, or of the Sadducees or of the Essenes; for their doctrine differed essentially from His own⁴. Likewise, and for the same reason, it can be said that He did not borrow His thoughts from literature, or from philosophy, or from the history of the Greeks and the Romans.

Undoubtedly many points of His doctrine on the Messiahship, the Kingdom, His eschatology, etc., are found in the apocryphal Jewish writings of His time, or a little earlier. But the differences are so profound that it is hard to imagine that He drew from them directly⁵.

On the other hand, the scenes of Galilean and Nazarean life, and the customs of His compatriots had penetrated the soul of Jesus, and were constantly manifesting themselves in His discourses. «He spoke of green fields, and springing flowers, and the budding of the vernal trees; of the red and lowering sky; of sunrise and sunset; of wind and rain; of night and storm; of clouds and lightning; of stream and river; of stars and lamps; of honey and salt; of quivering bulrushes and burning weeds; of rent garments and bursting wine-skins; of eggs and serpents; of pearls and pieces of money; of nets and fish. Wine and wheat, corn and oil, stewards and gardeners, labourers and employers, kings and shepherds, travellers and fathers of families, courtiers in soft clothing and brides in nuptial robes — all these are found in His discourses. He knew all life, and gazed on it with a kindly as well as a kingly glance. He could sympathize with its joys no less than He could heal its sorrows, and the eyes that were so often suffused with tears as they saw the suffering of earth's mourners beside the bed of death, had shone also with a kindlier glow as they watched the games of earth's happy little ones in the green fields and busy streets.»⁶

¹ Jn. vii. 16—18; viii. 26, 28, 40; xii. 49, 50; xiv. 10, 24; xv. 15; Mt. xi. 27; Lk. x. 22. ² No. 196. ³ Jn. vii. 15. ⁴ No. 135.

⁵ For this thesis, see nos. 134 f., 496 f.

⁶ *Farrar*, *Life of Christ* 209, 210.

IV. THE SUPERNATURAL CHARACTER OF THE DOCTRINE OF JESUS.

442. Even from a point of dogma it must be confessed that the doctrine of the Saviour was not the result of human reason. Had we not His doctrine we should know incomparably less about God. He rose above all philosophies and even transcended the teaching of the best of Israel's teachers. He set the nature of God in a better light, made clearer His love for men, and told of the recompense and punishment in the life to come, the way that must be followed in order to get to heaven, and the motives that should influence us to practise virtue and tend toward perfection¹.

443. In its moral element especially does the doctrine of Jesus evidence its incomparable and clearly superhuman character. This can be easily seen in the purity of His maxims², in the sublimity of His counsels³, and in the connection of all with the dogma revealed. It is even better manifested in the fruits that His moral teaching has borne. Unlike the philosophers of antiquity whose wisdom remained without influence on their city and often even on their family, He was not forced to pronounce a few grand sentences to preserve His prestige. He stated His principles, and He put them into practice by an innumerable band of disciples. From the very origin of Christianity, sanctity became the portion of Christians, and remained their exclusive portion.

V. REPETITIONS IN THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

444. It is a fact that a few of the instructions of Jesus are repeated in several of the Gospels, but with some variation. Must these differences be attributed to the Evangelists, or can we believe that our Lord really repeated Himself while varying His expressions? Either position can be admitted without prejudice to faith; for a number of Catholic commentators are divided on this point. Nevertheless it is doubtless true, that our Lord many times repeated the same instructions, the same maxims, and the same parables⁴, either because the scene was different or His audience was not the same, or because He attached a special importance to certain teachings and desired to impress them upon their minds⁵. In point of fact, it is quite noticeable that that which is most repeated in the Gospel bears the greatest import.

¹ Mt. xiii. 16; Jn. xvii. 4—6; Hebr. viii. 10, 11.

² Mt. xviii. 7—10.

³ Mt. v. 44

⁴ Examples of maxims repeated in divers circumstances: Mt. x. 24; Jn. xiii. 16; xv. 20; Lk. vi. 40; — Mt. x. 26; Mk. iv. 22; Lk. viii. 17; xii. 2.

⁵ In the discourses in which Christ promises the Eucharist, our Lord repeats twenty times that He is real food, that he shall be nourished who shall eat His flesh and drink His blood. In the institution of the Sacrament He pronounces over each species the same formula: *Hoc est . . . Hic est.*

Again, it is said more than ten times that one must pray, must pray in the name of the Saviour, must pray from the heart and always¹. Humility is praised no less than seven times in the Gospel of St. Matthew alone², and faith just as often in each of the Evangelists. Our divine Master affirms three times that the good use of graces draws down upon the soul new graces³. He predicts three times that he will rise on the third day⁴. He twice condemns scandal⁵. He gives two decisions against divorce⁶, etc. The same may be applied to the miracles. If He repeats a certain number, is it not because they bear a most special signification to which He wishes to draw the attention of His disciples? Hence it is that He gives life to three dead persons⁷; He heals three blind men: at Bethsaida⁸, at Siloe⁹, at Jericho¹⁰; He gives to Peter two miraculous draughts of fishes¹¹; multiplies bread on two distinct occasions¹², etc.

ART. I.

THE DISCOURSES OF JESUS IN THE SYNOPTICS¹³.I. THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT¹⁴.

(Mt. v—vii; Lk. vi. 17—49.)

I. THE MOUNTAIN ON WHICH THE SERMON WAS DELIVERED,
AND THE AUDIENCE.

445. The Horns of Hattin. St. Matthew tells us that the discourse was delivered on *a* mountain, ἐν τῷ ὄρει¹⁵, on a mountain well-known for its elevation or peculiar form. It is possible, however, that the Evangelist wished to make it clear that the scene was not a plain, and had no intention of giving the exact locality. There is a tradition, in all probability unknown to St. Jerome¹⁶, going back to some time before the time of the Crusades, which regards the Horns of Hattin as the mountain of the Beatitudes. This elevation is about 1135 feet high, rounded in form, midway between Tabor and Capharnaum, and almost opposite the lake of Tiberias.

The Audience. Jesus addressed His disciples directly and primarily, i. e. those who were friendly to Him, and from whom His

¹ Mt. vii. 7, 8; xxi. 22; Mk. xi. 24; Lk. xi. 9; xviii. 1, 10; Jn. iv. 24; xiv. 13; xv. 16; xvi. 23, 26, etc.

² Mt. viii. 8—10; xi. 25; xv. 27, 28; xviii. 4; xx. 26, 27; xxi. 5; xxiii. 11, 12.

³ Mt. xiii. 12; xxv. 29; Lk. xix. 26.

⁴ Mt. xvi. 21; xviii. 22; xx. 19.

⁵ Mt. v. 29, 30; xviii. 6—9.

⁶ Mt. v. 32; xix. 1—9.

⁷ Mt. ix. 18—25; Lk. vii. 11—16; Jn. xi.

⁸ Mk. viii. 22—26.

⁹ Jn. ix.

¹⁰ Mk. x. 46—52.

¹¹ Lk. v. 1—11; Jn. xxi. 1—14; Mt. xvii. 26.

¹² Mt. xiv. 13—21; xv. 30—38, etc.

¹³ Many of the discourses are not dealt with here in detail, either because they have been treated already, as the one on the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world, or because they are of less importance and offer no special difficulty.

¹⁴ Besides the various lives of Christ and the Commentaries on this, see *Coleridge*, *The Life of Our life* vol. I, and *Votaw*, art. Sermon on the Mount, in *HDB.*, Extra vol., 1 f.; see also *St. Aug.*, *De Sermone in monte*: P. L. XXXIV, 1229—1308.

¹⁵ Mt. v. 1.

¹⁶ Comm. in Matth. v. 1, 2: P. L. XXVI, 33.

Apostles were chosen; but, at the same time, He intended to reach the crowd that had come from Galilee, Judea, Decapolis, and Perea¹. In point of fact, St. Matthew observes explicitly that this discourse filled the multitude with admiration². The audience was composed almost exclusively of the people from the lower walks in life.

II. GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

446. In its **essential elements**, this discourse must be regarded as the charter of the Messianic Kingdom. «It is to the Christian Church, what the legislation of Sinai was to the O. T.; it amounts to a solemn promulgation of the New Law.»³ Yet, it does not present the entire and complete code of Christianity. It contains a certain number of dogmatic truths, such as the indissolubility of marriage, the efficacy of prayer, etc., but it is the practical element which predominates and forms a chapter in the New Law.

As regards the **form**, this discourse is exquisitely beautiful. «Never before, indeed, had Israel hearkened to language like this; they no longer heard teaching like that of their Doctors, their dry and heartless code of ethics, unending disputes about trivial subjects; here was no strained and tedious interpretation of the Law, no slavish attachment to the dead letter. Everything about Jesus bespoke the sovereign Master of the hearts of men, lifting them up toward the Truth, yet without wrenching them away from the earth; the loftiest subjects were set before them in such homely phrases that the lowly folk and their little ones could grasp His meaning.»⁴

In a word, this discourse manifests its origin, and bears upon itself the impress of its Author. All great souls have found in its utterances a light, an elevation of spirit, a purity, a calm, that is not of man. «There were no definitions in it, or explanations, or 'scholastic systems', or philosophic theorizing, or implicated mazes of difficult and dubious discussion, but a swift, intuitive insight into the very depths of the human heart, even a supreme and daring paradox that, without being fenced round with exceptions or limitations, appealed to the conscience with its irresistible simplicity, and with an absolute mastery stirred and dominated the heart. Springing from the depths of holy emotions, it thrilled the being of every listener as with an electric flame. In a word, its authority was the authority of the Divine Incarnate; it was a voice of God, speaking in the utterances of man; its austere purity was yet pervaded with tenderest sympathy, and its awful severity with an unutterable love. It is, to borrow the image of the wisest of the Latin Fathers, a great

¹ Mt. iv. 25; v. 1. ² Mt. vii. 28.

³ *Fillion*, Évangile selon St. Matthieu 100.

⁴ *Fouard*, The Christ, the Son of God I, 273.

sea whose smiling surface breaks into refreshing ripples at the feet of our little ones, but into whose unfathomable depths the wisest may gaze with the shudder of amazement and the thrill of love. (Mira profunditas eloquiorum tuorum, quorum ecce ante nos superficies blandiens parvulis: sed mira profunditas, Deus meus, mira profunditas! Horror est intendere in eam; horror honoris et tremor amoris: *Augustine*, Confessiones XII, 14)¹.

III. THE RELATION OF THE ACCOUNT OF MATTHEW WITH THAT OF LUKE².

447. It is very probable that both Matthew and Luke (vi. 17—49) record the same discourse. In both cases, we have the same audience, the same exordium, the same maxims, the same figures, and lastly the same conclusion followed by a record of the same miracle. The only difference is that Luke is more brief. In his chapter XI he embodies what Matthew contains in the VI. chapter, and omits all that refers to the Law, as this was of no interest to his readers.

To claim a difference of place in the two accounts is not warranted. St. Luke says, before he gives his version of the Sermon, that Christ came down with His disciples and stood in the plain (ἐπὶ τῶπου πεδινού), where He healed the sick and delivered the possessed (vi. 17—19), yet he does not mention that Christ remained there when He began to talk, although he does not mention any re-ascent. «Such a re-ascent is very probable; for it is said ‘that all the multitude sought to touch Him’; and as, when similarly pressed upon the sea-shore (Mk. iii. 9), He entered a boat and taught from it, so now He would naturally ascend to a point where they could not reach Him, and from which He could be easily seen and heard by all. Some would understand the ‘plain’ of Luke of a level spot on the side of the mountain, or at its foot, where the multitude could sit or stand, this plain itself being, in reference to the sea-shore from whence they came, a part of the mountain. . . . In this way, all seeming discrepancy between Matthew and Luke as to place disappears. The choice of the Twelve was made upon the mountain before the multitude gathered, which choice Matthew does not mention. As the Lord beholds the people gathering to Him, He goes down with His disciples to meet them upon some level place; and after healing the sick, He seats Himself in a position, probably higher up upon the hill, where He can be seen and heard by the great crowds, and proceeds to address them.»³ We can think that, in the interval, our Saviour had reached the mountain, with the multitude which He wished to instruct. There is nothing that would hinder us to

¹ *Farrar*, The Life of Christ 207, 208.

² *St. Aug.*, De consensu Evang. II, 43—50: P. L. XXXIV, 1098—1101.

³ *Andrews*, The Life of Our Lord 270, 271.

understand Mt. v. 1 in this sense that Jesus, with the multitude, had retired into the mountainous part of the country, εἰς τὸ ὄρος. In the moment when St. Luke says that He had descended, *in loco campestri*, He could be still in the region of the mountains, although in a place which was less elevated.

IV. ANALYSIS OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

448. Without considering the introduction¹ and the historical conclusion², the Sermon, as it is given by St. Matthew, is made up of three distinct parts: an exordium, v. 3—16; the body of the discourse, v. 17—vii. 23; an epilogue, vii. 24—27.

The Exordium (Mt. v. 3—16; Lk. vi. 20—26).

I. The Beatitudes; the moral qualities which are necessary in order to be a member of the Kingdom of God (Mt. v. 3—12; Lk. vi. 20—26). At the very beginning of the discourse, Jesus expounds a theory whereby men may be blessed, and, at the same time, points out the moral qualities requisite for membership in the Messianic Kingdom. The blessed, the members of the Messianic Kingdom, are those who practise meekness, who are in suffering (and support it for God), who earnestly desire justice or holiness, those who avoid sin (the clean of heart, mundo corde), the peaceable, εἰρηνοποιοί, who preserve peace in their hearts and seek to promote it in the world, and finally those who are persecuted for the sake of justice.

These magnificent utterances are called the *Beatitudes*, because they embody the rules of our salvation.

2. Mission of the Members of the Messianic Kingdom (Mt. v. 13—16; Lk. xiv. 34, 35; xi. 33). All the faithful, but especially the Apostles and their successors, ought to be the salt of the earth. Even as salt prevents the corruption of food, and gives flavour to it, so the Christians ought to prevent the corruption of the world and render all who have become rotten by sin, agreeable to the Lord. Just like the light that dispels darkness, they should, by their speech and life, dispel the ignorance of men and thus promote the glory of God.

449. The Body of the Discourse.

Having made known the conditions necessary before any one could be enrolled as a member of the Messianic Kingdom, and the mission that would be theirs, Jesus launches forth into the promulgation of the New Law. First, He explains it, as in its relation to the Old, and then He treats it in itself.

¹ Mt. v. 1, 2; Lk. vi. 17—20.

² Mt. vii. 28, 29.

A. The New Law in its Relation with the Old.

1. GENERAL PRINCIPLE (Mt. v. 17—20; Lk. xvi. 17). Jesus did not come, as He says, to abolish the Old Law (*legem aut prophetas*), but rather to fulfil it¹, *πληρῶσαι*; for it was a permanent institution. He, indeed, entered upon His mission to give its sanction to the Law of Moses, to realize all types, and to carry out all promises. This is what He has done in completing the revelations of the prophets, in teaching His disciples a morality more perfect than that of the Synagogue, and in giving to the Church His sacrifice in place of the Levitical worship, in order to glorify His Father, and through His Sacraments to sanctify the souls of men. This mode of action did not destroy, but fulfilled, completed, and transfigured the Law². He shows Himself not hostile to Moses, but superior to him, so much so that He is the Law-giver *par excellence*, and the sovereign Master of humanity.

2. THE APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL PRINCIPLE TO SIX SPECIAL CASES. a) *Murder* (Mt. v. 21—26; xii. 57, 59). God commanded the Jews not to kill³, ordaining that all guilty of this offence should be put to death⁴. The New Law goes farther than this, and punishes anger and all insult offered to one's neighbour. Reconciliation must be effected first before the gift can be offered to God in sacrifice, and we must be in accord with the creditor who cites to judgment (*ἀντιδίξω*), Lk. xii. 57—59. A charity «which finds its brothers in all mankind, and in God their common Father», is henceforth to be opposed to the law of hate, that had ruled up to this time.

b) *Adultery and Concupiscence* (Mt. v. 27—30; Mk. ix. 42, 44, 47). The Old Law forbade adultery and evil desires⁵. In all probability, the Pharisees had reduced the prohibition to the positive fault. Jesus declares that all lustful looks and thoughts voluntarily indulged in are equivalent to the sin of adultery. Hence all occasions of falling into this sin must be avoided, even at the cost of great and heart-rending sacrifices.

¹ A more simple translation of this 17. verse is: «I have not come to break the Law, but rather to observe it.» Our Lord certainly had a right to speak in this strain; for, from the very beginning of His life, He gave an example of most perfect obedience in His circumcision, and maintained this spirit until the eve of His death, when He carried out the old Mosaic regulations in regard to the celebration of the Pasch: Mt. xx. 17; Lk. iv. 4; Jn. v. i. Such, however, is not His thought here; for He speaks not only of the Law, but of the Law and the Prophets; *St. Thom.*, S. th. 1, 2, q. 107, a. 2. He does not say that He observed the precepts, but that, without suppressing that which was established or revealed before Him, He has completed that which was but begun. He shows Himself here, more as a law-giver than as an observer of the Law; Mt. v. 22, 28, 32, 39, 44.

² Jn. xiii. 34; Rom. x. 4, 5; Hebr. vii. 12.

³ Ex. xx. 13.

⁴ Ex. xxi. 12; Lev. xxiv. 17.

⁵ Ex. xx. 14, 17.

c) *Divorce* (Mt. v. 31, 32; xix. 3—9; Mk. x. 11; Lk. xvi. 18). Moses, indeed, had permitted divorce¹; but under the New Law he who put away his wife, except for the cause of fornication, exposed her to the sin of adultery, and he who married a woman thus sent away committed adultery².

450. d) *Oath* (Mt. v. 33—37). Under the Old Law, oaths were permitted³. Jesus prohibits them, and commands that one's speech should be a simple *yea* or *nay*; in particular He proscribes certain formulæ which the Jews did not regard as oaths.

Our Lord's attitude in regard to oaths was this: to look on no oath as a thing indifferent, and to avoid as far as possible «the use of unnecessarily strong expressions of affirmation.» If one swears by the heavens, or by the earth, or by the Holy City, it is an oath, despite all Pharisaic distinctions to the contrary. If the oath is made without reason, it is at least an irreverence; and if it is made contrary to truth, it is perjury, just as if it had been taken by the name of God⁴. In order to avoid this double danger, the better part is not to swear at all. Besides, if man speaks the truth, oaths are superfluous and hence should be done away with; for the Christian «Yes and No should be sufficient. His ungarnished statements should carry with them the authority of truthfulness. The necessity for supporting simple statements of fact by artificial formulas of swearing, arises from the evil in life which obscures the truth»⁵; for what is over and above this is of evil, i. e. comes of evil: *Quod amplius est, a malo est*.

This position which the Saviour assumed, is explained by the fact that the Pharisees taught that, unless the name of God were used, an affirmation by any other thing was not binding⁶. This led, as it naturally would, to an abuse that was widespread.

e) *The Lex talionis* (Mt. v. 38—43; Lk. vi. 29, 30). In the Old Law, the idea of retaliation was insisted upon⁷, but the New Law forbade resistance to those who inflicted injury, and commanded patience and forbearance, and a readiness to bear a serious wrong and grave damage, without fostering feelings of hatred and revenge.

f) *The Love of enemies* (Mt. v. 43—48; vii. 12; Lk. vi. 27, 28, 32—36) The Mosaic Law commanded the love of neighbour⁸, and

¹ Deut. xxiv. 1. ² For an explanation of this passage see nos. 461—466.

³ Lev. xix. 12; Num. xxx. 3; Deut. xxiii. 22—24.

⁴ Ps. xiv. 4; Eccli. xxiii. 9; Jac. v. 12.

⁵ Allen, Comm. on Matthew 53.

⁶ Cf. Mt. xxiii. 16—22. *St. Thom.*, S. th. 2, 2, q. 89, a. 2 ad 1. The Roman poet *Martial* (Epigr. XI, 94) says that he would not believe in the oath of a Jew, except he took it by the Temple.

⁷ See Ex. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 20; Deut. xix. 21.

⁸ Lev. xix. 18.

the doctors added: 'Thou shalt hate thine enemy.'¹ But, the New Law commanded that one's enemies should be loved, that good should be done them, and that they should be prayed for. And all this should be done because of two reasons: first, because God makes the sun shine on both the just and the unjust; secondly, they should be more generous than the pagans and the publicans who love their enemies. In this wise «you shall be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect».

451. B. The New Law in Itself (Mt. vi. vii. 1—23).

1. TRUE AND FALSE VIRTUE (Mt. vi. 1—18). Jesus declares emphatically that the true practice of virtue must not be as it is with the Pharisees, an act of ostentation (verse 1), and He applies this principle to *alms-giving* (2—4), to *fasting* (16—18), and to *prayer*, in which not only ostentation is to be avoided (5, 6), but also a multiplicity of words (7, 8). It was on this occasion that He taught His disciples that admirable prayer, which has received the name 'The Lord's Prayer' (9—15; Lk. xi. 1—4).

2. CHRISTIAN AND WORLDLY GOODS (Mt. vi. 19—34). The members of the Messianic Kingdom must not hoard up the treasures of this earth, namely worldly goods which are perishable, but should rather amass treasures in heaven. They should perform many good works, which in their nature are imperishable (Mt. vi. 19—21; Lk. xii. 33, 34).

To this Jesus adds: *Lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus*, Thine eye is the light of thy body. «It is the integrity of your conscience and the elevation of your views upon which your moral rectitude and the perfection of your conduct depends, even as the right direction of all your movements and the right use of your bodily members depends on your sight or the strength of your eyes². If your eyes are in good condition, all the members of the body will be directed towards their right use. You then walk in full light. But if the eyes be in bad condition, you are then in darkness from head to foot, and it is as if you walked in the night» (Mt. vi. 22, 23; Lk. xi. 34, 36).

This maxim fits in well here, after the command to seek after the goods of heaven, and not after those of the earth, and before the statement that no man can serve two masters; for his service will end in his loving one and hating the other, together with the recommendation not to be solicitous for bodily necessities (Mt. vi. 24; Lk. xvi. 13).

¹ Concerning the Jews, *Tac.*, Hist. V, 5, writes: *Adversus omnes alios hostile odium.*

² *St. Thom.*, S. th. 1, 2, q. 12, a. 1.

It is not befitting the members of the new Kingdom to be exclusively preoccupied with the needs of daily life¹. Their duty is to place all their trust in divine Providence; for all excessive worldly solicitude shall profit nothing. Besides, God knows all our needs, and He who feeds the birds of the air, and clothes the lilies in all their magnificence, will be mindful of His children. The first duty is to seek the Kingdom of God, and the holiness that befits the members of this kingdom, and all material things will be superadded (Mt. vi. 25—34; Lk. xii. 22—31).

452. 3. THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM (Mt. vii. 1—6, 12; Lk. vi. 37—42, 31). No one must, without sufficient reason, judge the faults of one's neighbour, especially if he himself possesses faults of a graver nature, which need correction. In fact, we shall be judged by God in the same measure that we have judged others. Nevertheless it is sometimes a necessity to pass judgment, so that men may conduct themselves with prudence and discretion, and in order not to expose holy things (the Sacraments and the Gospel truths) to the profanations of unworthy men who would even abuse the preachers of the Gospel.

In order not to deceive us in regard to our obligations to our neighbour, there is nothing better than to change places, and judge our faults as we see them from his point of view, and his faults in his own personality.

4. THE EFFICACY OF PRAYER (Mt. vii. 7—11; Lk. xi. 9—13). Persevering prayer is always heard. In this world a father always hears the cries of his children, and our heavenly Father acts in like manner.

5. DIFFICULTIES WHICH IMPEDE THE PRACTICE OF VIRTUE (Mt. vii. 13—23). a) *The Nature of the Christian Life*. The life of worldlings is easy and requires very little effort, but the way which leads to true holiness is narrow; for holiness is not acquired without pain (Mt. vii. 13, 14; Lk. xiii. 23, 24).

b) *False Prophets*. Even as in the Old, so in the New Law there shall be false prophets who will pervert the teaching of the Master and attempt to mislead those who practise it². These are not to be trusted. They can be easily recognized by their words and works. Impostors cannot induce the practice of virtue, and, in religious matters especially, error produces nothing but vice, and if the master succeeds in defying discovery, the disciple is easily detected (Mt. vii. 15—20; Lk. vi. 43—45).

¹ The solicitude that Jesus condemns is not the wise and prudent preoccupation which is a duty, but the *restless* solicitude which agitates a man and saps his activity, almost to the point of making him a veritable slave to his body (*Rose*, St. Matthieu 55).

² Mt. xxiv. 5, 24; 2 Pet. ii. 1.

c) *Vain Confidence in One's Self.* In order to enter the Kingdom of God, it is not sufficient to be a mere nominal and exterior Christian, nor even a doer of miracles, but above all it is necessary to do the will of God (Mt. vii. 21—23; Lk. xiii. 25—27).

Epilogue (Mt. vii. 24—27; Lk. vi. 47—49). Jesus concludes His discourse by earnestly exhorting His hearers to put into practice the moral that He has taught them, and He demonstrates, by employing a striking figure, the benefits that shall accrue from their fidelity to His word. Those who shall take to heart and practise His lessons, shall be as unshakable as a house built upon a rock. Those who do not put them into practice, are like unto a house that is built upon sand, which, when the hurricane comes, is easily overthrown. The bad Christian, failing to build his life on a moral basis, has prepared his own ruin.

453. Objection. Does not this discourse frequently confound counsel with precept, and the life of perfection with the life of duty?

First of all it cannot be said that the Lord confounds counsel with precept, in the sense that He makes the one have the meaning of the other. He just does not pause to distinguish them, but very often leaves in doubt, whether He is referring to a command or a counsel. Our divine Master, it must be remembered, did not pose, as a *theologian* addressing on educated audience which desired to be exactly informed in regard to the comprehension and the limits of their duty, but He appeared as a *preacher* who exhorted His hearers whilst instructing them. He addressed Himself to simple but fervent souls, and His great object was to inspire them with a yearning for perfection. Let no one be surprised that He makes use of hyperboles and oratorical figures, and that some of His words cannot be taken in all their rigour; for here we must take these words in their spirit rather than in their letter. When we seek to speak to the hearts of men, and wish to make them responsive, we adopt the same language.

II. THE DISCOURSE OF JESUS TO THE APOSTLES IN REGARD TO THEIR CALLING.

(Mt. ix. 36—x. 42.)

I. OCCASION, OBJECT, AND IMPORTANCE OF THE DISCOURSE.

454. Occasion. Jesus journeyed through the cities and the villages of Galilee, and His heart went out in pity to the great number of men weighted down by dejection, wandering hither and thither like sheep without a shepherd. It was at this period that He chose His twelve Apostles. These He instructed in regard to their duties and sent them to evangelize the Jews (Mt. ix. 35—x. 5).

Object and Importance. This discourse is addressed to an entirely different set of hearers from the preceding, and it had an entirely different object; but it is of no less importance. Just as the Sermon on the Mount embodies the code of Christian morality, so this

discourse contains the rule for sacerdotal and apostolic perfection. In a word, it forms the most precious and fruitful part of Gospel morality. Each verse vividly reminds the reader of the innumerable heroic features that characterized the lives of the Apostles and the figures of early Church history, and whoever has entered deeply into the maxims embodied here, and has reflected on the all-powerful virtue which they inculcate, must see in them, from the very moment of their enunciation, the first beginnings of those prodigies of zeal, self-denial and heroism, to which the faith of millions owes its origin.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSE.

455. Three distinct parts are discernible in the discourse. The first comprises various precepts pertaining to the first mission of the Apostles (x. 5—15). The object of the second is all that shall be accomplished after the coming of the Holy Ghost (16—23). The third is applicable to all the missions that shall take place until the end of time; this latter is full of encouragement and promise (24—42). Christ Himself marks off these various divisions by the threefold repetition of His favourite formula: «Amen I say to you».

A. The Precepts relating to the First Galilean Ministry (Mt. x. 5—15; Mk. vi. 8—10; Lk. ix. 2—5; x. 3—12).

a) The first recommendation that our Lord gives is that *the Apostles must not address themselves to the Samaritans or the Gentiles*, but preach first to the Jews¹. It was fitting that the Gospel should be first offered to the ancient people, and that the unbelievers should be brought to a knowledge of the true faith by the descendants of Abraham. It was likewise fitting that the Saviour should have some regard for the attitude of His countrymen towards the pagans, and not expose the Apostles, too hastily, to the fury of the Synagogue. Yet He only delayed the fulfilment of His ultimate designs; for He doubtless intended, even at this time, that His religion should reach the entire world².

b) The burden of this first Apostolic preaching was the imminence of the kingdom of God, and the Apostles themselves were to show the divine character of the mandate that sent them forth, by the *miracles* which they performed (Mt. x. 7, 8). Hence our Lord conferred upon His messengers the power to perform the same miracles that He himself performed, *σημεῖα*, namely, to heal the sick, to give life to the dead, and to cast out devils. By this act, He showed that not only was He a wonder-worker and a prophet, but that He was the Master of wonder-workers and prophets. Nevertheless the Saviour forbade His Apostles to traffic in these powers or to derive

¹ Mt. x. 5, 6.

² No. 504.

any *material profit* from them¹. He did not intend that they should lack the necessities of life or that the care for their material welfare should retard the labours of the ministry. His intention was that the disciples should provide for the maintenance of their teachers, or, that the sheep should look to the needs of the shepherds², and He never failed to impress this idea upon the minds of the faithful³. He desired especially that, for the honour of His priesthood, and for the good of souls, the ministry of charity should never become the means of gain. This attitude should always actuate His representatives, and their conduct should show forth, at all times, the spirit of generosity, of which He has given the example, and which the infidels admired in the Father of the believers⁴.

456. c) For the time being, Jesus imposed on His Apostles *absolute poverty*⁵. Later, when He commissioned them to go among the Gentiles, He did not demand that they should make such a complete renunciation as this⁶. His course of action here was the result of the desire that His Apostles, on this their very first mission, should know just what the spirit of their calling demanded, and how far they were to repose confidence in divine Providence, and how careful they should be to have the interests of their divine Master solely at heart⁷.

d) In the cities that they evangelize, the Apostles are bidden to carefully select their stopping-place, and in order to prevent any suspicion of changeableness and fickleness, they are advised to remain in this one place until their departure. If the master of the house refuses to receive them, let them leave, shaking the very dust off their feet, as a sign that the responsibility for their conduct rests upon the inhabitants.

457. B. Instructions relating to the Future Mission of the Apostles in the World (Mt. x. 16—23; Lk. x. 3; xii. 11, 12)⁸.

¹ Cf. Acts viii. 20; xx. 33; 1 Tim. iii. 8; 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jud. 16; 4 Kings v. 16; Dan. v. 17.

² Mt. x. 10; Lk. x. 7; 1 Cor. ix. 7, 11—15; Gal. vi. 6.

³ Acts ix. 43; xviii. 2, 3; Phil. ii. 29; iv. 16.

⁴ Gen. xiv. 21—23.

⁵ Mt. x. 9, 10.

⁶ Lk. xxii. 35, 36.

⁷ In Matthew, we read: *neque calceamenta neque virgam*, «neither shoes, nor a staff» (x. 10), and in Mark we are informed that they should «be shod with sandals»: *calceatos sandaliis virgam tantum* (vi. 9; cf. Lk. ix. 3); yet there is only a difference of expression here. In both writers the thought of the Saviour is that the Apostles should go on their mission without delay, depending upon Providence to supply all their wants. This recommendation is given in different language by the two Evangelists. The one seizes one trait in the words of the Saviour, the other another; but, in substance, the idea is rendered by all. Cf. *St. August.*, *De consensu Evangelistarum* II, 66—77: P. L. XXXIV, 1111—1115; also *Knabenbauer*, *In Matth.*, h. I., I, 397—399.

⁸ These instructions relate to the mission of the Apostles after Pentecost. According to St. Mark, their first mission was peaceful and productive of good effect (vi. 12,

The Apostles shall be sent into the world as sheep in the midst of wolves, and hence it behoves them to combine in their lives the prudence of the serpent with the simplicity of the dove¹. Serpents flee from the least noise and are prompt to avoid all danger. Even so, should the Apostles flee all dangers, those of the soul first and then those of the body, without however opposing violence by violence.

Cavete ab hominibus, «Beware of men», the Saviour adds. And why? Because from this time on He began to make His Apostles feel little by little what manner of persecutions were in store for them. He wanted them to be prepared and to be strengthened in their resolutions, so that, when trial did overtake them, they would not be taken by surprise. They shall be dragged before the Sanhedrin, and they shall be scourged in the synagogues²; they shall be brought before governors and before kings, and in their presence they shall give testimony of Christ. The disciples shall be delivered up not only by strangers, but by their own kith and kin. At the very time that they are abandoned and left to themselves, they shall be assisted by the Holy Ghost. Everybody knows how fully these things came to pass.

458. Jesus wished His disciples to flee, not that He desired them to avoid suffering, like hirelings³, but that they might better serve the Gospel, and that they might spread the faith in other places. He does not say: «Cease preaching», but on the contrary: «When you can no longer preach in one city, go into another». This was the way of acting adopted by the Apostles⁴ and also by our divine Master Himself⁵.

The words: *Non consummabitis civitates Israel, donec veniat Filius hominis*⁶: «You shall not finish the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man come», refer to the stubbornness and hard-heartedness of the Jews who shall remain unbelieving even until the last day⁷. It is wholly unwarrantable to conclude from this passage a proof of the proximity of the parousia.

459. C. Instructions relating to all Preaching of the Gospel (Mt. x. 24—42).

TRIALS, 24, 25. A violent persecution will always be the portion of those who preach the Gospel. They need not expect good will

13, 30). Besides, «the dangers announced by Jesus, trial by the highest Jewish authorities, before rulers and kings, could not be meant for the disciples in Galilee». Cf. *Rose*, *St. Matthieu*, h. l. 79, 80, and *Knabenbauer*, In *Matth.* x. 9; I, 399.

¹ «Be ye simple», ἀπλάστοι, not changed, nor complex. Simplicity is opposed to duplicity, deceit, falsehood.

² Nos. 138, 139.

³ Jn. x. 12.

⁴ Acts ix. 25; xii. 17; 2 Cor. xi. 33.

⁵ Mt. iv. 12; Lk. iv. 30; Jn. viii. 59; xii. 36; *St. Thom.*, S. th. 2, 2, q. 185, a. 5.

⁶ Mt. x. 23.

⁷ As teaches us St. Paul.

and love, since their Master was unrecognized and received nothing but hatred in return for His labours.

THE NECESSITY OF CONFESSING WITHOUT FEAR THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST, 26—33; Lk. xii. 2—9. In the midst of the trials that shall beset them, the disciples must never fear; for the truth of the doctrine they preach will be vindicated slowly but surely, and they shall be hailed as the benefactors of the human race. On the contrary, they must preach the truth of Christianity publicly and openly. There is no reason at all, why they should fear the persecutor who can merely kill the body, and has no power to kill the soul; but they should fear God who is able to chastise both the soul and body of those who reject His truth. Besides, God always takes His faithful friends under His own immediate protection. — If any one faithfully bears witness to Jesus Christ and His Gospel, His Master will acknowledge him before God on the day of judgment as His true disciple; but he who shall deny Him, shall in turn be denied by Him and condemned.

460. DIVISIONS AND INTERNAL CONFLICTS, 34—36; Lk. xii. 51—53. The believers will suffer persecutions; for the new religion will not be propagated peaceably: *Non veni pacem mittere*¹. By its very nature it would arouse discord, violent hatred, and terrible internal battles. Because of Jesus, even families would be rent asunder.

NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR FOLLOWING JESUS, 37—39; Lk. xiv. 25—27. In order to become a true Christian, it is necessary to choose between Jesus and one's own parents, and also to bear many painful sacrifices (bear the cross). Those who keep their physical life in denying Jesus, will lose their eternal and spiritual life; but those who, for His sake, sacrifice their bodily life, shall find life spiritual and eternal.

THE RECOMPENSE OF THOSE WHO RECEIVE THE MESSENGERS OF JESUS, 40—42; Lk. x. 16. He who offers hospitality to an Apostle, offers hospitality to Jesus and to God. He who receives a prophet, shall receive the recompense fitting a prophet, «and he that receiveth a just man in the name of a just man, shall receive the reward of a just man». Whosoever shall give only a cup of cold water to one of Christ's little ones (the preachers of the Gospel), because he is a disciple of Jesus, and not from any natural and material motive, «shall not lose his reward».

¹ When our Lord says to His Apostles: My peace I give unto you (Jn. xiv. 27), He is speaking of 'His peace', i. e. the peace that was His always, namely the interior peace.

III. THE DISCOURSE ON THE INDISSOLUBILITY OF MATRIMONY.

(Mt. xix. 3—12; Mk. x. 2—12; Lk. xvi. 18.)

I. ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSE.

461. 1. The Questions of the Pharisees to Jesus (Mt. xix. 3—9).

FIRST QUESTION, 3—6. In order to tempt Jesus and to show that His doctrine was opposed to the Law of Moses, the Pharisees came to Him and asked Him, whether it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for any cause whatsoever. At this particular time (1. century), there existed among the Jews two schools of interpretation on the text of Deut. xxiv. 1, which read: «If a man take a wife, and have her, and she find no favour in his eyes, for some uncleanness: he shall write a bill of divorce, and shall give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.» Some permitted divorce on the slightest pretext, whilst others demanded weighty reasons before allowing the marriage tie to be broken. Jesus recalls to them that, at the beginning of things, God created man male and female, and one was destined for the other, as the Creator intended by the words: «For this cause (*propter hoc*) shall a man leave father and mother, and cling to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh»¹, which, in other words, means that all other ties, even the most sacred, must be given up, when it is question of the marriage tie. And Jesus concludes with a warning that no man should dare break asunder this closest of ties which God Himself established between the first two spouses.

SECOND QUESTION OF THE PHARISEES, 7—10. The Pharisees were not satisfied with this answer, and they objected that Moses permitted that a bill of divorce be given, and the wife be sent away. «It was because of the hardness of your hearts», replied Jesus, «that Moses permitted divorce and prescribed that a letter be given.»² Then placing Himself in direct opposition to the law of Moses, He solemnly forbade divorce under the New Law. «Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication (*nisi ob fornicationem*, *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, i. e. because of adultery, since there is question of married people), and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery.» He had spoken in like manner in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. v. 32).

¹ Cf. Gen. II, 24.

² Christ's meaning here is, that Moses permitted divorce, in order to avoid crimes of impurity, cruelty, and even murder. In the beginning, marriage was indissoluble.

462. 2. Conversation of Jesus with His Disciples on Divorce and Chastity (Mt. xix. 10—12).

When the disciples were alone with Jesus, they said to Him: «If a married man can never better his position by divorce, there is no advantage at all in marrying». Jesus replied by emphasizing the superiority of celibacy for the sake of the kingdom of God, over the marriage state. «All men are not capable of understanding these words practically, nor can they all realize them (that celibacy, in certain cases, is preferable to marriage). They alone can understand them, who have received the gift from heaven (i. e. who have received from God a special vocation). In point of fact, there are three classes of eunuchs. There are those who are born such by physical defect; there are those who have been made such by men; and there those who live as if they were eunuchs», that is to say, those who renounce the legitimate rights of the flesh, in order to voluntarily practise perpetual chastity.

II. THE INDISSOLUBILITY OF MARRIAGE¹.

463. 1. Exposition of the Catholic Interpretation. Two things are forbidden to the husband: to separate from his wife, and to take another while his wife is living. The first prohibition admits of an exception, when the wife has failed in her fidelity to her husband; but the second is not circumscribed by any exception whatsoever. Never, even in the case of adultery, does our Lord allow a husband to break the tie which binds him to his wife, and to contract another marriage. He does not say: *Qui dimiserit, ἀπολύσῃ, uxorem suam et aliam duxerit, excepta fornicationis causa, moechatur*, which He would have said, had He any idea of permitting divorce; but He does say: *Qui dimiserit, excepta fornicationis causa*². Evidently, it is designedly that, in both passages of Matthew, He avoids the first formula, and presses the second. In attaching to the *dimiserit* only the exception of adultery, He wishes it to be understood that in marriage separation is permitted, but never divorce. Besides, the sentence that follows this: «he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery», *qui dimissam duxerit, moechatur*³, confirms this intention.

464. Proof of the Catholic Doctrine.

a) To explain these passages in a sense favourable to divorce, and to understand the exception given, for the cause of fornication, as referring to the words «who shall marry another» et *aliam duxerit*⁴, is to deny the doctrine of the Church in regard to marriage⁵,

¹ *St. Aug.*, De divortio II, 4: P. L. XL, 473.

² Cf. Mt. xix. 9.

³ Mt. v. 32; xix. 9; cf. I Cor. vii. 11.

⁴ Mt. xix. 9.

⁵ Conc. Trid. sess. XXIV, can. 7.

and to explain the holy Gospel in a sense different entirely from the one usually accorded it.

b) It is entirely impossible to suppose that our Lord would speak of matrimony in an incoherent and contradictory manner, that He could have laid down certain premises, and then denied the conclusion that must necessarily result from them. This He would be guilty of, if, after clearly teaching that no man could separate what God had joined together¹, and that the marriage of a man and a woman unites them into such close bonds, that they are two in one flesh, *δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν*, forming an invisible organic unity, He would have declared that the crime of adultery committed by one or the other of the parties was sufficient to break this union, and to give the right to contract another marriage².

c) It is hard to conceive how the Lord could grant a sinning woman a favour, which is denied the innocent husband, or that He would make the crime of adultery a condition for the further satisfaction of evil passion. And yet, this is just what He would be guilty of, if He legitimized divorce in the case of adultery, or if He declared that the woman dismissed by her husband, for having violated conjugal fidelity, was free from all ties, and that the marital bond was broken.

465. A better method of interpreting the Holy Scripture, is to appeal to parallel texts, to explain obscure passages in the light of those that are more clear, and to determine doubtful verses by those whose meaning is altogether precise. But, on this very subject of marriage and divorce, we have in Mark³, Luke⁴ and Paul⁵ four or five texts, which are as clear as they possibly can be, absolutely denying the lawfulness of divorce. That is more than is necessary in order to explain one or two passages of St. Matthew, if there is any obscurity⁶. These writers wrote for Gentile readers, readers who were accustomed to divorce under easier circumstances than the Jews, and were consequently less willing to abandon it. Yet they make no exception for them, but make it the Christian law that all such conduct is against the will of Jesus Christ Himself.

466. 2. The Interpretation of the Greek Schismatics and the Majority of Protestants⁷. The Greek Schismatics and many Protestants maintain that in this discourse Christ authorizes divorce, in the case of adultery, even among Christians. According to them

¹ Mt. xix. 4—6.

² Mt. xix. 9.

³ Mk. x. 11, 12.

⁴ Lk. xvi. 18.

⁵ Rom. vii, 2, 3; 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11, 39.

⁶ *St. Aug.*, De coni. adult. I, 28: P. L. XL, 467.

⁷ Many of the present day Protestant commentators deny the authenticity of the clause, «except for fornication»; cf. *Allen*, Comm. on St. Matthew 52.

the two spouses are bound one to another, as long as they are faithful, but if one or the other fails in conjugal fidelity, both then become free. This is altogether against what the Council of Trent has decreed in its VII. canon of the XXIV. session. We have already indicated the reasons that are at the basis of this decision.

IV. THE DISCOURSE ON THE SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST.

(Mt. xii. 22—37; Mk. iii. 22—29; Lk. xi. 15—23).

467. 1. The Blasphemy of the Pharisees (Mt. xii. 22—24). Jesus having healed a man possessed by the devil, who was both blind and dumb, the multitude was in admiration. In order to destroy the effect produced by this miracle, the scribes and the Pharisees declared in their chagrin, that Christ cast out devils in the name of Beelzebub, the prince of devils (no. 214).

2. The Reply of Jesus (Mt. xii. 25—37). In refutation of this monstrous accusation, Jesus urged two great arguments. Satan cannot cast out Satan; for, if he did, he would be opposing himself, and his kingdom would necessarily have to fall. Besides, «You admit», He says, «you Pharisees admit, that your children (disciples)¹ cast out devils in the name of God². If, then, I cast out devils in the name of Beelzebub, the same must be the case with your children (25—27). But if I cast out devils by the power of God, the inference is that the kingdom of God is come among you. If I cast out devils, it is by My own power, which is in fact superior to that exercised by your disciples; for it is truly divine. How can any one (Jesus) enter into a house, the kingdom of a strong man (Satan), and rifle his goods (literally, *his utensils, vasa eius*), that is to say, take from him the men fallen in his hands, unless he first bind the strong?» The kingdom of God having come, every man has to make his decision, either for or against Him; for no one can remain indifferent. If one is not for Him, then he is against Him, and he that gathers not with Him, scatters (28—30).

468. «Therefore I say to you: Every sin and every blasphemy shall be forgiven men, but the blasphemy of the Spirit shall not be forgiven. And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him» (31, 32). By 'the sin against the Son of Man', our Lord refers to the offences which those commit who look upon Him merely as an ordinary man, in the same condition as they themselves. The sin against to Holy Ghost, however, is the crime of those perverse spirits, who, recognizing the reality of His miracles, obstinately maintain them to be the productions of the devil.

¹ Mt. viii. 12; 3 King xx. 35.

² Jos., J. A. VIII, ii, 5; Mk. ix. 37; Acts xix. 13.

This latter, by far more serious than the former, was just what the Pharisees were guilty of, to whom our Lord addressed Himself, saying: *Ideo dico vobis*. In the case of the first sin, there remained many opportunities of returning to the grace of God, and we know that a great many of those who insulted Christ during the time of His Passion became penitent and were converted on the day of Pentecost. But the latter sin scarcely admits of any conversion; for it is not only a question here of bad faith, but also of real malice and obstinate refusal to receive the truth.

In saying that this sin was not forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come, our Lord does not wish at all to limit the efficacy of the virtue of penance and the power of sacramental absolution. His meaning is that those guilty of this sin, by reason of their bad faith and the hardness of their hearts, render themselves incapable of ever repenting and doing better, two things which are necessary for one to save his soul, and recover Christ's friendship¹.

ART. II.

THE DISCOURSES OF JESUS IN THE GOSPEL
OF ST. JOHN.I. THE DISCOURSE OF JESUS AFTER THE MIRACLE
AT THE POOL OF PROBATICA.

(Jn. v. 17—42.)

469. I. The Mission of Jesus, 17—30.

a) THE SAME POWER WITH THE FATHER, 17—20. The Jewish authorities reproached Jesus for having violated the Sabbath in a double manner: first, by actually curing a paralytic, and secondly, by making him take his bed upon his back and carry it. For this reason they sought to put Him to death². Without entering into His rights in the case at all, Jesus sets forth a principle which relieves Him from all guilt, or even the suspicion of guilt: «I only do what My Father does. My Father worked until now, and so do I. As He works without being mindful of the Sabbath or any other day, so it is lawful for Me to work on the Sabbath day.» After this declaration the Jews sought the more to put Him to death, not only because He had violated the Sabbath, but because He had made Himself equal to God.

Despite the danger which He laid Himself open to, Jesus re-affirms, and this time in clearer terms, His intimate union with His Father. The Son, He claims, exercises the same activity as the Father; for «what things soever He doth, these the Son doth also in like

¹ *S. Thom.*, S. th. 2, 2, q. 14, a. 3; *St. Aug.*, De serm. Domini in monte I, 74.² Jn. v. 1—16; no. 209.

manner». The Father bears a great love for the Son, and hence «showeth Him all things which He Himself doth». Because of this love, the Father will show Him, and them through Him, greater works than the healing of a paralytic and miracles of a like kind, so much so that the Jews shall wonder and shall be thus put in the way of their conversion. What follows explains what these works are.

b) THE POWER TO VIVIFY AND TO JUDGE, 21—27. Even as the Father gives life to those physically and morally dead, so the Son has the power to communicate life to whomsoever He wills. These latter words refer not to a physical but a moral resurrection; for all men without exception shall rise corporally. The Son also has the power to judge men, to separate the good from the evil, and to condemn and acquit. All those shall have eternal life and shall not be condemned, who hear the word of the Son and believe in Him who sent Him. The Son can bestow eternal life, because He is, like the Father, the source of life; and He has the power to judge, because He is «the Son of Man», in other words the Messiah¹.

c) THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD, 28—30. When the end of time shall come, the Son of Man shall make the dead rise physically, and He shall judge them all. Some shall enjoy life eternal, others shall be eternally damned. However, of Himself Christ cannot do anything, but in all things He does the will of His Father.

470. 2. Justification of the Mission of Jesus, 31—40. Jesus declares that, inasmuch as He is man, He needs, because of the bitterness of His enemies, a guarantee of His truth and sincerity. It was given by John de Baptist, to whom the Jews sent to gain knowledge of his personality: «He was a burning and a shining light. And you were willing for a time to rejoice in his light. But I have a greater testimony than that of John.» This testimony is none other than the Father who gives authority to His mission, both by the great works, His miracles, and His preaching, which the Saviour performs in proof of the divine character of His work, by the name of God; and by the prophecies of Scripture of which the Messiah is the centre. But despite these testimonies, the Jews will refuse to come to Jesus who alone is capable of giving them eternal life.

3. The Causes and the Punishment of the Jews' Incredulity, 41—47. If Jesus complains of the lack of faith of the Jews, it is not because He craved glory from men. What He does find fault with, is that the Jews did not receive Him cordially, because they had not the love of God in their hearts, and because they were eaten with pride. Because of their incredulity they shall be punished. «Think not», He concludes, «that I will accuse

¹ Dan. vii. 13, 14.

you to the Father. There is one who accuseth you, Moses, in whom you trust. For if you did believe Moses, you would perhaps believe Me also. For he wrote of Me. But if you do not believe his writings, how will you believe my words?»

II. THE DISCOURSE ON THE BREAD OF LIFE.

(Jn. vi. 25—72.)¹

I. ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSE.

471. We have already stated (no. 223) in what place and under what circumstances Jesus pronounced this discourse. It took place one year before His death in the synagogue of Capharnaum². The day before, He had wrought the miracle of feeding 5000 men, and a large number of women and children, with five loaves and two fishes³.

In the discourse itself there are *three main ideas*, which follow each other logically and complete each other: 1. our Lord promises the entire world a heavenly food (26—33); 2. He affirms that He is the Bread of life (34—47); 3. the food that He will give is His Body and His Blood (48—59). It can be seen that there is a continued progress in the exposition of the doctrine, just as there is a like progress in the attitude of the unbelieving disciples⁴.

I. Jesus promises a Heavenly Bread, 25—33. Christ reproached the multitude that sought Him in Capharnaum with selfish motives. They sought Him because of the nourishment that He gave them, and not because of the miracles that He wrought. «Labour not», He advises them, «for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto life everlasting, which the Son of Man will give you. For Him God the Father hath sealed.»

The multitude became vaguely conscious that Jesus was speaking of good works, and they asked what they had to do, to work the works of God. — Have faith in the person and mission of Christ who is sent by God, was the answer given them. — They asked Him for a sign that they might believe in Him. God won the ancient Israelites, their fathers, to a service of fidelity and loyalty, by feeding them with manna in the desert. Can you work a like miracle, so that we may believe in you?⁵

But instead of gratifying them by working a miracle, Jesus corrected the ideas of the Jews, in pointing out to them that the manna was not the heavenly gift that God wished to give to them; the

¹ For a good exposition of this discourse, see Cardinal *Wiseman*, *Lectures on the Eucharist* 60—143.

² Jn. vi. 60.

³ Jn. vi. 10.

⁴ Jn. vi. 30, 42, 53, 61, 67.

⁵ Ex. xvi. 14 f.; Num. xi. 6 f.

ideal and perfect bread is that which is truly heaven-sent; for it is the bread that God will give to diffuse eternal and not merely physical life throughout the world.

472. 2. Jesus, the True Bread of Life, 34—47.

In their artlessness the Jews asked that this bread be given to them always. «I am», replied Jesus, «the bread of life, the bread by which life is given to the world.» And He immediately sets about to explain the sense of His assertion: «He that cometh to Me shall not hunger, and he that believeth in Me shall never thirst».¹ The bread of life is the person of the Saviour, inasmuch as He is the source of divine grace. They, by their belief, have a part in this supernatural food.»²

The idea of belief recalls to the mind of Jesus an idea expressed somewhat earlier. «You have seen My works, which are an indisputable proof of My mission, and which ought to make you believe, and yet you believe not. No one can come to Me, except by a special grace given by My Father. All that He hath given Me, by calling them to the faith, shall come to Me. And of all those who have come to Me, I have lost none. In accordance with the will of My Father, whoever sees the Son and believes in Him, shall have everlasting life, and I will raise him up on the last day.» It is certain that all men shall rise on the day of judgment, but here our Lord has only in mind the resurrection of the just, whom He will Himself conduct into eternal life.

The declaration: «I am the bread»³, which came down from heaven», excited the disgust of the Jews. How could He say that He came down from heaven when they knew both His mother and His father? But Jesus does not delay to answer these murmurs, but goes on to reiterate the necessity of belief in Him, together with its causes and its effects. «No one can come to Me by faith, except the Father, who hath sent Me, draw Him, by a strong and sweet inclination impressed upon the soul; in other words, no one can believe unless by a special favour from God. And I will raise Him up on the last day. This action of the Father is an enlightenment of the understanding. It is written, indeed, in the prophets: At the time of the Messias, *they shall all be taught of God*⁴. Every one that hath heard of the Father and hath learned His doctrine, cometh to Me by faith. Not that any man hath seen the Father, but he that is of God, he hath seen the Father»⁵. By these words Jesus make His teaching equal to the teaching of God.

¹ To the Samaritan woman Christ had said that whoever drank of the water that He would give, should not thirst for ever (Jn. iv. 13, 14).

² *Calmes*, Évangile selon St. Jean 246.

³ The Vulgate has «living bread».

⁴ Is. liv. 13.

⁵ «He who is of God», means He who was generated by Him, namely His Son.

After this digression, which was intended as an indirect answer to the murmurs of the Jews, Jesus returned to the subject that He had been treating, and draws a conclusion from the first two parts of the Discourse. «Amen, amen, I say unto you: He that believeth in Me, hath everlasting life. Whosoever believes in the Son of God by true, complete, lively and perfect faith, is satisfied by Him. The faith in Christ produces in the soul, just what the sun effects in nature. It lightens, it inflames, it produces fruit». With the light, it diffuses charity, sanctifying grace, true life, life of God which will not end¹. Lost are, therefore, only they who have never believed, as it is necessary, or they who have ceased to believe so². «This was the Master's exposition of the Divine economy, whereby He sought to show us the way of Faith which leads us unto salvation. And in order to engrave this lesson upon the hearts of those who hearkened to Him, He condescended to put forth the same great thoughts over and over again, reproducing them under such manifold phrases that it would seem He did but hesitate in His speech, as though He were striving to utter the language of Paradise before this wondering throng of earthbound mortals. This is why the evangelical text contains so many repetitions, and hence arises the difficulty which we experience in tracing the connection between the various ideas»³.

473. 3. The Eucharistic Bread, 48—59. Jesus repeats emphatically that He is the bread of life, of a true and perfect life, the life of grace and glory (35, 48), the living bread (51), that came down from heaven (50, 51, 59), the bread which, unlike the manna, gives life everlasting (49, 50, 52, 54, 55, 59), adding, in order to show the essence of this bread, that it is His flesh (His physical nature) for the life of the world⁴.

The Jews took His words literally. When He said that the bread of life is His flesh, they understood it in just that sense. And far from correcting their understanding, He confirms it by an oath: «Amen, amen, I say unto you: Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you»⁵. . . .

¹ Gratia Spiritus Sancti quam in praesenti habemus, etsi non sit aequalis gloriae in actu, est tamen aequalis in virtute, sicut semen arborum in quo est virtus ad totam arborem: *St. Thom.*, S. th. I, 2, q. 114, a. 3 ad 3.

² Mk. xvi. 16; Lk. i. 45; viii. 48; Jn. v. 24; xi. 26; xvii. 3; Acts xiii. 39; xvi. 31; Rom. iii. 22; iv. 3, 22; x. 1—16; Phil. iii. 9; Hebr. iv. 3; 1 Pet. ii. 6.

³ Fouard, *The Christ, the Son of God* I, 348.

⁴ The references are indicated according to the Vulgate. In the Greek text, verses 51 and 52 form only one, so that in this chapter the numeration is not the same, in both the Latin and the Greek.

⁵ These words of Jesus do not imply the necessity of communicating under both species; for the flesh and blood of Christ is found under each. It is sufficient, there-

For My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed¹. . . . As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth Me, the same also shall live by Me.»²

474. The Effects of the Discourse, 60—72. Upon hearing this doctrine many disciples protested against it and refused to give belief to it. The Saviour attempted to reassure them, but without retracting the least in His utterances, or softening His doctrine in any degree: «Do these words scandalize you? If then you shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before?»

This latter phrase is both interrogative and elliptical. Commentators complete its sense variously. According to a certain number the thought at the basis is: *After My Ascension, shall you not know that I am come from heaven, that I am the mouthpiece of My Father, and that you should have believed all My words?* Or: *Do you not see that there is question here of something more than carnal eating?* According to other scholars the thought is entirely different: *The mystery of the Eucharist clearly implies the multiplication of My body and My blood, can you refuse it credence after I shall have left the world?*

Immediately Christ adds: «It is the spirit that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken to you, are spirit and life». *Caro non prodest quidquam. Verba, quae ego locutus sum, spiritus et vita sunt.* These words have received various explanations: The flesh of itself can do nothing. The *carnal sense* cannot comprehend anything in this mystery; but faith, or human reason enlightened by God, can alone conceive and accept it³. The flesh is wholly incapable of conferring even natural life, which has, as its principle, the spirit, or the soul⁴.

The last words of this verse are in full accord with those that precede. If we take the word *caro* as referring to the carnal sense,

fore, to receive one, in order to receive the Body and the Blood, in reality: Jn. vi. 52, 59; 1 Cor. xi. 27. It cannot be concluded either that communion even under one kind, is necessary for salvation. Christ is addressing those who are capable of understanding His words, and hence He did not have children in mind. It is sufficient to combine this verse with other words of the Saviour, in order to see that the Eucharist, however precious it be for the salvation, however necessary it may be for sanctification, is not the only means of salvation, nor a condition essential in order to gain heaven: Mk. xvi. 16. However theologians teach that it is in a certain way necessary for adults in order to keep them in the state of sanctifying grace.

¹ My body and My blood are for the soul, just what ordinary food is for man's body.

² The word *διὰ*, on account of, in verse 58, has the same meaning as by, in virtue of. It indicates, not the object, but the principle of the life of Christ and the faithful, its efficient cause. As I draw My life from the bosom of the Father, so he who nourishes himself in Me, *ὁ τρώγων με*, will draw his life from Me.

³ Mt. xxvi. 41; Jn. iii. 6; 1 Cor. v. 5.

⁴ Jn. iii. 6; 1 Pet. iii. 18.

that is, the earthly as opposed to the spiritual, the thought of our Lord differs in nothing from the sentiment of St. Paul, when he wrote to the Corinthians: «The sensual man perceiveth not . . . ; the spiritual judges all things, *animalis homo non percipit . . . ; spiritualis autem iudicat omnia.*»¹ To understand and realize these promises, man must be raised from mere material things, and must take into account the wisdom and the power of our divine Master. — If *caro* refers to the body of the Saviour, the words *Verba quae ego locutus sum*, would signify: «That what I have spoken to you, is not My flesh, taken in itself, but My flesh animated by My spirit». Or, to put it more literally: «It is the vivifying spirit which is united to the flesh, that produces the desired effect.»

But in spite of these explanations, many of the disciples forsook Jesus. The twelve, however, remained faithful.

II. THE EUCHARISTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE DISCOURSE ON THE BREAD OF LIFE.

475. 1. Sentiments of the Critics. Protestants, who reject the Real Presence² claim that Christ has in mind His Incarnation, belief in the Incarnation, the hypostatic union, or perhaps His bloody sacrifice on the cross. From beginning to end, they can only see here the idea not of a real but of a metaphorical eating. The Council of Trent³ applies the words to the Holy Eucharist, and all Catholic scholars agree that the words cannot be taken in a figurative sense without doing violence to the text. From verse 50 onward, the words must be taken in their real literal meaning: for from this time the language of our Lord becomes more and more clear and more and more precise. At first, He limits Himself to speaking of coming to Him, of believing in Him, and of becoming united to Him; then He goes on to speak of receiving Him, of being nourished by Him, and of eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood. Hence His words, which at the beginning of His discourse could be understood as referring to spiritual food, namely to the word of God and His grace, cannot, toward the end refer to anything but real and literal eating, as we have it in the Holy Eucharist.

476. 2. Demonstration of the Catholic Interpretation. We now intend to show that this discourse had, as its object, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, such as it is understood by the Church.

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 14; 2 Cor. iii. 6.

² We must except a certain number of Lutherans, who admit that, at the Last Supper, Christ was really present in the bread and wine. We know that Luther was forced to reject the Calvinistic idea, and accept the Catholic. *Illa verba fulmina sunt*, says Melancthon, in citing 1 Cor. xi. 24.

³ Sess. XXI; 1; XIII, 2.

A. The whole thought here is of the Eucharist, and it seems that the Lord could say nothing clearer and better calculated to announce His great gift to His Apostles and at the same time dispose their spirits for its reception. Between these words of Christ here and the institution of the Holy Eucharist the connection is clearly seen. In both cases we have *eating* and *drinking*, *flesh* and *blood*, and all the circumstances tend to show that one and the same mystery was had in mind in both cases.

477. B. The eating of the flesh, which Christ refers to here, signifies eating in its *literal sense*, just as the Church teaches. The last part of the discourse is a direct refutation of the idea that the Eucharist is merely a figurative ceremony, or a repast of bread and wine, intended to show our faith in the Incarnation or in the sacrifice of the Son of God, and to unite us spiritually to Him.

In point of fact, it is undeniable that the mystery of which our Lord speaks is a mystery peculiar to the New Law¹. Nor did it exist at this time; for Christ delayed the fulfilment of His promise until the future². Besides, that which is most clearly stated, is that Christ's promise would be a greater work than the raining down of manna from heaven³, that it would demand a great faith to give credence to what was to be accomplished⁴, and that its great effect, astonishing as unparalleled, would be to give us as food the Flesh and the Blood of the Son of Man⁵, or to make us really participate in the substance and the life of the Saviour, even as the Saviour participates in the life and substance of His Father⁶. This idea is retained only in the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, which gives to the whole discourse both a natural meaning and an easy interpretation. The same cannot be said of the Protestant view. To claim that the real body and blood of Christ is not contained in this sacrament, and to assert that we are merely united to Him in spirit or in thought, and that the act of faith made in receiving it, has and can have no other object than an association with Him as His disciple and a participation in His grace, makes the text assume an unnatural and forced meaning, which was far from the thoughts of Christ.

C. The conduct of the Jews, together with the words that our divine Master addressed to them, afford a strong confirmation of the Catholic doctrine. Not one of His hearers dreamed of accepting the words in the sense that Calvin and the Calvinists would give them⁷.

¹ Jn. vi. 59. ² Jn. vi. 27, 52. ³ Jn. vi. 32, 33, 59.

⁴ Jn. vi. 35, 47, 65—70. ⁵ Jn. vi. 52, 54—57.

⁶ Jn. v. 58. The words *τρώγειν*, «to eat with the teeth», and *πίνειν*, «to drink as a beverage», are repeated some twenty times, and the eating is separated from the drinking in four passages of the discourse (54—57; cf. Mt. xxiv. 38).

⁷ Jn. vi. 53, 61, 67.

Instead of removing any of their difficulties, He rather increased them by re-affirming that eternal life was dependent on the eating of His flesh and the drinking of His blood. He suffered them even to depart from Him, without one word of explanation, merely expressing His sorrow at their blindness and their infidelity¹. «Whenever our Lord's hearers found difficulties, or raised objections to His words, because they took them in their literal sense, while He intended them to be taken figuratively, His constant practice was to explain them instantly, in a figurative manner, even though no great error could result from their being misunderstood».² We have examples of this in the *leaven of the Pharisees*, the *regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost*, in the *sleep* of Lazarus, in the *food unknown to His disciples*, and in the talks on His approaching departure³.

D. Finally, if our proof is to be given all its strength, and if the words of Jesus are to be granted all their clearness, then this discourse must not be taken in itself only, but must be studied in the light of the texts embodying the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, the liturgy and constant practice of the Church⁴, and the innumerable other data afforded by tradition in regard to the Eucharist.

III. THE DISCOURSE OF JESUS AT THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

478. The sojourn of Jesus at Jerusalem, during the Feast of Tabernacles⁵, was marked by several discourses addressed to the Jews, and also by a few wordy tilts with the Jewish doctors on doctrinal points (vii—x. i, 21). Out of this number we shall briefly give the analysis and explanation of two, namely those contained in viii. 12 to 59; and in x. 1—21.

I. **The Dispute with the Jewish Doctors**, viii. 12—59. Four main parts are distinguishable in this lengthy discourse. First, Jesus gives testimony in regard to Himself; secondly, He treats of the incredulity of the Jews; thirdly, He speaks of the seed of Abraham and the children of the devil; and finally, He proclaims His superiority over Abraham.

I. THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS TO HIMSELF, 12—20. It was probably after the incident of the *woman taken in adultery*, in which

¹ Jn. vi. 61—70.

² *Wiseman*, Lectures on the Holy Eucharist III, 116—117.

³ Mt. xvi. 8—12; Jn. iii. 5, 6; iv. 32—34; viii. 32—34; xi. 11—14; xvi. 16 to 19, 29.

⁴ Conc. Trid. sess. XIII; sess. XXI, c. 1; *St. Aug.*, Sermon. 132: P. L. XXXVIII, 734, 735.

⁵ Nos. 140, 229, 230.

case He must have still been in the *gazophylacium*, that Jesus in addressing the Jews referred to Himself as the Light of the world, and declared that whosoever would follow Him would have everlasting life. At this speech, His enemies accused Him of giving testimony of Himself, which they boldly said was not true. «My testimony», replied Jesus, «is worthy of belief; for I know whence I came and whither I go. But you know not whence I come and whither I go. You judge according to the flesh. I judge not (I do not condemn) any man. And if I do judge (i. e. if I give testimony of Myself), My judgment (My testimony) is true; for the Father giveth the same testimony of Me.» Then the Jews ironically asked where this Father whom He claimed might be. «If you knew Me», came the answer, «perhaps you would know My Father also.» As this reply supposes an identity of nature between Him and His Father: it implies, if nothing else, the divinity of Christ.

2. THE INCREDULITY OF THE JEWS, 21—30. «I shall soon take My departure from the world» (vii. 34), added Jesus. «You shall seek Me (in order to obtain help from Me), but you shall die in your final impenitence (if you do not believe that I am the Messiah). Whither I go (heaven), you cannot come; for you are from below, of the earth, earthly, whilst I am from above, from heaven itself.» In their perplexed anger they ask Him: «Who art thou?» «I am from the beginning what I say to you — the Messiah, the Son of God¹. I find in you abundant reasons for reproaching and condemning you. But He that sent Me is true, and the things I have heard of Him, these same I speak in the world. My judgments are, therefore, just and true. After My death, many of you shall recognize My divine nature, My dignity as Messiah, and My intimate union with My Father.»² The result of these words was that a number of His hearers were converted to a belief in Him, but as the following events will show, this belief was shortlived.

¹ The Vulgate reading is *Principium qui et loquor vobis*, whilst the better reading, given above, is in the Greek: *Τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν*. Those who favour the former, make it mean: «I am the beginning of all things», whilst those who adopt the latter, translate it: «From the beginning, I am what I told you I was» (A principio sum quod dico), or better: «I am what I said I was from the beginning of My ministry» (Ego sum quod et loquor . . . a principio). Some have made it even simpler than this, and translate: «I am really and in a most unique manner, that what I said in the beginning of this discourse, the light of the world»; the words *τὴν ἀρχὴν*, rendered by *principium*, cannot be employed adverbially, for *κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν*, in the sense of *a principio*, *de principio*, or even *omnino prorsus*; and cannot be in agreement with *τοῦτο*, understood after *εἰμί*. The author of the Vulgate substituted *ὅστις* in place of *ὃ τι*. Had he used *ὅτι*, it should have been translated by *quia*. Nevertheless St. Chrysostom, giving the words *λαλῶ ὑμῖν* an interrogative sense, understands them in this wise: «Must I tell you again? Of what use would further speech be?» Cf. *Knabenbauer* and *Calmes*, h. 1.

² Lk. xxiii. 48; Acts ii. 37.

479. 3. THE SONS OF ABRAHAM AND THE SONS OF THE DEVIL, 31—47. To these believing ones Jesus now addressed Himself. He declared to them that true discipleship meant a belief in Him and an obedience to His word. In this wise would they know the truth, and the truth would make them free from all servitude to sin. But His hearers could not grasp the significance of these words. They repudiated the idea of being bondsmen, and they made haste to tell Him: «We are the seed of Abraham, and are free men.» «From a moral point of view», replied Jesus, «you are the slaves of sin, from which the Son (Myself) shall set you free, if you believe in Me. In reality you are the children of the devil¹, inasmuch as you are imitators of his life and maxims. It is only in an exterior manner that you are the children of Abraham. You are not his, in reality; for you do not his works, else you would not seek to put Me to death. Nor are you any more the children of God; for you bear no love for Me, who am the Sent of God, and proceed from Him. I say the truth to you, and why do you not believe Me; for who among you shall convince Me of sin?»

480. THE SUPERIORITY OF JESUS OVER ABRAHAM, 48—59. The Jews made sharp reply to these bitter words, but Jesus calmly repulsed their vile calumnies. «I am not», He says, «possessed by a devil, as you say; for I honour My Father, and you have dishonoured Me. But I seek not My own glory. My Father shall be careful to deal justly with all that insult Me; for to insult Me, the ambassador of God, is to offer insult to God Himself.» Having answered their accusations, He takes up the thread of His discourse, and boldly announces that whosoever shall keep His word, shall not see death for ever.

These latter words led the Jews to the false impression that here He had in mind physical life and physical death, and hence they urged their former accusation with greater vehemence. They say to Him: «Now we know that thou hast a devil. Abraham is dead and the prophets. They kept God's word, why then did death overtake them?» Art thou greater than these? What dost thou make thyself to be?» To this outburst, Jesus replies at first in an indirect manner, by answering the last question put to Him. «It is not I that glori-

¹ The word «child» is taken here in a metaphorical sense. The relation of cause and effect was always, among the Hebrews, rendered by the idea of production or of generation. Thus we have in the Gospel: «the children of the devil» (Jn. viii. 41, 44), «the children of the kingdom» (Mt. xiii. 38), «the children of this world» (Lk. xx. 34), «the sons of thunder» (Mk. iii. 17), «the children of Gehenna» (Mt. xxiii. 15), «the children of light» (Lk. xvi. 8; Jn. xii. 36), «the children of the resurrection» (Lk. xx. 36), «the children of peace» (Lk. x. 6), «the children of the bridegroom» (Mt. ix. 15; Mk. ii. 19), etc. In the O. T., we have the same; for we often find the disciples of a prophet called his children.

fieth Myself, but My Father that glorifieth Me.» Then replying to the charge that He had made Himself greater than Abraham, He says: «Yes, I am greater than Abraham. And that great Patriarch rejoiced in the hope of seeing My day (the time of My coming into the world); he saw it (in limbo), and was glad. . . . Before Abraham was, I am.»



Fig. 73. The good Shepherd.
Early Christian Statue. Rome, Lateran.

In stating that He existed before His coming into the world, Christ affirms in clear language that, besides His human nature, he possessed another, or, to put it briefly, that His personality was prior to His humanity. In saying that He «was» before Abraham «was», or rather before Abraham was born (*πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγὼ εἰμι*)¹. He drives home the fact that He has not, like this patriarch, been called into existence, but that He essentially had His being from all eternity. Consequently He is not a mere creature, but the sovereign and infinite Being Himself, the Being who can say at all times and always: «I am», *Ego sum qui sum*².

The drift of this great claim was not lost upon His hearers; for St. John tells us, that after these words they took up stones to stone Him; just they did on another and later occasion, when He declared that He and the Father were one: *Ego et Pater unum sumus*³.

481. II. The Good Shepherd, x. 1—18.

After the cure of the man who was blind from his birth, Jesus spoke the allegory of the Good Shepherd. In this discourse there are two main parts: the characteristics of a good shepherd, and the application of these marks to Jesus.

a) THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD SHEPHERD, 1—6. The good shepherd enters his sheepfold, through the unbarred gate, whilst the robber climbs over and creeps upon the wall of the en-

¹ Jn. xvii. 5, 24. ² Ex. iii. 14; Ps. lxxxix. 2.

³ Jn. x. 30. Cf. Lev. xxiv. 14.

closure. The sheep know the good shepherd, and he knows each one of them individually. «He wards off all danger; and with the dawning light, taking up his crooked staff he is the first to leave their little fortress; one by one he counts his fleecy charge, then leads the way toward the fresh pastures, his gentle company gambolling around him as he walks. Every now and again he utters a shrill call, and then the scattered sheep huddle panting about his feet; but let a stranger's voice break the stillness, at once all stop short, affrighted, with heads uplifted, then scamper away; for they know not the voice of the stranger'»¹

b) APPLICATION TO JESUS, 7—18. Christ applies to Himself the two most striking features of this picture. He says that He is the «door», through which the sheep are reached. Those who enter through Him shall be protected from all danger; they shall «go in, and go out, and shall find pastures». Jesus is not come as a robber, to steal, to kill, and to destroy, but that all may have life and may have it abundantly.

Above all, Jesus is **the** Good Shepherd (Fig. 73). Unlike the hireling He will give His life for His sheep. He knows His sheep, and His sheep know Him. Besides the Jews there are other sheep, namely the Gentiles, and both shall form but one fold, the Christian Church. Jesus gives His life for His disciples, but He would take it up again, in rising from the dead; for He freely lays it down, and no man can take it away from Him.

IV. THE DISCOURSE OF JESUS AT THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION².

(x. 22—42.)

482. It was at this feast that the enemies of Jesus pressed Him to end their suspense and tell them plainly whether He was the Messiah. No good intention prompted this question, but the deepest malice. A declaration of His Messiahship would give them a reason for handing Him over to the Roman authorities³; for they were under the wrong Jewish impression that the Messiah would make Himself a temporal ruler⁴. Our Saviour did not intend to proclaim His royal dignity until the time of the Passion, at which time He clearly showed that His kingdom was not of this world, shedding His life's blood as a testimony of its real existence and a means whereby we are able to merit its possession⁵.

As on other occasions, Christ appeals from His words which they would not accept, to His works and miracles which they could not

¹ *Fouard*, The Christ, the Son of God II, 69, 70.

² Nos 140, 235.

³ Cf. Jn. vi. 15; xix. 12; Lk. xxii. 66.

⁴ No. 142.

⁵ Mt. xvi. 20; xxvi. 63, 64.

deny. «I possess equal power with the Father; His work is My work; for I and the Father are one.» Can we admit here an interpretation that would make these words refer to a mere moral union, or a conformity of Christ's will to the will of His Father?¹ No; for in light of the conduct of the Jews on this occasion, such an inference must be disclaimed. They understood the words in a closer and deeper sense, else they would not have seized stones to put Him to death for blasphemy, because, being a man, He had made Himself God. Christ had claimed to be one with the Father in His work, and in the manifestation of that work, and, unless we wish to rob His words of all meaning, one logical sequence is unavoidable. Identity of power implies a oneness in nature. Christ openly claimed the former, and the latter stands as a natural consequence. He then is consubstantial with the Father, distinct in personality (*sumus*), and yet, the very same thing (*unum*, εἷς, and not *unus*, εἷς). He and the Father are God; both possess the same and *identical* nature; for the divine nature can be but one, both in essence and species². As St. Augustine aptly puts it, the expression *unum* is a reply to Arianism, and the plural form *sumus* is a refutation of Sabellianism³.

483. Christ stayed the murderous intent of His hearers, and sought to silence their charge by a personal argument: «Is it not written in your Law (O. T.): 'I said you are gods?'⁴ If He called them gods to whom the word of God was spoken — and the Scripture cannot be broken — how can you say of Him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, that He blasphemeth in declaring that He is the Son of God?» Apparently this appeal is a denial that He had made Himself God, and that He is in the real sense the Son of God. Yet, as a matter of fact, He has recourse, as on similar occasions⁵ to an *argumentum ad hominem*, which has the effect of disconcerting and completely disarming His enemies. Without reconsidering the words: «I and the Father are one», neither softening, nor emphasizing them, He contents Himself with replying to the charge, that they urged as a reason for stoning Him⁶, namely, that He had blasphemed. Did not the Scriptures themselves give the name of God to men, imperfect in nature and subject to sin, for the sole reason that they were invested with divine authority and were made the mouth-pieces of heaven? How can they charge Him, who

¹ As is intended in Gal. iii. 28, where there is question of the Christians becoming incorporated with Jesus Christ, and forming with Him a moral union, or a moral person. Cf. Apoc. xxi. 1, 3.

² Jn. xiv. 7—10.

³ *Sumus* non diceret de uno; sed et *unum* non diceret de diverso. *St. Aug.*, In Ioan. XXXVI, 9; cf. LXXVIII, 2: P. L. XXXV, 1668, 1836.

⁴ Ps. lxxxi. 6.

⁵ Mt. ix. 15; xxi. 25; xxii. 20—22; Jn. vii. 19—23; viii. 7.

⁶ Jn. x. 31; cf. viii. 59.

was absolutely sinless, who «had not received authority through a word transmitted through long centuries, but direct personal command to do the Father's work, who had been directly and personally consecrated to it by the Father¹, and directly and personally sent by Him, not to say, but to do, the work of the Father», with the crime of blasphemy? According to St. Augustine, it is in this sense that these words must be taken².

Our Lord concluded His discourse by positively and clearly, although indirectly affirming what He had said of His divinity, by complaining that they refused to believe His words, and by repeating that *He is in the Father and that the Father is in Him*, that is, that He and the Father are of the same nature and substance. If the exact word is not used here, the idea is most evident, and this idea is not merely announced, but it is emphasized by repetition. Hence His words had not the effect of softening the attitude of the Jews toward Him; for they sought again to seize Him, but He escaped out of their hands.

V. THE DISCOURSE OF JESUS AFTER THE LAST SUPPER.

(Jn. xiii. 31—xvii.)

I. THE IMPORTANCE, BEAUTY, AND DIVISION OF THIS DISCOURSE.

484. A. Its Importance. In order to grasp the importance of this discourse three things must be kept in mind: the time, the audience, and the subject.

1. THE TIME. Our Lord is now speaking on the eve of His death, on the very night that was to usher in the beginning of His Passion. He is still in the Cenacle, and He has just instituted the Eucharist and His new priesthood, in order to give His Church a worship and ministers worthy of Himself. Moved by the great things that had already been accomplished and those that still remained to be accomplished, He pauses to unbosom His feelings and express for the last time His inmost thoughts. «If there is nothing more touching than the *novissima verba* of a man about to die, there is nothing more divine than the last farewell words of Jesus.»³

2. THE AUDIENCE. It is not the great multitude that our Lord is now addressing, but He is speaking to His Apostles, to the very *elite* of all His disciples, to men whom He by a personal call attached to Himself, men who listened to His preaching in all docility, to men whom a few moments before He had raised to the dignity of the priesthood after nourishing them with His own Body and Blood, to

¹ Jer. i. 5; Lk i. 35. Cf. *St. Thom.* 3, q. 34, a. 2.

² In Ioan. XLVIII, 9: P. L. XXXV, 1745.

³ *Le Camus*, The Life of Christ.

men who, from henceforth, are to be the instruments of instruction and sanctification for the whole world. Could there be an audience more worthy of His last words, and better disposed to put them to profit?¹

3. **THE SUBJECT.** The burden of the discourse embodies more than a few maxims and practical suggestions. It is more than that. For it contains the most essential dogmas of Christianity, namely, the relation of the Son with the Father, and of the Father and of the Son with the Holy Ghost. Above all, it embraces all that makes up the essence of the Christian life, the intimate and supernatural union, which the Saviour vouchsafes to the entire Church and to each of its members². It contains also the doctrine of our dependence on the Holy Spirit, the doctrine of His work and action³; the doctrine of grace of which He is the source⁴; the fruits of salvation which are the effect of this grace⁵.

485. B. Its Beauty. This discourse contains, without a doubt, the most sublime portion of the Saviour's teaching. It is to the Gospel, what the Gospel is to the Law, what the sanctuary is to the Temple. This discourse occupies the same position in St. John's Gospel, as the Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

The discourse is the most touching and complete expression of the very heart of Jesus. Again and again, in prolonged flashes is the heart and soul revealed in all love and tenderness. Indeed, the grandest and the most far-reaching truths are uttered in all simplicity, unemphatically, yet with a calm majesty, a tender devotion, an ineffable tenderness, and a heavenly unction that the heart must indeed be hard and callous that is not moved. Hence it is that all holy souls and all the saints of God speak of it in the most glowing terms of admiration⁶.

486. C. Division. It is impossible to arrange the discourse according to any logical division. Here we find a flow of ideas and of feelings, which, although they bear toward one another a striking

¹ Jn. xv. 13—16; xvi. 25—27.

² Jn. xiv. 6, 19, 21, 23; xv. 1, 4; xvii. 23.

³ Jn. xiv. 16, 18; xv. 5.

⁴ Jn. xv. 16; xvi. 14; xvii. 19, 22.

⁵ Jn. xv. 2, 5, 7.

⁶ «Here», says Bossuet, and rightly, «you will find such depths as might thrill with sympathy.» It is verily a discourse, as has been well said, «rarely mixed of sadness and joys, and studded with mysteries as with emeralds». «I have never», writes Laharpe, «read it without singular emotion. For me it appears to embody the whole of our religion. Each word is an oracle which awakens in me a multitudinous rush of feelings and thoughts, after the long sleep in the errors of my life.» And such effect will it have upon every one who receives these words as coming from the lips of the Son of God Himself. «Thousands of souls», says Mgr. Freppel, «have drawn from it confidence in His charity, the sentiment of His dignity, courage for virtue.»

analogy, and succeed each other most naturally, are nevertheless not deduced from each other, and hence do not form a consistent whole. There are, however, four main parts discernible: an *introduction* (xiii. 31—38), *consolations* (xiv), *exhortations* (xv, xvi), the sacerdotal prayer (xvii)¹.

II. ANALYSIS OF THIS DISCOURSE.

487. The Introduction, xiii. 31—38. After Judas had departed from the Cenacle, Jesus, in order to prepare the Apostles for His approaching death, declared to them that He was going to leave them, and that He would soon be glorified by His Father, that is, that He would be received by Him in glory (31—33). Yet, before leaving them, He wished to leave with them, as a sort of testament, a new commandment: «That you love one another as I have loved you» (34, 35). To St. Peter who in the height of his ardour declared that he was ready to follow his Master even to death, our Saviour predicted that, before the cock would crow, he would deny Him thrice (36—38).

488 I. Words of Consolation, xiv.

1. JESUS, THE WAY, THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE, 1—6. Although the moment of separation is near (xiii. 33), Jesus bids His Apostles to have confidence in Him; for He goes in order to prepare places for them in the mansion of His Father, to give them access to heaven. He will come again at their death and take them with Him to His heavenly abode. They know the way that He is going; for He, Jesus, is the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life*. No one can come to the Father but by Him. Jesus is the *way*, since He offers us the means of getting to heaven, directs us by His teaching and His example, draws us by His grace, and introduces us by His merits. Absolute Truth, as the Word, He has become for us, like the Word, the revealed *Truth*, the light of our faith. He alone knows the Father, He alone can make Him known, and He alone can lead men to Him. Being essential and infinite Life, as God, He is our supernatural *Life* as the Man-God; for He possesses in His humanity the plenitude of the divine life, and His object in coming among us is to associate Himself with us by His grace here below and by His glory in the world to come.

2. THE FATHER SEEN THROUGH THE SON, 7—11. He who knows Jesus, knows the Father also. From henceforth the Apostles know the Father (*cognoscitis*); for they have seen Him by faith. Jesus, indeed, is in the Father, and the Father is in Jesus; between them there is a perfect equality of nature and attributes; the words

¹ *St. Aug.*, In Ioan. LVI—CXI: P. L. XXXV, 1787—1929.

and the works come not from Himself, but from the Father who abides in Him and manifests Himself in His person.

3. THE POWER GIVEN TO THE APOSTLES; THE EFFICACY OF THEIR PRAYERS, 12—14. He that believeth in Jesus shall do the works that He does, namely, shall work miracles, and shall even do greater works, greater not in themselves, but greater in the salutary effects they produce¹. Jesus shall indeed return to the Father, and whatsoever they shall ask the Father in His name, that will He do. To pray in the name of Jesus Christ is to ask for the graces which they have need of, and to ask them as the fruit of His merits founded upon His promises.

489. 4. THE PROMISE OF THE HOLY GHOST, 15—17. To those who love Him and keep His commandments, Jesus will send another Comforter, or better another advocate (*παράκλητος*), the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, «whom the world cannot receive», and who shall abide in them always.

5. THE RETURN OF JESUS, 18—24. Soon the world shall see Him no more. He leaves, it is true, never to return again, but yet He will not leave His Apostles orphans. They shall see Him, because He lives, and because they shall live. With their own eyes they shall see Him after the Resurrection; after that «they shall continue to enjoy His near presence; although they shall not see Him with bodily eyes, yet they shall see Him with the eyes of faith; they were ever deeply conscious of His presence, and they shall live the life that He communicated to them»². Those who keep the commandments of Jesus, are the ones who love Jesus, and are in turn loved by Him and by His Father. Both the Father and the Son shall come to them and take up their permanent abode in their souls as if in a Temple.

6. THE LIGHT OF THE HOLY GHOST, 25, 26. God the Father shall send, in the name of Jesus, the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, who shall teach them all things and shall bring all things that Jesus taught them during His mortal life, to their minds.

7. JESUS LEAVES HIS PEACE WITH HIS DISCIPLES, 27—31. To His disciples Jesus leaves His peace, not that peace which is passing, as the peace of the world is, but the peace that is His own. He exhorts them to confidence and urges them not to let their hearts be troubled; for He shall not leave them for ever. They should not

¹ Mk. xvi. 16—18; Acts iii. 6—10; iv. 4; v. 12—16; vi. 7. Besides, the works of the Apostles are in reality the works of Christ, in this sense that they were wrought by Him, in His name and by His power, which He communicated to them. Mt. x. 8; Mk. xvi. 17. *St. Aug.*, In Ps. CXXX, n. 6: P. L. XXXVII, 1707. Cf. *St. Thom.* 3, q. 43, a. 4 ad 2.

² *Calmes*, L'Évangile selon St. Jean 391.

sorrow, for they shall rejoice in all the advantages of the souls that love Him. «If you loved Me, you would indeed be glad, because I go to the Father; for the Father is greater than I» according to My humanity¹.

490. II. Words of Exhortation, xv, xvi.

I. NECESSITY OF BEING INTIMATELY UNITED WITH JESUS; ALLEGORY OF THE VINE, xv. 1—11. As Man-God, Jesus is the true vine of which His Father is the husbandman, and His Apostles (and hence the faithful) are the branches. As God, He had, by His Incarnation, planted this vine with His Father. He it is that nourishes it, causes it to grow, prunes it, and gathers in the fruit. The disciples of Jesus must be united (*manete in me*), that is, they must belong to His mystical body, the Church, and must participate in His grace, as real living members. «The effect of this permanent union is the sanctification of souls. Indeed, he who abides in Jesus shall bring forth fruit; he who is separated from Him can do nothing, is excluded from communion with Jesus, and deprived of His grace and suffers punishment. The tie which unites the disciples to Christ, is a bond of love. In keeping His commandments they shall abide in His love.»

491. 2. THE NEW COMMANDMENT: PERFECT FRATERNAL CHARITY, 12—17; xiii. 33—35. Jesus demanded that His disciples love one another, even as He loved them. The greatest mark of affection that one could give to His friend, is to lay down one's life for that friend, after the example of Jesus. The Apostles shall be His friends, if they will keep His commandments. Jesus no longer calls them servants, but He calls them friends; for He has confided to them the motives and the purpose of His conduct. He chose them freely, they did not choose Him, and He has appointed them to traverse the whole world, so that they should bring forth fruit in founding the Church, in saving souls, and in order that their fruit might remain.

3. THE HATRED OF THE WORLD FOR THE DISCIPLES OF JESUS, xv. 18—xvi. 1—4. The disciples shall be persecuted and that for three reasons. 1. In attaching themselves to Jesus, they have separated themselves from the world; but the world hates those who are not of the world; for their conduct is its condemnation. 2. The servant is not greater than the master, and the fate of the servant should not be better than that of the master. They persecuted Christ before

¹ It is quite evident that Jesus here speaks of His humanity. He is speaking of His return to His Father, of His Ascension and the glory that would soon be His: *Si diligeritis me, gauderetis utique, quia vado ad Patrem, quia Pater maior me est.* It is as man that He leaves the earth and not as God.

them, and they need not hope to be treated in a kindlier manner. 3. The persecutors know neither the Father nor the Son, and consequently they bitterly oppose the preachers of the Christian doctrine. This conduct, which was foretold in the O. T. (Ps. lxxviii. 5) is inexcusable, because it is the result of voluntary blindness. If Jesus had not come, they indeed would be without sin, but He came and proved His divine mission by works more striking than any of those which wonder-workers had performed before Him. Nevertheless they cannot prevent the truth in regard to Him making itself felt. After He shall leave the world, the Paraclete shall come to give testimony of Him, and diffuse His gifts in the souls of men. The Apostles also shall give testimony of Him.

4. THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT, xvi. 5—15. Jesus shall go back to Him that sent Him; for, if He go not, the Paraclete will not come. The effects of this coming can be considered in the Spirit's relation to the world and to the Apostles.

a) *In regard to the world*, 8—11. The Holy Ghost, through the instrumentality of the Apostles, shall convince (ἐλέγξει) the world of three things: the evil of its incredulity, the effect and source of so many crimes; the sanctity of Him whom it crucified, and whom the Father called to partake of His glory; the punishment of its prince, Satan, despoiled of his empire which he exercised over his slaves, for having made them ignore this sanctity and commit this crime. All this will set the world well on the road to repentance and salvation.

b) *In regard to the Apostles*, 12—15. The Holy Spirit, when He is come, will teach them all truth. He shall not only reveal to them the things that are hidden and are to come, but also a great number of supernatural truths, which before this were not useful for them to understand, as for example, the line of action to be maintained in regard to the Gentiles and the legal observances, etc. Above all, He shall shed further light upon those that they know already. In a word, He shall give them a more complete understanding of Christianity.

As regards the words: *Non loquetur a semetipso*, «He shall not speak of Himself», theologians explain them by the fact that the Holy Ghost receives all His knowledge, just as He receives His being, from the Father and from the Son (ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήφεται)¹.

5. MOTIVES OF JOY, xvi. 16—24. In a little while, Jesus says, His Apostles shall not see Him, because He is going to the Father, but they shall see Him again in His resurrection. «*You shall weep*», He says to them, «because of My Passion and My ignominious Death,

¹ Jn. xvi. 15. A remarkable feature in this discourse is that our Lord never fails to join His own name with that of the Father and the Holy Ghost.

whilst the wicked and the impious (the world) shall rejoice, thinking that they have got rid of Me for ever. But your sorrow shall be turned into joy; for I shall return to you, and your hearts shall be made glad for having seen the risen Saviour, and no man shall take your joy away from you. In that day (after the Resurrection and on the feast of Pentecost) you shall not ask Me anything; for by the revelations of the Holy Spirit you shall know all things. Your prayers shall always be heard, especially when grace is necessary for the cause of Jesus or for the good of souls. Hitherto, you have not asked anything in My name; ask, and you shall receive, that your joy may be full.» It is to be presumed that the Apostles were not ignorant of their Master's peculiar character as mediator, but they had not reflected sufficiently on the efficacy of His mediation, and hence they had scarcely profited by it. Our Lord makes them understand that they can turn it to account, and that it depends upon them to obtain the greatest graces in this wise.

492. 6. THE FUTURE TRIUMPH OF JESUS AND THE APOSTLES, 25—33. Jesus had spoken all these things in figurative language, and hence their meaning was more or less hidden (in proverbial). After the Resurrection (*venit hora, the hour shall come*) He will speak openly of the Father. In that day the disciples shall ask in the name of Jesus, of whose power they shall then have a better understanding. He does not say that He will pray to the Father for them¹, for the Father loves them and will hear them immediately and directly.

Jesus tells them that the time is not far off, in the moment of His Passion², when they shall leave Him alone. He reminds them that in the world they shall suffer great persecution. But they must have confidence, for persecution is but the prelude of victory; for He, Jesus, has overcome the world.

493. III. The Sacerdotal Prayer, xvii. This sublime prayer is the culminating point in the Gospel. If chapters xiv—xvi form what might be called the sanctuary of the Gospel, then this xvii. chapter is rightly called the Holy of Holies. «What a silence», says Bossuet, «must one place on all things created, in order to understand to the very depths of the heart, the words which Jesus Christ addresses to His Father in this intimate and perfect communication!»³

a) THE PRAYER OF JESUS FOR HIMSELF, 1—5. Jesus asks His Father to glorify Him upon earth, to give Him from heaven that

¹ Jesus does not say that He will cease praying for them; for that would be contrary to what is affirmed by St. Paul in Rom. viii. 33, 34; Hebr. vii. 25; ix. 24. But He does say that there is no need of interceding for them before His Father, because His Father must and does love them, their dispositions toward His Son being sufficient to assure them of His affection and His benediction.

² Mt. xxxvi. 56; Mk. xiv. 50.

³ Méditations sur l'Évangile II, 34. journée.

glory which He had before the creation of the world, from all eternity, so that the Father may be also glorified, and that all men (all flesh) may have eternal life. Eternal life¹ consists in knowing the Father, who is the only true God², and Jesus Christ, His ambassador.

b) THE PRAYER OF JESUS FOR THE APOSTLES, 6—19. «I have manifested Thy name to My disciples», continued Jesus in addressing His Father. «I pray not for the world, for those who, not having My spirit, are attached to the earth and to the things here below³, but I pray for My disciples, that the closest union may exist between us, as exists between Thee, Father, and Me, Thy Son, that they may have My joy filled in themselves, and that they may be preserved from evil and from sin. I offer myself (on the cross) for them, that Thou mayest sanctify them in truth, in order that they may the better fulfil their part as preachers of the Gospel.»

494. c) THE PRAYER OF JESUS FOR THE CHURCH, 20—26. Jesus prays also for those who shall be converted by the preaching of the Apostles, and shall believe in Him, that they all may be one, as the Father in Him, and He in the Father, so that the world may recognize Jesus as sent by His Father. «I have given them», He says, «the glory which thou hast given Me, so that they may be one, as we are one.» In conclusion, Jesus asks that the faithful share in His eternal glory.

¹ The knowledge that faith affords of the Father and the Son put man on the way to heaven. It is a condition and a means of obtaining everlasting happiness. It is a sort of initiation into the life of blessedness, a vision already begun, according to *St. Thom.* 2, 2, q. 4, a. 1; and in proportion as it is developed and enlightened, the knowledge that it gives us, brings us nearer the state of the elect, that is, to the intuitive vision of God and His complete possession in the splendour of His glory, 1 Jn. iii. 2; v. 20. This verse clearly shows that, in order to get to heaven, one must not ignore the true God, as the pagans, nor reject Jesus Christ, as the Jews.

² Our Lord does not say that the Father alone is God, but He does affirm that He is a unique God, the only true God. It follows then, from His words, not that the Son is not God or that the divine nature is not common to the Father and to the Son, but that He is the true God, in other terms, that polytheism is an error. That the «only» of verse 5 is related to *verum Deum*, «true God», that is, that it refers to the substance and not to the Person of the Father, is brought out clearly in the Greek text, *ἵνα γινώσχωσιν σε, τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*. The phrase of St. John should then be constructed thus: «This is eternal life, that they may know that Thou art He who alone is true God.»

³ It must not be presumed that Jesus never prayed for them. He prayed for all men, even for His greatest enemies, only He did not pray for them at this time. He prayed only for those who were especially dear to Him (Lk. xxii. 32). It has been claimed that the words are not to be understood in this restricted sense. But if the «world» be understood as meaning the malice of the world, the difficulty disappears entirely (Jn. xii. 31; xvi. 8—11).

SECTION III.

A SYNTHESIS OF THE PRINCIPAL TEACHINGS OF JESUS.

THE OBJECT OF THIS SYNTHETICAL STUDY.

495. We shall treat the teaching of our Lord as contained in the Synoptics, separately from that which is contained in the Gospel of St. John. By this we do not intend to set the first three Gospels in opposition to the fourth, our object being a better understanding of the great question, which has received the name of the Johannean Problem, and also to show that the apparently irreconcilable differences which are said to exist between the Synoptics and the fourth, are not as weighty and insoluble as some critics would have them appear. In St. John «sometimes there is prolongation of the lines, other times, too, transposition or diversity, but never contradiction. Under the name of life everlasting, the kingdom of God has become something more intimate and personal; likewise, the judgment is not merely a future event, it begins within the conscience. On the other hand, the relations of nature between the Son and the Father, His divinity and character of necessary mediator, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, are presented in bolder relief. All this is no departure from the frame of the Master's thoughts and must be regarded as its echo and faithful interpretation»¹.

The teaching of Jesus in the Gospel of St. John is primarily dogmatic, whilst that in the Synoptics is above all moral, although they do contain numerous dogmas which are carefully brought out. From this statement it can be seen how false the rationalistic assertions, so widely spread in our day, are. According to them the essence of Christianity is «something very simple and entirely foreign to theology; this need be the cause of no surprise, since Jesus did not intend to found a religion, but only to inject into Judaism, devitalized by the formalism of the Pharisees, a new and living spirit.»²

¹ *Tixeront*, History of Dogmas (Engl. transl.) I, 76.

² *Guignebert*, Manuel d'histoire ancienne du Christianisme 239, 240. The Holy Office (July 3. and 4., 1907) has condemned the following propositions: LIX. Christus determinatum doctrinae corpus omnibus temporibus cunctisque hominibus applicabile

As a final remark, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Gospels do not embody a complete exposition of the life and teaching of Jesus, and also that their data must be completed by the teaching of the Apostles as well as by the belief and practice of the Church in the early days.

ART. I.

THE PRINCIPAL TEACHINGS OF JESUS ACCORDING TO THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

I. GOD.

496. 1. The Father. The teaching of Jesus concerning the Godhead, in general, is based upon the doctrine as contained in the O. T. It would not, however, be correct to say that because of this Jesus did not add anything to the old idea of God. Sometimes He is explicit in affirming His existence directly, as in Mk. xii. 29—32, and at all times He supposes it. God is one, and this God created the world¹ of which because of His creation He is the Master². Heaven is His throne³, while the earth is His footstool⁴. God alone is perfect⁵, and He alone is good⁶. That which is impossible to men, He can do⁷. Nothing is hidden from Him, and He knows all things that happen in secret⁸, as He knows all our needs⁹. It is His right to dispose of His benefits as He pleases¹⁰.

Considering God in relation with mankind, Jesus laid particular emphasis on His paternity¹¹. The old spirit of servitude, which characterized the faith of the Jews, has passed away, and we free children of God can address God as Jesus addressed Him: Abba, Father¹². God is Providence itself; for He watches over us¹³, and even guards our material interests¹⁴; He watches over our lives, is aware of our needs and our dangers and listens to our prayers¹⁵; He is kind to both the just and to sinners¹⁶, merciful¹⁷, and patient¹⁸; He avenges the wrongs of His servants by punishing their enemies¹⁹. To all men the call to the vineyard is sounded²⁰, and He assigns

non docuit, sed potius incohavit motum quandam religiosum diversis temporibus ac locis adaptatum vel adaptandum. LX. Doctrina christiana in suis exordiis fuit iudaica, seu facta est per successivas evolutiones primum paulina, tum ioannica, demum hellenica et universalis.

¹ Mk. xiii. 19. ² Mt. xi. 25. ³ Mt. v. 16, 45—48; v. 1, 9.

⁴ Mt. v. 35. ⁵ Mt. v. 48. ⁶ Mt. xix. 17.

⁷ Lk. xviii. 27; Mk. xiv. 36. ⁸ Mt. vi. 4, 6, 18. ⁹ Mt. vi. 8.

¹⁰ Mt. xx. 15.

¹¹ Mt. v. 16, 45, 48; vi. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 15, 18. Cf. *Stevens*, The Theology of the N. T. 66 f.

¹² Mk. xiv. 36. ¹³ Lk. xii. 6, 7. ¹⁴ Mt. vi. 26, 30, 32; x. 29, 30.

¹⁵ Mt. vii. 7—11; vi. 25—34. ¹⁶ Mt. v. 45. ¹⁷ Lk. vi. 36.

¹⁸ Mt. xxi. 34—37; Mk. xii. 2—5; Lk. xx. 10—13. ¹⁹ Lk. xviii. 1—8.

²⁰ Mt. xx. 1—16; no. 409.

to each work in proportion to his ability¹. To Him belongs the right to assign the places in the heavenly home². When the time of the final retribution shall come, He will render to each man according to his works, rewarding those who have been faithful to the Law, and punishing those who have violated it³. He is a Master who takes strict account of the actions of His servants⁴. He also possesses the power to cast the unfaithful servant into Gehenna⁵, preserving the power also to wipe out the debt⁶. If the sinner wanders away, He goes after him and seeks him anxiously, welcoming him on his return, if penitent, bestowing upon him His friendship, and rebuking the righteous who look upon such conduct with jealousy⁷.

497. 2. The Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost is the spirit of the Father, since He proceeds from Him⁸. He is the power of the Most High and lives in us⁹. He has been promised to the Apostles by the Father¹⁰, and He will speak through the disciples when they shall be brought before the tribunal for judgment¹¹. Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit bears a special malice, and it shall not be forgiven in this world or the world to come¹².

3. The Trinity. In God there are three Persons: the Father, the Son who is identified with Jesus, and the Holy Ghost. The distinction of the first two is drawn as clearly as it possibly could be¹³. The distinction of all three Persons and their rank is distinctly drawn in the formula which Jesus commanded to be used in the administration of Baptism: «Baptize the faithful in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost¹⁴. From this same formula are deduced the equality of the three adorable Persons and their participation in one and the same divine nature.

II. JESUS.

498. 1. Jesus the Messiah¹⁵. To any one who reads the Gospel accounts attentively there can scarcely be any doubt that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah. Whilst discoursing in the synagogue of Nazareth He applies to Himself the words of Isaiah which that prophet had

¹ The parable of the talents, cf. no. 419.

² Mt. xx. 23; Mk. x. 40.

³ Mt. xviii. 34, 35; xxii. 11—13; xxv. 26—29, 41—46.

⁴ Mt. xxv. 14—26.

⁵ Mt. xxv. 30.

⁶ Mt. xviii. 25—35; no. 429.

⁷ See the parables of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin (no. 431), also the parable of the Prodigal Son (no. 433).

⁸ Mt. x. 20.

⁹ Lk. xxiv. 49.

¹⁰ Lk. xxiv. 49^a.

¹¹ Mt. x. 20; Lk. xii. 12; Mk. xiii. 11.

¹² Mt. xii. 32; Mk. iii. 29; see also no. 468.

¹³ Mt. xi. 27: *nemo novit Filium nisi Pater*, no one knows the Father but the Son.

¹⁴ Mt. xxviii. 19.

¹⁵ *Lépin*, Christ and the Gospels 198 f.; *Dalman*, The Words of Jesus 289—305; *Rose*, Studies on the Gospels 150—174; *Harnack*, What is Christianity? 128—148.

spoken regarding the Christ¹: *Spiritus Domini super me*. When John the Baptist sent a deputation to ask Him if He was the one that was to come, He pointed in answer to the works which the prophets had foretold were the signs of the advent of the Messiah². The devil, or the men through whom the devil spoke, bestowed this title upon Him quite often. On two occasions He accepted it positively, once at Cæsarea Philippi, and again at the time of His Passion whilst arraigned before the high priest. In both instances the expression *Christus Filius Dei vivi*, «the Christ the Son of the living God», according to the more common opinion, bears a meaning much higher than that of «Messias»; it means: Veritable Son of God³. Therefore that Jesus was conscious of His Messianic dignity cannot be doubted⁴.

Yet in accepting the title of Messiah, Jesus corrected the prevailing Jewish thought and soon dispelled the idea of a glorious and temporal reign to which His contemporaries fondly clung. To Cæsar must be rendered the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's, was one way of expressing the real character of His mission⁵. He tells His hearers distinctly that the Christ is not come to judge human affairs⁶, but that He is come to serve and save souls, and not to rule them⁷. In His kingdom there shall be found no temporal and worldly grandeur, and consequently there shall be no room for worldly ambition⁸. He places His kingdom in opposition to that of the devil⁹, and He affirms that His kingdom's coming shall not be such as to attract very much attention; for no one shall say of it: «it is here», or «it is there»¹⁰.

499. 2. Jesus the Son of Man¹¹. In the oldest acceptance of the term, the title «Son of Man» is a poetic expression employed by the sacred authors to denote man in general, a member of humanity, a descendant of Adam¹². But the use to which David put it, in designating one seated at the right hand of the Most High¹³, and the meaning which Daniel gave it, as denoting Him to whom the empire of the world had been promised for ever¹⁴, shaped the expression into a more definite signification, until it became a proper name, and resolved itself into a characteristic title of the Messiah. Consequently when our Lord applies this title to Himself and calls

¹ Is. lxi. 1, 2; Lk. iv. 18—21.

² Mt. xi. 4, 5; Lk. vii. 21, 22.

³ Cf. nos. 226 and 287.

⁴ The Holy Office, on 3. and 4. of July, 1907, condemned the following proposition: XXXV. Christus non semper habuit conscientiam suae dignitatis messianicae.

⁵ Mt. xxii. 15—22; Mk. xii. 13—17; Lk. xx. 21—26.

⁶ Lk. xii. 14.

⁷ Mt. xx. 28; xviii. 11.

⁸ Mt. xx. 21—28; Mk. x. 37—45.

⁹ Mt. xii. 26; Lk. xi. 18—20.

¹⁰ Lk. xvii. 20, 21.

¹¹ *Lepin*, Christ and the Gospel 157 f.

¹² Job xxv. 6.

¹³ Ps. lxxix. 16—18.

¹⁴ Dan. vii. 13—17; x. 16.

Himself *the* «Son of Man», ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, He wants it to be understood that He is the Messiah foretold by the Holy Spirit.

In the opinion of several critics the title *Son of Man* was «a term by which God or an angel designated the prophet to whom the divine message was confided, and by which the distance which separated the prophet from the heavenly speaker was expressed. The vocative form implies both the dignity and the humility of the prophet in the sight of God. *The Son of Man* . . . is the man before God, man in the attitude of a servant whom God has chosen to deliver His message. He is one chosen, yet he is but a servant. Jesus . . . has made this vocative, thus understood, a nominative form in which His quality as servant is especially marked in this that He is humble and submissive»¹.

This title of Son of Man sounds better on the lips of the Saviour than it does on those of His disciples, for He was in a special sense a model of modesty and humility. Hence our Lord is really the only one to employ the term during His life time. Although the term is found some 79 times in the four Gospels², He is always the one that uses it in reference to Himself. After His death, it was applied to Him twice, once by St. Stephen and again by St. John³, and in both instances it is employed to connote the difference that exists between the humble state of the Man-God upon earth, and the glory and power which He enjoys in heaven.

500. 3. Jesus, the Son of God⁴. The word «son» is susceptible of two meanings each distinct from the other. — It is frequently used in Scripture to designate the relation of one man to another, and its meaning taken in a wide range becomes derivative and in a sense metaphorical, indicating a disciple, an heir, a protégé, a favourite, and an adopted child. Besides it is taken in a stricter and more literal meaning: *vivens e vivo procedens in conformitatem naturae*. — Very often also it is employed in its widest acceptance, as referring to all men in general, or to a certain class of men, or even to some one man in particular as expressing the relation existing between man and the Deity, to indicate either his participation in God's spirit and life, the love which He bears towards men as His children, or the fact that they are the heirs of all His benefits. Thus all Christians are the children of God, the sons of God by adoption, τέκνα Θεοῦ. But besides this derivative and metaphorical acceptance

¹ Batiffol, L'enseignement de Jésus 196, 197.

² Not counting Jn. v. 27.

³ Acts vii. 55, 56; Apoc. I. 13; xiv. 14. The term, as used in Hebr. ii. 6, is a quotation from Ps. vii. 5.

⁴ Liddon, The Divinity of Christ; Stevens, Theology of the N. T. 60, 591, 592; Rose, Studies on the Gospels 175—206; Harnack, What is Christianity? 119—125; Loisy, The Gospel and the Church, chapt. 2.

of the term 'Son of God' there is a stricter and more literal understanding of the expression, which is verified in the second Person of the Holy Trinity, the only-begotten Son of the Father, *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *unigenitus qui est in sinu Patris*¹. It must not be forgotten either that this title sometimes is synonymous with that of Messiah². Keeping the foregoing in mind, we now ask, in what sense must the expression 'Son of God', applied to our Lord more than fifty times in the Gospels, be taken?

As a first remark let be stated that this term was sometimes accorded to our Lord in its wider and metaphorical acceptance, when He was addressed by men who were ignorant of His divine character, as also by the devil when he spoke to Him³. But these cases are the exceptional ones. Almost all of the Fathers have maintained that the devil, although not knowing that Christ was divine, nevertheless gave the term this meaning, and this, they allege, was the reason why Christ forbade him to speak in any way regarding His personality. But be this as it may, it is quite certain, and that too, if we take the Synoptic Gospels alone, that our Lord attributed to Himself a true divine filiation in the metaphysical sense of the word, and hence a nature higher than all created essence, and that He understood the term 'Son of God' in its exalted and strictest meaning.

A matter of fact, by the filial relation which He established between His Father and Himself, He separates Himself from His disciples and from the whole world. In speaking of God He always says *My Father*, *Your Father* and never *Our Father*, except on one and only one occasion, when in reality He was speaking in the name of His disciples⁴. By His own word He is superior to the angels, who are ordained for His service and are His protectors against His enemies, should He make demand for their assistance from His Father⁵. He is also superior to all the great men of the Old Law, to Jonas, to Solomon, and to David⁶, and He rises higher even than the Temple itself⁷. He is the son of the king and for this reason is exempt from paying tribute⁸. Upon earth He exercises the truly divine power of forgiving sin; for there is nothing to show that He exercises a delegated right, but all tends to show that He acts on His own authority and responsibility⁹. Acting in His rôle as supreme Lawgiver, He sets the old Mosaic legislation on a new

¹ Jn. i. 18.² No. 287.³ Mk. iii. 12.⁴ This exception is in regard to the lessons which our Lord gave His disciples in regard to prayer. Cf. Mt. vii. 21; x. 32, 33; xii. 50 . . . ; vi. 9.⁵ Mk. i. 13; Mt. xxvi. 53.⁶ Mt. xii. 41, 42; Lk. xi. 31, 32; Mt. xxii. 41—46.⁷ Mt. xii. 5, 6.⁸ Mt. xvii. 25—27.⁹ Mt. ix. 2—6; Lk. vii. 48—50.

basis¹, boldly asserts that He is the Lord of the Sabbath², places a ban upon divorce³, and positively forbids all oaths⁴.

In unmistakable language Jesus affirms that He is the only-begotten and well-beloved Son, as well as the true heir of His Father⁵. All power is given to Him in heaven and on earth⁶. Hence on the last day, He will judge the whole world⁷. He puts Himself on the same plane of equality with the Father and the Holy Ghost (*baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii*), and promises His spiritual presence to His Church for all times⁸, assuring His hearers that heaven and earth would pass away, but that His words would not pass away⁹. Lastly He clearly announces that no one knows the Father, but the Son, and him to whomsoever it shall please the Son to reveal Him¹⁰. He declares that between the Father and the Son there exists a perfect equality¹¹.

501. 4. The Mission of Jesus. The Redemptive Value of His Death.

The mission of Jesus was to preach the kingdom of God¹², to call not only the just but sinners to repentance¹³, to save the souls of men¹⁴, to seek those that were lost¹⁵; for His Father desired that not one should be lost¹⁶. He came to minister unto others and not to be ministered unto, in a word to give His life as a ransom (*λύτρον*) for many¹⁷. In pursuance of His great mission He was to be baptized with a special Baptism¹⁸, that is to say, to suffer countless sorrows, to be rejected by the generation among whom He lived¹⁹, to be reckoned with the wicked²⁰, to die, and to rise again on the third day after His death²¹. His body shall be delivered over to death for His disciples (*vobis*)²²; His blood is the blood of the N. T., which is poured out unto the remission of the sins of His disciples and for those of the whole world²³. Therefore from these

¹ Mt. v. 21—48. ² Mk. ii. 27, 28. ³ Nos. 463 f.

⁴ Mt. v. 31—37. ⁵ Cf. no. 411. ⁶ Mt. xxviii. 18.

⁷ Cf. no. 393. ⁸ Mt. xxviii. 19, 20.

⁹ Mt. xxiv. 35; Mk. xiii. 31.

¹⁰ Mt. xi. 27; Lk. x. 21, 22. In regard to this text, see *Lepin*, Christ and the Gospels 416, 486.

¹¹ See no. 392. The Holy Office, July 3. and 4., 1907, condemned the following propositions: XXVII. Divinitas Iesu Christi ex Evangeliiis non probatur; sed est dogma quod conscientia christiana e notione Messiae deduxit. XXVIII. Iesus, quum ministerium suum exercebat, non in eum finem loquebatur ut doceret se esse Messiam, neque eius miracula eo spectabant ut id demonstraret. XXX. In omnibus textibus evangelicis nomen Filius Dei aequivalet tantum nomini Messias, minime vero significat Christum esse verum et naturalem Dei Filium.

¹² Mk. i. 38; Lk. iv. 18, 19, 21. ¹³ Mt. ix. 13; Mk. ii. 17.

¹⁴ Lk. ix. 56. ¹⁵ Mt. xviii. 11.

¹⁶ Mt. xviii. 14. ¹⁷ Mt. xx. 28; Mk. x. 45.

¹⁸ Lk. xii. 50. ¹⁹ Mk. x. 34; Mt. xx. 17—19.

²⁰ Lk. xxii. 37. ²¹ Mt. xx. 19. ²² Lk. xxii. 19.

²³ Lk. xxii. 20; Mt. xxvi. 28; Mk. xiv. 24.

various indications we conclude that the death of Jesus is the means whereby we gained redemption, the great act of our deliverance¹.

III. ANGELOLOGY².

502. 1. The Good Angels. According to the teaching of Jesus, there are a very great number of good and holy angels inhabiting the heavenly courts where they unceasingly see God face to face, and enjoy the beatific vision³.

These pure spirits are interested in our salvation, watch over little children, and conduct our souls to the other life⁴. On the day of judgment they shall separate the good from the bad, and it shall be their function to remove all sinners and those that have given scandal from the kingdom of God⁵. Before them and in their presence Christ shall confess all those who have confessed Him before men, and likewise He shall deny before them all that have denied Him before men⁶.

2. The Evil Angels. From many of the utterances of Jesus, the existence of such is easily deduced. As a matter of fact, when the Lord speaks to the devils that He casts out from some unfortunate, He gives us an unanswerable argument that He was not accommodating Himself to the popular and erroneous opinions of His time, but that He believed in their existence, and consequently that they really exist⁷. By nature they are spirits, but impure spirits, who take up their abode in the bodies of men, and sometimes reside there in great number⁸.

Jesus conferred upon His Apostles the power to cast them out in His name⁹, yet this casting out must be accompanied by fasting and prayer¹⁰. Over all the evil spirits there presides one, Satan, whose kingdom is in eternal opposition to the kingdom of Christ¹¹. It is he who takes away the word of God from the souls of the luke-warm; it is he who sows the cockle in the midst of the good grain,

¹ Cf. *Rose*, Studies on the Gospels 207—256; *Stevens*, The Christian Doctrine of Salvation; *Riviere*, Doctrine of the Atonement. The following proposition was condemned by the Holy Office, on July 3. and 4., 1907: XXXVIII. Doctrina de morte piaculari Christi non est evangelica, sed tantum paulina.

² *Stevens*, Theology of the N. T. 76; *Farrar*, Life of Christ, Excursus VII; *Edersheim*, The Life and Time of Jesus the Messiah 142; see also theologies under «Angels».

³ Mt. xxvi. 53; Mk. viii. 38; Mt. xiii. 49, 50; Mk. xii. 25; Mt. xviii. 10.

⁴ Lk. xv. 10; Mt. xviii. 10; Lk. xvi. 22. ⁵ Mt. xiii. 49; Mt. xiii. 41.

⁶ Lk. xii. 8, 9.

⁷ Mt. xiii. 39; Mk. v. 8; Lk. ix. 1; xi. 18; Mt. xxv. 41; Mk. i. 25; Lk. iv. 35.

⁸ Mt. viii. 16; xii. 43; Lk. xi. 24; Mt. xii. 43—45; Mk. v. 9; Lk. viii. 30; xi.

24—26.

⁹ Mk. iii. 15; xvi. 17.

¹⁰ Mt. xvii. 20; Mk. ix. 28.

¹¹ Mt. xii. 26; Mk. iv. 15.

his whole intention being to ruin the work of Christ; and it is he who makes desperate efforts to shake the faith of the Apostles, the ministers of the new kingdom¹.

IV. THE KINGDOM².

503. I. The Expression «The Kingdom of Heaven». The expression «Kingdom of God» used over fifty times by St. Mark and St. Luke, together with the terms «Kingdom of heavens» just as often employed by St. Matthew, «The Kingdom of Christ or simply «The Kingdom» (ἡ βασιλεία) really come to one and the same thing though there may be a slight shade of difference. The words «heavens» and «God» indicate the truly heavenly origin of the kingdom, which in its authority, its constitution, and its hierarchy, is not of the earth nor earthly.

The term «kingdom of heaven» had long before been employed by the Forerunner in his announcement of the coming of the Saviour. From this it is quite evident, that among the Jews it was used to designate the work of the Messias or the new religious and political form of government they fully expected He would establish³.

2. The Church. The full meaning of the kingdom in the teaching of our Lord is somewhat complicated. Yet never once did Christ leave the impression that He intended to effect the political restoration which the Jewish people and their teachers fondly dreamed of. Sometimes the kingdom designates the reign of the just in heaven, and then it is synonymous with eternal life⁴. Again the kingdom is represented sometimes as present and at other times as future: «The kingdom of God cometh not with observation; neither shall they say: Behold here, or behold there; for lo, the kingdom of God is within you».⁵ Likewise many of the passages bearing on the idea of the kingdom prove that it will be spiritual and not material, interior and not exterior.

And yet the kingdom shall be visible. Our Lord had formed a small band, *pusillus grex*⁶, which comprised not only the Apostles who were destined to become fishers of men⁷, but also the faithful grouped around them. This society whose constitution and characteristics we shall detail further on, is called the *Church*, and every one is obliged to submit to its authority under pain of being looked upon as a heathen and a publican⁸.

¹ Cf. nos. 406, 407, 408; Lk. xxii. 31.

² See *Rose*, Studies on the Gospels 86—126.

³ No. 142.

⁴ Mt. xiii. 43; xxv. 34, 46.

⁵ Lk. xvii. 20, 21; xxii. 69; Mk. i. 15; Mt. xxiii. 13; xxvi. 64.

⁶ Lk. xii. 32; Mk. xiv. 27.

⁷ Mk. i. 16, 17; Lk. v. 10.

⁸ Mt. xviii. 17.

These various elements apparently so contradictory are really harmonized in the traditional idea of the Church. The kingdom possesses two phases: one earthly, yet spiritual and moral, which began with the Incarnation and which will last until the end of time; the other glorious, which will commence with the end of the world and which will be perpetuated throughout all eternity.

3. **The Rulers of the Kingdom.** *Simon*, who from henceforth was to be known as Peter, is the foundation of the Church to which he gives both solidity and unity. In this kingdom he is endowed with the power of jurisdiction since Christ gave him the keys of it. All that he shall bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven, and all that he shall loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven by God Himself¹. Because of the prayer of Jesus for him, his faith shall never fail, and it shall be his mission, when once converted, to strengthen his brethren in the faith². Since the Church shall last for all time, Peter and his successors shall likewise exercise the primacy.

Not only to Peter was it promised that all that he should bind and loose upon earth would be bound and loosed in heaven, but to the *other Apostles* also³. Their mission consisted in curing the sick, in raising the dead, in casting out devils, in preaching the Gospel to all nations, and in baptizing them⁴. Jesus demanded of them complete detachment from the things of the world, told them to have the prudence of the serpent and the simplicity of the dove, to distrust the enemies of Christianity, to be confident in the midst of persecution, and to practise perseverance, as an indispensable condition for salvation⁵.

504. 4. The Members of the Kingdom. Its Universal Character. All men without distinction are called to membership in the kingdom of God⁶. The Apostles received explicit orders to preach the Gospel to all nations, even to the pagans, although they are bidden to begin their missionary activity at Jerusalem⁷. In the parable of the sower, the field in which the Son of Man sows the good seed is representative of the world⁸. Because He intended that

¹ Mt. xviii. 17—19.

² Lk. xxii. 31, 32; no. 275.

³ Mt. xviii. 18. Hence the Holy Office condemned, July 3. and 4., 1907, the following propositions: LII. Alienum fuit a mente Christi Ecclesiam constituere veluti societatem super terram per longam saeculorum seriem duraturam; quin imo in mente Christi regnum coeli una cum fine mundi iamiam adventurum erat. LV. Simon Petrus ne suspicatus quidem unquam est sibi a Christo demandatum esse primatum in Ecclesia.

⁴ Mt. x. 8, 27; xxviii. 18; Mk. xvi. 15, 20.

⁵ Mt. x. 9, 10; Mk. vi. 8, 9; Lk. ix. 3, 4; x. 4—8; Mt. x. 16, 17, 26, 28; Lk. xii. 5, 11, 12; Mt. x. 22.

⁶ Mt. viii. 11, 12; Lk. xiii. 28, 29; Mt. xiii. 31—33.

⁷ Mt. xxviii. 18; xxiv. 14; Mk. xiii. 10; Lk. xxiv. 47.

⁸ Mt. xiii. 37, 38.

His kingdom should be universal, Jesus did not turn a deaf ear to the prayer of the pagan centurion in behalf of his servant, nor to that of the Chanaanite woman who asked for the cure of her daughter¹. When He declared that His mission was limited to the Jews, His thought was of the work which He Himself must accomplish upon earth during His mortal life². The kingdom of heaven is open even to the publicans and degenerate women who hearing shall be converted³. The development of this society shall be gradual and its progress shall be due entirely to the invisible influence of the grace of God⁴.

5. Conditions for Entrance to the Kingdom. Although all men are called to enter the kingdom, those only shall be worthy of membership who are possessed with the spirit of poverty, who are meek, who mourn, who hunger and thirst after justice, who are clean in heart, who are merciful, who are peace-makers, and who are persecuted for the sake of justice⁵. It is incumbent upon them to perform works of penance, to believe the Gospel⁶, to fulfil the will of the Father⁷, to keep all the commandments⁸, to lay aside all riches⁹, to be more just than the Scribes and the Pharisees¹⁰, to be like little children in their humility, obedience and purity¹¹, to be clothed with the wedding-garment (state of grace)¹², and to make a determined effort to remain in the kingdom by fulfilling all these conditions; for the word of God is in great danger of perishing in our hearts, because of the inconstancy of our nature, the dryness of our hearts, because of our passions¹³, and also because we are constantly exposed to the wiles and the deceits of the devil¹⁴. Later, we shall give a more complete outline of the conditions of entering the kingdom, when we, expose the moral life of the Christian¹⁵. Nevertheless the kingdom in its earthly phase is not a society for the just alone, for in it the good and the bad shall be found together even until the end of time¹⁶.

505. 6. Opposition to the Kingdom. The enemies that shall oppose the formation and development of the kingdom of God shall be great in number. Its establishment will be the occasion of all sorts of divisions, extending throughout the whole world, making itself felt even in the family circle, because of the terrible sacrifices that it shall impose¹⁷ striking a blow to the very nature of man.

¹ Mt. viii. 5—10; xv. 23—28. ² Mt. xv. 24. See also no. 455.

³ Mt. xxi. 31. ⁴ Mk. iv. 26, 29. ⁵ Mt. v. 3—12; Lk. vi. 20—26.

⁶ Mt. iv. 17; Mk. i. 15. ⁷ Mt. vii. 21.

⁸ Mt. xix. 17—19; Mk. x. 17—19; Lk. xviii. 18—20. ⁹ Mt. xix. 23.

¹⁰ Mt. v. 20. ¹¹ Mt. xix. 14; Mk. x. 14, 15; Lk. xviii. 16, 17.

¹² Nos. 414, 415. ¹³ Nos. 406, 407. ¹⁴ Cf. no. 408.

¹⁵ Nos. 509 f. ¹⁶ See the parables of the cockle and the net, no. 408.

¹⁷ Mt. x. 34—36; Lk. xii. 51—53.

Hence it is that from the days of John the Baptist it has suffered violence, and the wicked bear it away¹. Its great enemies are the devils, whom Christ cast out, and whom He commanded His disciples to cast out; the Jews², the Scribes and Pharisees who refused to enter the kingdom themselves and kept others from entering therein³. Despite all this opposition the kingdom shall grow; for there are Scribes who are not far from it⁴, and Pharisees who have become members of it⁵.

7. Perpetuity and Indefectibility of the Kingdom.

Although persecuted and buffeted by hostile storms, the Church or Messianic kingdom shall last for all time, and shall always be infallible and ever unfailing. The gates of hell (*portae inferi*, power of death) shall never prevail against it⁶; for Jesus is with His Apostles and their successors for all days even unto the consummation of the world⁷.

8. **The Sacraments of the Kingdom.** The Synoptic Gospels afford us indications that Christ instituted at least three sacraments, namely: Baptism which was to be administered in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost⁸, the Eucharist (*hoc facite in meam commemorationem*)⁹, and Orders, which is inferred from the Eucharist. It does not follow however that there were not other sacraments instituted by our Lord.

By its sacramental system and by the Christian teaching, the kingdom shall exercise a salutary influence upon all humanity¹⁰. The good that shall accrue from it shall be like unto a pearl of great price and a treasure¹¹. Nevertheless its future progress will be due exclusively to the invisible power of the grace of God¹².

506. 9. The Realization of the Kingdom of God. According to a great number of Rationalistic critics, Jesus had in mind

¹ Mt. xi. 12; Lk. xvi. 16. See also no. 216. ² Nos. 410, 411.

³ Mt. xxiii. 13. ⁴ Mk. xii. 34. ⁵ Mk. xv. 43. ⁶ Mt. xvi. 18.

⁷ Mt. xxviii. 20. The following proposition was condemned by the Holy Office, July 3. and 4., 1907: LIII. *Constitutio organica Ecclesiae non est immutabilis, sed societates christiana perpetuae evolutioni aequae ac societas humana est obnoxia.*

⁸ Mt. xxviii. 19.

⁹ Lk. xxii. 19. St. John mentions the Sacrament of Penance, no. 338. Hence, on July 3. and 4., 1907, the Holy Office condemned the following propositions: LIV. *Dogmata, sacramenta, hierarchia tum quod ad notionem, tum quod ad realitatem attinet, non sunt nisi intelligentiae christianae interpretationes, evolutionesque quae exiguum germen in Evangelio latens externis incrementis auxerunt perfec(er)eruntque.* — XL. *Sacramenta ortum habuerunt ex eo quod Apostoli eorumque successores ideam aliquam et intentionem Christi, suadentibus et moventibus circumstantiis et eventibus, interpretati sunt.* — XLIII. *Usus conferendi baptismum infantibus evolutio fuit disciplinarius, quae una ex causis extitit ut sacramentum resolveretur in duo, in baptismum scilicet et poenitentiam.*

¹⁰ Mt. xiii. 33. ¹¹ Mt. xiii. 44—46.

¹² Mk. iv. 26—29.

a purely eschatological kingdom, which would find its realization at the end of the world, which at that time was thought to be very near. But this is contrary to all the teaching of Jesus; for, as we already know, Christ sometimes speaks of the earthly phase of the Church, and at others of the glorious phase¹.

V. ESCHATOLOGY.

507. 1. The Second Coming and the Last Judgment. We have already indicated most of the features that mark the eschatological doctrine contained in the Synoptic Gospels, in studying the prophecies of Jesus². It will suffice merely to recall them here in this synthesis, and add some that have not as yet been mentioned. We are told by our Lord that before the end of the world there shall arise false prophets, and great earthquakes shall shake the earth. Then it is that Jesus shall come of a sudden, at a time when no one shall expect Him. The dead shall rise and shall be like unto the angels in appearance³. The angels of heaven shall go among the risen dead and separate the unjust from the just, and they shall remove all the wicked and those that have given scandal from the kingdom of God⁴. Then shall follow the great judgment, where every man will be bound to give an account for every word, aye, even for every idle word⁵. According to the findings of that judgment the Messias shall recompense us for our works⁶, and He will return unto us the good that we have manifested to others⁷. Still the works performed at the last hour may be as meritorious as those of the early hours, thanks to the bounteous liberality of our God⁸.

2. Heaven. Those who have been accounted just shall enter into heaven where they shall live the eternal life⁹. They shall shine even as the sun¹⁰; for they shall enjoy every bliss imaginable. Their future state is described under the figure of a wedding feast¹¹. The elect shall be seated with the patriarchs¹², or, as they are represented in another passage, they shall be seated upon thrones¹³. Their reward shall be truly great; for God shall extend all His mercy and love towards them and shall give them possession of the heavenly kingdom which was prepared for them from the foundation of the world¹⁴. Moreover they shall attain to all satisfaction; for they

¹ See nos. 390 f. ² Nos. 389 f.

³ Mt. xxii. 30—33; Mk. xii. 25—27; Lk. xx. 35—38.

⁴ Mt. xiii. 40—43, 49, 50.

⁵ Mt. xii. 41; xi. 22, 24; x. 15; Lk. x. 14; xi. 31, 32; Mt. xii. 36, 37.

⁶ Mt. xvi. 27, 28; Mk. viii. 38, 39; Lk. ix. 26, 27; nos. 419—421.

⁷ Lk. xiv. 14. ⁸ No. 409. ⁹ Mt. xxv. 46; Lk. xx. 36; Mk. x. 30.

¹⁰ Mt. xiii. 43. ¹¹ Nos. 414, 415. ¹² Mt. viii. 11.

¹³ Mt. xix. 28; Lk. xxii. 29, 30.

¹⁴ Mt. xxv. 34.

shall have God whose children they have now become in all reality¹. We however shall be ignorant of the number of the elect. The words: «*Multi vocati, pauci vero electi*, many are called, but few are chosen», if explained in the light of its context, really affords us no information on this subject². It has by no means been shown that the greater portion of the seed that fell upon good ground is not the greater part of the grain sown³. Yet no one need despair of being saved; for God calls men to the vineyard at all hours⁴.

508. 3. Hell. The sinners and the unjust shall be cast by the angels of God into the furnace of fire⁵. Not only shall they suffer the stinging pangs of a bitter remorse⁶, together with terrible physical torments which lead to fury and despair (weeping and gnashing of teeth)⁷, but they shall be separated for all eternity from God, the great and true light of souls⁸.

THE REALITY OF THE FIRE OF HELL⁹. Although there is no positive definition of the Church to the effect that the fire of hell is material, yet the flames prepared for the fallen and rebellious angels, flames which have direct action upon their spiritual natures¹⁰, must differ from the fire with which we are familiar. The punishment of hell is always designated under the terms «fire» and «flames». We find this expression at least 8 times in the Gospels and nearly 30 times throughout the N. T. This terminology would have no meaning unless the pain of fire which is capable of producing the most terrible sufferings here below, had some connection with the punishment of hell, and was best calculated to give us some idea of what its torments shall be.

THE ETERNITY OF THE PAINS OF HELL. The eternity which has been attributed to the pains of hell cannot refer to a long period of time, as has been argued from the meaning given to the term in the books of the O. T.¹¹ Between the O. T. and N. T. passages there is scarcely a point of agreement and it is unfair to explain the meaning of the one in the light of the other. The O. T. passages bear upon a subject matter which by its very nature demands that the term «eternal» be taken in a hyperbolic sense; for they deal with things that are transitory, namely the world and the history of the world. But when it is question of the pains of hell such is not the case. We have no data whatsoever which would justify a restriction of the term, but on the contrary we have every indication that the word should be taken in its strictest and most literal signification.

¹ Mt. v. 3—12; Lk. vi. 20—23.

² No. 409.

³ Mt. xiii. 1—23.

⁴ No. 409.

⁵ Mt. xiii. 42, 50; xviii. 8; xxv. 41; Mk. ix. 44, 45; Lk. xvi. 24 (crucior in hac flamma: words of the wicked rich man).

⁶ Mk. ix. 45, 47.

⁷ Mt. viii. 12; xiii. 42, 50; xxii. 13; Lk. xiii. 28.

⁸ Mt. vii. 23; viii. 12; xxv. 41; Lk. xiii. 28.

⁹ For the nature of the Hell see *St. Thom.*, S. th. I, 2, q. 87, a. 3, 4; I, q. I, a. 2 ad 2; *Contra gentes* 3, 144.

¹⁰ Lk. xvi. 24.

¹¹ I Par. xvii. 2; xxviii. 7; *Wisd.* x. 14; *Bar.* iii. 32.

a) It is not in this life, in this world, *in via*, that we shall suffer the pains of hell, but in another world and in another life, where, as we are told, there shall be no change¹.

b) Our Lord does not affirm the eternity of hell's punishment merely once and then incidentally, but insists again and again on this truth and emphasizes His statements without ever attempting to soften them in the least. He is not even content to repeat that the pains of hell shall be eternal, but He tells us explicitly that they shall have no end, and reiterates this statement at least 8 times².

c) Lastly, and this is by far the best argument, He always places the pains that the damned shall suffer on the same plane as the reward which the just shall enjoy, as regards their duration³. Consequently the one cannot be limited any more than the other. If the reward of the just is eternal, the punishment of the wicked must likewise be eternal.

VI. THE MORAL LIFE OF THE CHRISTIANS.

We have reserved for this place the discussion of the attitude of Jesus to the Mosaic Law and those special rules which He has laid down for the faithful in order to lead a truly Christian life.

509. 1. Jesus and the Mosaic Law. That Jesus observed the Mosaic Law there can be no doubt; for He celebrated all the Jewish feasts and looked upon the Temple as the house of prayer⁴. In the course of His teaching He declares that it is far easier for heaven and earth to pass away rather than that one minute detail of the Law should be made void⁵. Evidently He means the true Mosaic Law. He restores it once more to its original purity, completes and perfects⁶ it in regard to murder, adultery, marriage which He declares to be indissoluble⁷, oaths which He prohibits in a general manner and also in particular by proscribing the use of certain formulas, in regard to the «lex talionis», in regard to love for our enemies, and in regard to outward purifications. He condemned all that savoured of the exterior and the showy, and hence was bitterly opposed to the affected piety of the Pharisees⁸. He left it distinctly understood that all the prescriptions strictly Mosaic in character are abrogated; for He preached the destruction of the Temple without which the whole Levitical worship was nothing. In His thought the Old Law has become an old garment which has outlived its usefulness and can no longer be patched, and an old bottle into which new wine cannot be poured⁹. In place of the political and religious organization of the Jews, He substituted the Church and a new priesthood, replacing the figure by the reality.

¹ Mt. xiii. 30, 50; xxii. 13; Lk. xvi. 26.

² Mk. ix. 42—47.

³ Mt. xxv. 46.

⁴ Mt. xxi. 13.

⁵ Lk. xvi. 17.

⁶ Nos. 449, 450.

⁷ No. 463—465.

⁸ Mt. xxiii. 16—22; vi. 1 f.; xxiii. 2 f.; Mk. vii. 1 f.; in regard to the miracles wrought by our Lord on the Sabbath day, see no. 356.

⁹ Mt. ix. 16, 17; Mk. ii. 21, 22; Lk. v. 36—39.

2. **True Sanctity.** The faithful soul will seek first the kingdom of God and the justice which becomes its members¹. His whole intention should be to be perfect even as God is perfect, to be always ready to do His will, and to imitate Jesus in all things². Such a soul, Jesus looks upon as His brother, His sister, and His mother, because he does the will of His Father³. Hence this is why it is better to hear and keep the word of God than to have given life to Jesus Himself⁴.

It is not that which enters a man that can defile him; for man is defiled by his own words⁵. The source of sin is further and deeper than this; for it proceeds from the heart⁶ of man which as a consequence must be purified⁷.

Purity of intention gives value to all our acts⁸, and this is why almsgiving, prayer and fasting, performed for the sake of outward show, shall not be rewarded⁹.

510. 3. **Faith.** Christ in His teaching touches more upon the necessity of faith, than on the virtue itself. He explicitly states that faith together with Baptism is an indispensable condition for salvation¹⁰. It does not suffice to have it in our hearts, we must make outward profession of it¹¹. This is the reason He always demands faith of those who are the objects of His miraculous powers, and condemns the multitude for their incredulity, and it is because of this that He reproaches the disciples for their scant belief¹². Therefore, we may conclude that this virtue is most necessary, and possesses an extraordinary power; for all things are possible to him that believes. A single word is enough to cause a mountain to move¹³. Legal works can no longer blot out sin, but only an ardent faith, which alone is capable of eliciting acts of penitence and charity¹⁴.

4. **The Love of God and Our Neighbour.** In order to possess eternal life it is necessary *to love God* above all things. This is the greatest and first commandment. Our sins are remitted unto us in the same measure as we manifest our love for God¹⁵.

Again in order to reach everlasting life it is likewise necessary that we *love our neighbours* as ourselves, that is to say, that we do

¹ Mt. vi. 33; Lk. xii. 31. ² Mt. v. 48; vii. 21—23; xi. 29, 30.

³ Mk. iii. 35; Lk. viii. 19—21. ⁴ Lk. xi. 27, 28.

⁵ Mt. xv. 2—11, 20; Mk. vii. 15. ⁶ Mt. xv. 17—20; Mk. vii. 18—23.

⁷ Lk. xi. 39, 40. ⁸ Mt. vi. 22, 23; Lk. xi. 34, 36; no. 451.

⁹ Mt. vi. 16—18. ¹⁰ Mk. xvi. 17.

¹¹ Mt. x. 32, 33; Mk. viii. 38, 39; Lk. ix. 26; xii. 8, 9.

¹² Mk. v. 34, 36; Mt. ix. 28, 22; Lk. vii. 50; xvii. 19; Mt. xvii. 16; Mk. ix. 18; Lk. ix. 41; Mk. iv. 40; Lk. viii. 25; Mt. xiv. 31.

¹³ Mt. xvii. 19; xxi. 21; Lk. xvii. 6; Mk. xi. 23.

¹⁴ Lk. vii. 47, 50.

¹⁵ Lk. x. 25—28; Mt. xxii. 38; Mk. xii. 30; Lk. vii. 47.

unto them as we wish men to do unto us¹. This is the second commandment of the New Law². This word neighbour extends even to our enemies and to strangers³. In practice not only must the life of our neighbour be respected, but we must be careful not to be angry with him, nor to wish him ill, nor to scandalize him, especially if he be of tender years, nor to judge him, especially if we ourselves are guilty of greater faults⁴. We shall in fact be judged by God with the same judgment with which we judge others. Yet it is sometimes necessary to pass judgment in order not to expose holy things to profanation⁵.

On the other hand, a true Christian charitably inclined will give to him who asks, and without hoping for any return, will not turn away from him that would borrow⁶. He lives in peace with his neighbour, becomes reconciled to him immediately, and for his own good gives him fraternal correction⁷. Besides he pardons him again and again, as often as he repents, extending mercy towards him; for God pardons us in the same measure that we pardon others⁸. All these duties must likewise be done on behalf of our enemies, to whom we should at all times do good and for whom we should offer up prayers to God⁹.

Our Lord lays particular stress on *almsgiving*. Above all it is necessary, and we are bound to make good use of earthly things that they may lead us to eternal life¹⁰. He who neglects this duty of almsgiving, seriously endangers his eternal salvation¹¹. A good Christian must give alms according to his means; for almsgiving helps to purify the soul and assists in laying up a treasure in heaven¹². For this purpose, Jesus counsels that one sell all he possesses and distribute the proceeds among the poor¹³.

Our Lord also calls to mind *the necessity of honouring father and mother*, and in this regard He severely condemns the conduct of the Pharisees¹⁴. He also recognizes *the claims of the civil authority*; for He commands that the things that are Cæsar's should be rendered unto Cæsar, and the things of God to God¹⁵.

¹ Mt. xxii. 39; Lk. x. 25—28; Mt. vii. 12; Lk. vi. 31.

² Mt. xxii. 39, 40; Mk. xii. 31.

³ Lk. x. 25—37; Parable of the Good Samaritan, no. 422.

⁴ Mt. v. 21, 22; xviii. 6, 7; Mk. ix. 41; Lk. xvii. 1, 2; Mt. xvii. 6; vii. 1—5; Lk. vi. 37—42. ⁵ vii. 2, 6. ⁶ Mt. v. 42; Lk. vi. 30, 35.

⁷ Mk. ix. 49; Mt. v. 23—26; Lk. xii. 58; Mt. xviii. 15—17.

⁸ Mt. xviii. 21—35; Parable of the unmerciful servant, nos. 429, 430; Lk. xvii. 4; Lk. vi. 36, 37, 38; Mt. ix. 13; vi. 14, 15.

⁹ Mt. v. 43—47; Lk. vi. 27, 28, 32—35.

¹⁰ Cf. nos. 424, 425.

¹¹ Cf. nos. 426, 427. ¹² Lk. xi. 41.

¹³ Lk. xii. 15—21, 33, 34; Mt. vi. 19, 20.

¹⁴ Mt. xv. 4—6; Mk. vii. 9—13; no. 224.

¹⁵ Mt. xxii. 21; Mk. xii. 17; Lk. xx. 25.

511. 5. Prayer. a) ITS NECESSITY AND CONDITIONS. We find Jesus often recommending prayer, and He himself has indicated the conditions for its efficacy¹. To clothe it in a multiplicity of words makes it useless². A pure intention must dominate it³, with no thought of what men may think. Besides prayer must be accompanied by humility (cf. no. 416), with a firm confidence that it will be heard⁴, with perseverance⁵, and with forgiveness in our hearts for our neighbour⁶. Prayer in common carries with it a special efficacy; for where two or three are gathered together in the name of Jesus, there is Jesus in the midst of them⁷.

b) THE LORD'S PRAYER (Mt. vi. 9—13; Lk. v. 2—4; *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, viii. 2). The Lord's prayer is the most beautiful of all prayers, and that for two reasons: first because of the dignity of its author who was the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity Himself, and secondly because of the sublimity of its contents, comprising, as it does, in a few words all that is most pleasing to God and most beneficial for ourselves. All the prayers that paganism has produced fade before this, and fall infinitely short of this masterpiece.

The form as we have it may be divided into an invocation and the prayer proper. The intent of the invocation is to gain the good will of God (*captatio benevolentiae*), by proclaiming His goodness in our regard (*Pater noster*), as also His power and His excellence (*qui es in coelis*). The prayer proper consists of seven petitions, three of which refer to the glory of God, and four to our physical or moral needs.

The Petitions referring to God: Sanctificetur nomen tuum, «Hallowed be Thy name!» May it be honoured and glorified. The name is used here for the person. — *Adveniat regnum tuum*, «Thy kingdom come!» May the Messianic kingdom (the Church), which is the kingdom of God as well as the kingdom of Jesus, increase and extend throughout the whole earth. — *Fiat voluntas . . .*, «Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven!» In heaven the angels and the saints do the will of God in all things; may men fulfil it with the same fidelity upon earth. All three of these petitions have at basis the same object, namely: the glory of God.

The Petitions referring to Man: Panem nostrum, τὸν ἐπιούσιον (Luke: quotidianum, Matthew: supersubstantialem), «Give us this day our daily bread!» Give us now food for each day, or as others put it, our necessary food or food calculated to keep up our strength. — *Et dimitte nobis . . .*, «And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us!» Release us from all the debts we

¹ Mk. xiii. 33; Lk. xxi. 36.

² Mt. vi. 7.

³ Mt. vi. 5.

⁴ Mt. xxi. 22; Mk. xi. 24.

⁵ Mt. vii. 7—11; Lk. xi. 5—13; xviii. 1—8.

⁶ Mk. xi. 25.

⁷ Mt. xviii. 19, 20.

have contracted towards you, that is, pardon us the sins we have committed. — *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*, «And lead us not into temptation!» Let us not succumb to temptation that will lead us into sin. — *Sed libera nos a malo*, «But deliver us from evil!» Deliver us from all evil in general, ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, or again from the devil who is the author of physical as well as moral evil¹.

512. 6. Good Use of the Gifts of God. Upon every Christian there is incumbent the duty not to let the gifts which he has received from God remain unproductive of fruit; for God demands more from him to whom He has given much, and He will exact the more from him to whom much has been committed². To resist grace and to despise divine inspiration is a sin that shall be punished with a terrible punishment³. God gives more to man who has, but he that has not, that is has little, that which he has shall be taken away from him⁴. In particular those who refuse to hear and take the Gospel to heart shall have only grace of a lower order which will not enable them to understand⁵.

7. Other Moral Instructions.

HUMILITY. The true Christian avoids all *arrogance*, and always chooses the last place at the banquet, and makes himself the servant of others; for he who exalts himself shall be humbled and he who humbles himself shall be exalted⁶.

MORTIFICATION AND DETACHMENT. The life of the Christian must abound in austerity and renunciation⁷. He who loves father or mother or children more than Jesus, is not worthy of Jesus⁸. The Christian must be prepared to lose the friendship of his nearest and dearest rather than forfeit the friendship of God⁹. In order to be a true disciple of Jesus, the Christian must deny himself, carry his cross daily, follow Jesus, and for His sake sacrifice the life of his body rather than lose the life of his soul¹⁰.

It is also necessary to be detached from the things of the world. Instead of being disquieted in regard to the necessities of daily life, we must place full trust in divine Providence¹¹. Besides, it is foolish to be solicitous about earthly things; for no one can serve both God and Mammon¹². Hence it is difficult for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven¹³.

¹ Job i. ii; Jn. xiv. 30.

² Lk. xii. 48; nos. 419—421.

³ Lk. xiii. 6—9; no. 412.

⁴ Mt. xiii. 12; Mk. iv. 24, 25; Lk. viii. 18.

⁵ Mt. xiii. 13—16; Mk. iv. 11, 12; Lk. viii. 10.

⁶ Lk. xi. 43; Mt. xxiii. 5 f.; xviii. 1—3; Mk. ix. 34—36; Lk. ix. 48; xxii. 24—27.

⁷ Mt. vii. 13, 14; Lk. ix. 59—62; xiv. 26.

⁸ Mt. x. 37.

⁹ Lk. xiv. 26.

¹⁰ Mt. x. 39; xvi. 24—26; Mk. viii. 34—37; Lk. ix. 23—25; xiv. 27.

¹¹ Mt. vi. 25—34; Lk. xii. 22—30.

¹² Mt. vi. 24; Lk. xvi. 13.

¹³ Mt. xix. 23—26; Mk. x. 23—27; Lk. xviii. 24—27.

Christ holds out a promise of splendid recompense for all souls that have become detached from the things of the earth. The Apostles who forsook all things to follow Jesus shall be seated upon thrones from whence they shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel. And those souls that shall follow them in sacrificing all things for Christ's sake, shall receive a hundredfold in return here below, and shall, after their death, possess eternal life¹.

VIGILANCE. «Beware of false prophets», was our Lord's warning to His Apostles, and He added that their character would be revealed by their fruits². «Watch; for you know not the day nor the hour of the second advent of the Messias.»³ This recommendation is brought out very strongly in several parables⁴.

In order to complete this exposition of Christ's teaching as contained in the Synoptic Gospels, we make brief mention of the lessons of Jesus regarding the necessity of penance, in regard to flying the occasions of sin, and in regard to hypocrisy⁵.

ART. II.

THE PRINCIPAL TEACHINGS OF JESUS ACCORDING TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

I. JESUS⁶.

513. 1. **Jesus the King and Messias.** The fourth Gospel is remarkable for its pronounced development of the christological ideas. First of all, Christ is represented as *King*, although His kingdom is not of this world, but as one possessing a spiritual and heavenly origin⁷. Over and above this He is the *Messias*. This title He clearly assumes in His conversation with the Samaritan woman⁸. He declares this also to the Jews, and He proves His right to the title by pointing out the works which He performed in the name of His Father⁹. God the Father has marked the Son with His own Seal, and He has confirmed His doctrine and His mission by miraculous manifestations¹⁰. Besides, Sacred Scripture and the great Jewish lawgiver, Moses, have given testimony of Him¹¹.

¹ Mk. xix. 27—29; Mk. x. 28—31; Lk. xviii. 28—30. ² Mt. vii. 15.

³ Lk. xii. 40; xxi. 34—36; Mk. xiii. 33—37; Mt. xxiv. 42—51.

⁴ The Parables of the ten virgins (nos. 417, 418), of the servants who waited for their master, of the householder, and of the robber.

⁵ Lk. xiii. 3; Mt. v. 29, 30; xviii. 8, 9; xxi. 18, 19; Mk. ix. 44—46; xi. 12, 13.

⁶ We have already demonstrated the historical character of the fourth Gospel. Cf. no. 117 f. We merely add here that the following proposition was condemned by the Holy Office in its session of July 3. and 4., 1907: XXXI. Doctrina de Christo quam tradunt Paulus, Ioannes et Concilia Nicaenum, Ephesinum, Chalcedonense, non est ea quam Iesus docuit, sed quam de Iesu concepit conscientia christiana.

⁷ xviii. 36, 37.

⁸ iv. 26; v. 31 f.

⁹ v. 36; ii. 19.

¹⁰ vi. 27.

¹¹ v. 39, 46.

2. **Jesus, the Son of Man and the Son of God.** In the fourth Gospel we find Jesus very often assuming the title of «Son of Man»¹, which is given the same signification as in the Synoptic Gospels². He repeats under various forms and always with insistence that He is the «Son of God». If many of the texts in which this term is used may be interpreted in a manner not referring to the idea of filiation in the proper sense of the word, there are still a great many more texts in which the literal and strict meaning must be given to this expression. Jesus, we are told, is both Master and Lord³. He has been entrusted with all power over all men in order that He might confer upon them eternal life⁴. Likewise He has received power to judge all men⁵. His origin is not from the earth, it is from above; for He Himself has descended from heaven⁶. He proceeds from God Himself; God is His Father, and He is the Son, the only-begotten Son of God⁷. By this language He meant filiation in the strictest sense of the word; for He declares that He existed before Abraham⁸, that He shall be glorified close to the Father and that He was loved by Him even before the foundation of the world⁹.

Moreover, Jesus sees God, and He knows the Father even as the Father knows Him¹⁰. Everything is common to them, even their actions; for the Father who abides in Jesus does the works of Jesus¹¹. Both possess the same power¹². The Father and the Son are always together, the Father being in the Son and the Son in the Father¹³. Nay more, — and this is the most striking proof of the divine filiation of Jesus — the Father and the Son are one¹⁴. Hence he who sees the Son sees also the Father, and he who believes in Jesus believes also in Him who sent Him¹⁵.

514. 3. **Jesus and the Father.** In the preceding paragraph we saw the principal relations of Jesus to His Father. The nature of these various relations must now be completed and brought out in stronger light. All that He has, the Son has received from the Father, even His life¹⁶. He can do nothing and does nothing without the Father¹⁷. Even His doctrine comes from the Father; for Jesus told the world that there were many things that He saw and heard from the Father¹⁸. In His instructions He places special insistence on the fact that He received His mission from His Father. It is

¹ iii. 13, 14.² Cf. no. 499.³ xiii. 13.⁴ xvii. 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12.⁵ v. 22, 23; ix. 39.⁶ viii. 23; iii. 13; vii. 28; vi. 31 f.⁷ vi. 46; v. 17, 43, 45; viii. 54; ix. 35, 36; viii. 42; xvi. 28; iii. 16.⁸ viii. 58.⁹ xvii. 5, 24.¹⁰ vi. 46; x. 14, 15; xvii. 25.¹¹ xvi. 15; xvii. 10; v. 19, 20, 30; viii. 28, 29; xiv. 10.¹² v. 17 f.¹³ viii. 29; xvi. 32; xvii. 21; xiv. 10, 11, 20.¹⁴ x. 30; xvii. 11, 21.¹⁵ xii. 44, 45; viii. 19.¹⁶ vi. 58.¹⁷ v. 19.¹⁸ vii. 17; viii. 26, 28; xiv. 10, 24; viii. 38; xv. 15.

not of Himself that He has entered the world, but He has been sent by the Father and has come in His name¹. After His public life He shall return to Him where He was before the Incarnation².

The Son loves the Father³, He honours Him⁴, and He glorifies Him upon earth by fulfilling the work that He gave Him to do⁵. On His part, the Father loves the Son, and in turn glorifies Him⁶.

4. **The Sanctity of Jesus.** Jesus is truth itself, and sin is not to be found in Him; for He seeks only the glory of the Father and does not speak in His own behalf⁷. He alone can address His enemies in all defiance: «Which of you shall convince Me of sin?»⁸

515. 5. **Jesus and Mankind.** The Saviour loves men, even as His Father loves Him⁹. He calls His Apostles His friends and His brothers, and He declares that He is the Good Shepherd, that the faithful are His sheep, that He knows His sheep and His sheep know Him¹⁰. If any one give Christ love in return, His Father shall love that one, and both the Father and the Son will come into his soul and take up their abode there¹¹.

Jesus is the way, the truth, and the life of mankind¹²; for by His doctrine and His example He has enlightened all the world¹³. He that follows after Him and is united to Him by faith, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life¹⁴, that supernatural life that shall endure even beyond the grave¹⁵. Jesus is the resurrection and the life, and this is why those who believe in Him, shall, when overtaken by material death, begin to live again, and whosoever lives and believes in Him shall not taste death for ever¹⁶; for his death shall be only transitory and Christ will raise him up for ever.

Christ's person, inasmuch as it is the source of grace, is true heavenly bread, the bread of God, as opposed to the manna of old; it has come down from heaven and gives life to the world. He who eats this bread in faith shall never hunger or thirst¹⁷. The fountains of living water shall flow forth from his soul in the abundance of grace and the gifts of the Holy Ghost¹⁸.

The faithful must abide in Jesus, and He in them¹⁹. He is the true vine and we are the branches. As the branch cannot bear fruit unless it be attached to the vine-stock, so the faithful can do nothing unless they abide in Jesus²⁰. Without Him we can do nothing²¹. No

¹ vii. 28, 29; v. 23, 30, 36—38; vi. 38, 44; vii. 16, 33; v. 43; viii. 42.

² vii. 33; xvii. 11, 13; xx. 17. ³ xiv. 31; xv. 10. ⁴ viii. 49.

⁵ xvii. 14. ⁶ xvii. 23, 24; viii. 54; xvii. 22. ⁷ viii. 26; vii. 18.

⁸ viii. 46. ⁹ xv. 10. ¹⁰ xv. 14; xx. 17; x. 1—21. ¹¹ xiv. 23.

¹² xiv. 6; no. 488. ¹³ viii. 12; ix. 5. ¹⁴ viii. 12.

¹⁵ v. 29, 40. ¹⁶ xi. 25, 26; xvii. 2.

¹⁷ vi. 32—47. ¹⁸ vii. 38, 39. ¹⁹ xv. 4.

²⁰ xv. 1—6. ²¹ xv. 5.

one can come to the Father unless he be drawn by Jesus¹, and likewise no one can come to Jesus unless the Father draw him by an inward enlightenment².

516. 6. The Mission of Jesus. Jesus repeats again and again with marked emphasis that He has been sent by the Father, and that He is come to do His will and accomplish the work which He gave Him to do³. This work consists in giving testimony of the truth⁴. The Saviour had already made known to His disciples the name of His Father⁵, and He transmitted to them the words which the Father had commissioned Him to speak⁶. After His death He will make His own name known to them, especially by sending His Holy Spirit⁷.

Jesus is come to save men, in order to communicate to them in a supereminent degree the spiritual and supernatural life, not to judge them, that is to say not to condemn them⁸. In the fulfilment of His work, the Good Shepherd will lay down His life for His sheep⁹. His death shall prove a signal triumph, but before this shall occur He must be first immolated¹⁰.

By the fruits of the death of Christ, the devil is despoiled of his power, and he loses the right and the power which he exercises over fallen humanity¹¹.

II. GOD. THE TRINITY.

517. 1. God the Father. There is but one God, and this is the Father¹², not in the sense that He alone possesses the divine nature, but in this that He is the source. God is a spirit, a living spirit, and He communicates His life to His children and to all men¹³. His action and influence goes on for ever without regard to time¹⁴. He is holy, just and true¹⁵. He loves mankind with an everlasting love, so much so that Jesus does not hesitate to call Him our Father as well as our God¹⁶.

2. The Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father¹⁷. He is the Spirit of truth that communicates truth to men's souls¹⁸. Because of the prayer of Jesus and in His name, the Father bestows upon the Apostles «another Paraclete», in order that He may abide with them eternally¹⁹. Jesus will send Him from the Father²⁰. When He shall have come down upon the Apostles He shall teach them all things, and He shall recall to their minds all

¹ xiv. 6; ² vi. 44, 45. ³ iv. 34; v. 30; vi. 38. ⁴ xviii. 37.

⁵ xvii. 26, 14. ⁶ xvii. 8. ⁷ xvii. 26.

⁸ iii. 16, 17; x. 10, 15; iii. 15, 17; xii. 48. ⁹ x. 10, 11, 15, 17, 18.

¹⁰ xii. 24, 25. ¹¹ xii. 31. ¹² xvii. 3. ¹³ iv. 24; vi. 57; v. 21, 26.

¹⁴ v. 17. ¹⁵ xvii. 11, 17, 25. ¹⁶ iii. 16; xx. 17. ¹⁷ xv. 26.

¹⁸ xv. 26; xvi. 13; xiv. 26. ¹⁹ xiv. 16, 17, 26. ²⁰ xv. 26; xvi. 7.

that Jesus has said¹. Besides, He shall glorify Jesus², and give testimony of Him³, especially by making known His sanctity and at the same time revealing the incredulity of the world and the devil⁴. However He shall not speak of Himself, but He shall speak whatsoever things He has heard; for He shall receive from the Son all the things that He is to announce⁵.

From these various indications it follows that the Holy Ghost is God, and that He is distinct both from the Father from whom He proceeds and from whom He is sent, and from the Son who sends Him and makes Him the Mediator of His Apostles and all mankind.

3. **The Trinity.** There is then but one God and yet three divine persons in the Godhead: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. All the Fathers of the Church and theologians have thus explained the texts given above in demonstrating the mystery of the Trinity.

III. THE DEVIL.

518. The devil, whose existence is very often supposed by Jesus in the fourth Gospel, is called the prince of this world⁶. From the very beginning of humanity he has been a murderer, because he caused Adam and Eve to fall into sin⁷. He holds sway not by right, and the truth is not in him since he fell away from grace. He is a liar and the father of all deceit. The Jews who refused to believe in Jesus and desired to put Him to death have the devil as their father; for they imitate his conduct⁸. However he has no power over Jesus⁹. The death of Jesus is his death warrant and the end of his rule¹⁰.

IV. ESCHATOLOGY, AND THE JUDGMENT.

519. The doctrine of the second advent of the Lord is less developed here in the fourth Gospel than it is in the Synoptics. Nevertheless there is some indication of the return of Jesus to the world¹¹. Yet here in these texts this return may refer to His coming at the particular judgment of each man, or to His return at the end of the world, or even to His return after the Resurrection and Ascension, that is, His spiritual manifestation in the souls of men by His grace and by faith, and also by the effusion of the Holy Spirit.

At the end of time, the dead shall rise¹², and the just shall go into eternal life¹³. In the house of His Father there are many mansions, and Jesus goes there to prepare places for us, and there we shall be with Him for ever¹⁴, and we shall see the glory which the Father

¹ xiv. 26; xvi. 13, 14, 15.

² xvi. 14.

³ xv. 26.

⁴ xvi. 7—11.

⁵ xvi. 13—15.

⁶ xix. 30; xvi. 11.

⁷ viii. 44.

⁸ viii. 44.

⁹ xiv. 30.

¹⁰ xvi. 11.

¹¹ xiv. 3, 18, 28; xxi. 22.

¹² v. 29; vi. 39, 40, 44.

¹³ iii. 15; v. 29.

¹⁴ xiv. 2, 3.

has given Him¹. The wicked, too, shall rise for judgment, that is for their condemnation². They shall not enjoy eternal life, and the wrath of God shall rest upon them for ever³.

In the fourth Gospel there is frequently question of judgment⁴. Sometimes the term is used to express judgment in the strict sense of the word, which the Son of God pronounces in the form of a sentence⁵, at others it has the meaning of condemnation⁶, and again at others it means a separation in general (*χρίσις, κρίνεν*). «When the Messiah shall appear, all mankind shall be divided into two opposite sides. On the one side shall be those that believe, and on the other those that do not believe. According as they are arranged in either of these categories, they shall be justified or they shall be condemned. The Messiah will not then pass sentence; for He will not appear as judge. His office consists in the objective manifestation of His divinity. Before the splendour of His miracles and the sublimity of His doctrine, no one can remain indifferent. One must give assent or withhold it, must save himself or be lost. Hence this choice must be spontaneous and it is in this that judgment consists.» In this sense the Saviour has said: «He who believes the Son is not judged, but he who believes Him not, is already judged. . . . And this judgment is that although the light came into the world, men preferred darkness to the light, because their works were bad.»⁷

V. THE KINGDOM, AND LIFE ETERNAL.

520. 1. The Hierarchy. The expression «the kingdom of God» is not entirely absent from the fourth Gospel; for we find it used three times⁸. It has been replaced by the idea of eternal life, which really is the kingdom or the Church in its glorious phase. However, Jesus tells us, that, from henceforth, men shall be gathered into one flock with one Shepherd⁹. Peter, whose name was changed into that of Cephas, is the guardian of this flock upon earth¹⁰. He is the supreme head of the Church, the representative of Jesus upon earth, the one authorized to act in His name; for to him was it said: *Pasce oves meas, pasce agnos meos*, «Feed my lambs, feed my sheep»¹¹ (Fig. 74). As regards the other Apostles, Jesus has appointed them that they should go, and should bring forth fruit, and that their fruit should remain, and in the face of the world that they should give testimony of Him¹². Even as the Father has sent the Son, so the Son sends them to continue His work in the world, namely to

¹ xvii. 24. ² v. 29. ³ iii. 36

⁴ See *Tixeront*, History of Dogmas 109 ff. ⁵ v. 27, 30. ⁶ v. 24.

⁷ *Calmes*, L'Évangile selon St. Jean 188, 189, 227, 311. iii. 18, 19; ix. 39; xii. 47, 48.

⁸ iii. 3, 5; xviii. 36. ⁹ x. 16. ¹⁰ i. 42. ¹¹ xxi. 15—17.

¹² xv. 16, 27.



Fig. 74. Church and Place of St. Peter, at Rome, at a great festivity.
(Phot. Anderson.)

promote the glory of God and gain the salvation of souls¹. Hence it is that He prays to the Father to sanctify them in truth and render them capable of preaching the Gospel².

521. 2. The Universal Character of the New Law. All men are called to become children of God. Besides the Jews, Jesus has other sheep who shall hear His voice³. Whoever believes in Him shall have eternal life, irrespective of the character or condition of the believer⁴. When He shall be crucified, He will draw all men to Himself⁵. And this is the reason why the Jewish theocracy shall come to an end. The moment shall come when the faithful will no longer adore the Father, neither on Mount Garizim, nor at Jerusalem, for the true adorers shall adore in spirit and in truth⁶. From henceforth there shall be no more unity of sanctuary, no longer any privileged places.

3. Conditions for entering the Kingdom. Although all men are called to participate in the eternal life, all will not accept the invitation⁷. No one can come to Jesus, unless the Father draw him by His grace⁸. But grace is a gift of God, it is the living water, ever vivifying, so that whosoever shall drink of it shall not thirst for ever; for it shall spring up into life everlasting⁹.

¹ xvii. 18; xx. 21.

² xvii. 17, 19.

³ x. 16.

⁴ iii. 16.

⁵ xii. 32.

⁶ iv. 21, 23.

⁷ iii. 19; v. 38, 40, 42.

⁸ vi. 44.

⁹ iv. 10, 13, 14.

Yet grace is not all sufficient. In order to possess eternal life, one must hear and put into practice the words of Jesus, must believe in the Father, and must be baptized¹. And to these conditions must be added those that we shall expose further on in treating of the Christian life (no. 523).

4. **Opposition to the Kingdom.** Our Lord explicitly predicts that the Apostles shall be persecuted². Sometimes those who are instrumental in effecting their death, shall think that in so doing they are doing a service to God³.

522. 5. **The Sacraments**⁴. The teaching of Jesus as contained in the fourth Gospel gives clear indication of the institution of at least three Sacraments, namely: Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist. The words «unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God»⁵, indicates the *essence of Baptism*, which comprises two sources: the one material, *water*, the other spiritual and divine, the *Holy Spirit*. They also express its *efficacy* since it makes us children of God, and likewise they denote its *absolute necessity* since without it no one can be saved.

The *power to forgive sins* is bestowed upon the Apostles⁶. As regards the *Eucharist*, St. John does not detail its institution for us, but he does tell us of its nature, its efficacy and its necessity. The Eucharist is the bread of life⁷, the living bread which has come down from heaven⁸, the flesh and the blood of Jesus⁹, a true food and a true drink¹⁰. He who eats His flesh and drinks His blood, shall abide in Jesus and Jesus in Him¹¹; nay more he shall live by Jesus, he shall possess eternal life, and Jesus shall raise him up on the last day¹². On the other hand, he that does not eat this flesh and drink this blood shall not have life in him¹³.

VI. THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

523. 1. **The Mosaic Law.** In the fourth Gospel as in the Synoptics Christ gives clear indications that the Mosaic worship is to be abrogated. As a matter of fact it was intimately bound up with the Temple at Jerusalem. But under the New Law, worship will no longer be confined to Mount Garizim or to Jerusalem, but shall extend to the whole world¹⁴. As in the Synoptics, He reproves the false interpretations of the Pharisees in regard to the rest of the Sabbath, and performs miracles on that day in order to counteract their prejudices¹⁵.

¹ v. 24, 25; viii. 51; iii. 3, 5.

² xv. 20; xvi. 1—4.

³ xvi. 2, 33.

⁴ Cf. no. 505.

⁵ iii. 3—5.

⁶ xx. 22, 23; no. 338.

⁷ vi. 48.

⁸ vi. 50, 51.

⁹ vi. 52; vi. 53, 54.

¹⁰ vi. 56.

¹¹ vi. 57.

¹² vi. 58; vi. 48—54, 58, 59; vi. 55.

¹³ vi. 54; cf. no. 473.

¹⁴ iv. 21, 23.

¹⁵ vii. 23.

2. **Faith.** Many of the words of our Lord were spoken to show the absolute necessity of faith, together with its object, its effects and its cause¹. Whosoever shall believe in Jesus shall have eternal life, and Christ shall raise him up on the last day². In order to do the work of Jesus, it is necessary to believe in Jesus and persevere in His doctrine, and it is only on this condition that one may be called a disciple of Christ³. Such a one shall do the works that Christ does, and he shall do even greater than these⁴. On the other hand, he is condemned who does not believe in the name of the only-begotten Son of God⁵. Every one that does not believe that He is the Messias, shall die in his sin⁶. — The gift of faith must be attributed to a special grace of the Father⁷.

3. **The Love of God and Our Neighbour.** The faithful soul must remain (persevere) in the love of God. Whosoever loves Jesus, shall be loved of the Father, and Jesus shall love him and shall manifest Himself to him by an interior grace⁸. The practical love of God consists in keeping His commandments⁹.

All the faithful should love one another as their Master has loved them. For by this shall all men know that they are the disciples of Christ, that they have love one for another¹⁰. The perfection of their charity consists in being one even as the Father and the Son are one¹¹.

4. **Prayer.** All our prayers shall be efficacious, if we pray in the name of Jesus¹², if we abide in Him¹³, if we express our belief in regard to His mission and if we love Him¹⁴.

ART. III.

AGRAPHA.

524. The term *agrapha*, ἄγραφα, is applied, though improperly, to the authentic words of Christ which are not found in our canonical Gospels, but which are found in other parts of the N. T., or have been transmitted to us by oral tradition. We have the authority of St. John for the statement that the Gospels contain comparatively only a small part of the Saviour's life¹⁵, yet all that which they passed over in silence has not been entirely lost. Several of the sayings of of Jesus have been preserved for us in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles. Thus for example in Acts xx. 35 we read: «Remember the word of the Lord Jesus, how he said: It is a more blessed thing to give, rather than to receive.»¹⁶

¹ vi. 29, 35, 36, 40, 47; xiv. 29; xx. 27, 29; xvii. 21.

² vi. 47, 40.

³ vi. 29; viii. 31.

⁴ xiv. 12; no. 488, note.

⁵ iii. 15—18.

⁶ viii. 24.

⁷ vi. 44, 66.

⁸ xv. 10; xiv. 21.

⁹ xiv. 15, 21, 23, 24.

¹⁰ xiii. 34, 35; xv. 12—17; xiii. 14—16.

¹¹ xvii. 11, 21—23.

¹² xiv. 13, 14; xv. 16; xvi. 23, 24.

¹³ xv. 7.

¹⁴ xvi. 26, 27.

¹⁵ xxi. 25.

¹⁶ Acts xx. 35; see also 1 Cor. vii. 10; ix. 14; xi. 23 f.; 1 Thess. iv. 14; Acts xi. 16.

Others have been transmitted to us by oral tradition. The early disciples cherished many of the sayings of Jesus that are not found in any of our N. T. books. These they were fond of recalling, and early writers like Papias for instance¹ sought to put in writing whatever had been neglected by the sacred authors of the N. T. Yet not having any claim to being inspired, it was not at all easy to distinguish the true and original from the false and altered. One of the maxims, often attributed to our Saviour is this: «*Estote boni nummularii, probi trapezitae*»². Another sentence is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, which was spoken to the Apostles after the Resurrection: «*Post duodecim annos, egredimini in mundum, ne quis dicat: Non audivimus.*»³ Eusebius refers to the same recommendation in His «*Historia*»⁴. A few memoirs of the same kind are found in St. Clement of Rome, in St. Irenaeus, in St. Justin, in Clement of Alexandria, and in the apocryphal Gospels⁵. Yet it must be confessed that they are very few in number, and then at best of a doubtful character. Resch has counted seventy-four of these sayings of Jesus which he regards as authentic. Ropes admits but fourteen, and five of these only are found in the list of Resch. It matters little what their number be; for they add very little to the teaching of Jesus, and we may safely say that, without the Evangelists and the Apostles, the life and doctrine of Jesus would be almost unknown⁶.

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525. Besides the works mentioned in nos. 22, 26, 116, 434, see *Weiss*, Biblical Theology of the N. T.; *Beyschlag*, N. T. Theology; *Adeney*, The Theology of the N. T.; *Estes*, An Outline of N. T. Theology; *McGiffert*, A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age; *Wendt*, The Teaching of Jesus; *Bruce*, The Kingdom of God; *Horton*, The Teaching of Jesus; *Stevens*, The Teaching of Jesus and Theology of the N. T.; *Dalman*, The Words of Jesus; *Batiffol*, L'Enseignement de Jésus; *Tixeront*, History of Dogmas.

¹ *Eus.*, H. E. III, 39: P. G. XX, 297.

² *Clem. Alex.*, Stromata I, 28: P. G. VIII, 924. Compare Lk. xix. 13 with this.

³ Stromata VI, 5: P. G. IX, 264. ⁴ H. E. V, 18: P. G. XX, 479.

⁵ *Clem. of Rome*, 2 Cor. V, 2—4; *Irenaeus*, Adv. haer. V, 23: P. G. VII, 1213; *Justin*, Dial. 47: P. G. VI, 540; *Clem. of Alex.*, Stromata I, 24, 28; III, 15; V, 10, Excerpta ex Theod. II: P. G. VIII, 905, 923, 1198; IX, 95, 654.

⁶ On this question see *Westcott*, Introduction to the Study of the Gospel, App. C; *Dodd*, Sayings ascribed to our Lord; *Schaff*, History of the Christian Church I, 162 to 167; *Nestle*, Novi Testamenti Supplementum 89—92; *Donahoe*, Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ; *Jackson*, Twenty-five Agrapha annotated; *Sanday*, Two Lectures on the «Sayings of Jesus»; *Resch*, Agrapha, Aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente; *Ropes*, Die Sprüche Jesu; also art. «Agrapha» in HDB. Extra Vol. 343—352.

COMMISSIO PONTIFICIA DE RE BIBLICA.

I.

DE AUCTORE, DE TEMPORE COMPOSITIONIS ET DE HISTORICA VERITATE EVANGELIORUM SECUNDUM MARCUM ET SECUNDUM LUCAM.

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio «De Re Biblica» ita respondendum decrevit:

I. Utrum luculentum traditionis suffragium inde ab Ecclesiae primordiis mire consentiens ac multiplici argumento firmatum, nimirum disertis sanctorum Patrum et scriptorum ecclesiasticorum testimoniis, citationibus et allusionibus in eorundem scriptis occurrentibus, veterum haeticorum usu, versionibus librorum Novi Testamenti, codicibus manuscriptis antiquissimis et pene universis, atque etiam internis rationibus ex ipso sacrorum librorum textu desumptis, certo affirmare cogat Marcum, Petri discipulum et interpretem, Lucam vero medicum, Pauli adiutorem et comitem, revera Evangeliorum quae ipsis respective attribuuntur esse auctores?

R. Affirmative.

II. Utrum rationes, quibus nonnulli critici demonstrare nituntur postremos duodecim versus Evangelii Marci (Mk. xvi. 9—20) non esse ab ipso Marco conscriptos sed ab aliena manu appositos, tales sint quae ius tribuant affirmandi eos non esse ut inspiratos et canonicos recipiendos; vel saltem demonstrent versuum eorundem Marcum non esse auctorem?

R. Negative ad utramque partem.

III. Utrum pariter dubitare liceat de inspiratione et canonicitate narrationum Lucae de infantia Christi (Lk. i—ii), aut de apparitione Angeli Iesum confortantis et de sudore sanguineo (Lk. xxii. 43, 44); vel solidis saltem rationibus ostendi possit — quod placuit antiquis haeticis et quibusdam etiam recentioribus criticis arridet — easdem narrationes ad genuinum Lucae Evangelium non pertinere?

R. Negative ad utramque partem.

IV. Utrum rarissima illa et prorsus singularia documenta in quibus Canticum *Magnificat* non beatæ Virgini Mariae, sed Elisabeth tribuitur, ullo modo praevalere possint ac debeant contra testimonium concors omnium fere codicum tum graeci textus originalis tum versionum, necnon contra interpretationem quam plane exigunt non minus contextus quam ipsius Virginis animus et constans Ecclesiae traditio?

R. Negative.

V. Utrum, quoad ordinem chronologicum Evangeliorum, ab ea sententia recedere fas sit, quae, antiquissimo aequae ac constanti traditionis testimonio roborata, post Matthaeum, qui omnium primus Evangelium suum patrio sermone conscripsit, Marcum ordine secundum et Lucam tertium scripsisse testatur; aut huic sententiae adversari vicissim censenda sit eorum

opinio quae asserit Evangelium secundum et tertium ante graecam primi Evangelii versionem esse compositum?

R. Negative ad utramque partem.

VI. Utrum tempus compositionis Evangeliorum Marci et Lucae usque ad urbem Ierusalem eversam differre liceat; vel, eo quod apud Lucam prophetia Domini circa huius urbis eversionem magis determinata videatur, ipsius saltem Evangelium obsidione iam inchoata fuisse conscriptum, sustineri possit?

R. Negative ad utramque partem.

VII. Utrum affirmari debeat Evangelium Lucae praecessisse librum *Actuum Apostolorum* (Act. i. 1, 2); et quum hic liber, eodem Luca auctore, ad finem captivitatis Romanae Apostoli fuerit absolutus (Act. xxviii. 30, 31), eiusdem Evangelium non post hoc tempus fuisse compositum?

R. Affirmative.

VIII. Utrum, prae oculis habitis tum traditionis testimoniis, tum argumentis internis, quoad fontes quibus uterque Evangelista in conscribendo Evangelio usus est, in dubium vocari prudenter queat sententia quae tenet Marcum iuxta praedicationem Petri, Lucam autem iuxta praedicationem Pauli scripsisse; simulque asserit iisdem Evangelistis praesto fuisse alios quoque fontes fide dignos sive orales sive etiam iam scriptis consignatos?

R. Negative.

IX. Utrum dicta et gesta, quae a Marco iuxta Petri praedicationem accurate et quasi graphice enarrantur, et a Luca, *assecuto omnia a principio diligenter* per testes fide plane dignos, quippe *qui ab initio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis* (Lk. i. 2, 3), sincerissime exponuntur, plenam sibi eam fidem historicam iure vindicent quam eisdem semper praestitit Ecclesia; an e contrario eadem facta et gesta censenda sint historica veritate, saltem ex parte, destituta, sive quod scriptores non fuerint testes oculares, sive quod apud utrumque Evangelistam defectus ordinis ac discrepantia in successione factorum haud raro deprehendantur, sive quod, cum tardius venerint et scripserint, necessario conceptiones menti Christi et Apostolorum extraneas aut facta plus minusve iam imaginatione populi inquinata referre debuerint, sive demum quod dogmaticis ideis praeconceptis, quisque pro suo scopo, indulerint?

R. Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad alteram.

II.

DE QUAESTIONE SYNOPTICA SIVE DE MUTUIS RELATIONIBUS INTER TRIA PRIORA EVANGELIA.

Propositis pariter sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio «De Re Biblica» ita respondendum decrevit:

I. Utrum, servatis quae iuxta praecedenter statuta omnino servanda sunt, praesertim de authenticitate et integritate trium Evangeliorum Matthaei, Marci et Lucae, de identitate substantiali Evangelii graeci Matthaei cum eius originali primitivo, necnon de ordine temporum quo eadem scripta fuerunt, ad explicandum eorum ad invicem similitudines aut dissimilitudines, inter tot varias oppositasque auctorum sententias, liceat exegetis libere disputare et ad hypotheses traditionis sive scriptae sive oralis vel etiam dependentiae unius a praecedenti seu a praecedentibus appellare?

R. Affirmative.

II. Utrum ea quae superius statuta sunt, ii servare censi debeant, qui, nullo fulti traditionis testimonio nec historico argumento, facile amplectuntur hypothesim vulgo *duorum fontium* nuncupatam, quae compositionem Evangelii graeci Matthaei et Evangelii Lucae ex eorum potissimum dependentia ab Evangelio Marci et a collectione sic dicta sermonum Domini contendit explicare; ac proinde eam libere propugnare valeant?

R. Negative ad utramque partem.

Die autem 26 iunii anni 1912, in audientia utrique Rmo Consultori ab Actis benigne concessa, Ssmus Dominus noster Pius Papa X praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Romae, diei 26 iunii 1912.

(L. ✝ S.)

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, Gr. S. Sulp.

LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O. S. B.

Consultores ab Actis.

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